

A
S E L E C T I O N
FROM THE
HARLEIAN MISCELLANY
9505^{OF} 91
T R A C T S,

WHICH PRINCIPALLY REGARD
T H E
E N G L I S H H I S T O R Y;
OF WHICH MANY ARE REFERRED TO BY
H U M E.

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THE Scarcity and high Price of the HARLEIAN MISCELLANY, has induced the Editor of the following Work to offer it to the Public. It is composed of a Selection of those Pieces which regard our own History, and which have been chiefly arranged in Chronological Order. The Volume contains in Quantity one-sixth of the MISCELLANY, and the Price of it is a Guinea, only one-twelfth of what the original Work now sells for.

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CURIOUS

CURIOUS HISTORICAL TRACTS

FROM THE

HARLEIAN MISCELLANY.

The LIFE of King WILLIAM the FIRST, surnamed CONQUEROR.

ROBERT duke of Normandy, the sixth in descent from Rollo, riding through Falais, a town in Normandy, espied certain young persons dancing near the way: and, as he staid to view awhile the manner of their disport, he fixed his eye especially upon a certain damsel named Arlotte, of mean birth, a skinner's daughter, who there danced among the rest. The frame and comely carriage of her body, the natural beauty and graces of her countenance, the simplicity of her rural both behaviour and attire, pleased him so well, that the same night he procured her to be brought to his lodging*; where he begat of her a son, who afterwards was named William.

I will not defile my writing with memory of some lascivious behaviour which she is reported to have used, at such time as the duke approached to embrace her. And doubtful it is, whether upon some special note of immodesty in herself, or whether upon hate towards her son, the English afterwards adding an aspiration to her name (according to the natural manner of their pronouncing) termed every unchaste woman, Harlot.

It is remembered by some, rather servile than fond in observations, who will either find or frame predictions for every great action or event: that his mother before the time of her delivery had a dream, that her bowels were extended over Normandy and England.

Also, that, at the time of his birth, he fell from his mother's body to the ground; and there filled both his hands with rushes, which had been cast thick upon the floor, and strained them with a very strait gripe. The wives laughed at large, and soon grew prodigal of idle talk. But the midwife somewhat more soberly said, that he should not only hold well his own, but grasp somewhat from other men.

When he was about nine years of age, his father went upon devotion to Jerusalem, and in his return died at the city of Nice. So William at that age succeeded his father; having then very generous and aspiring spirits, both to resist abroad, and to rule at home. He was committed to the government of two of his uncles; and the French king was intreated by his father to take upon him the protection, both of his person and state. But his uncles pretended title to his dignity, by reason of his unlawful birth; the king of France also desired much, and had often attempted to reduce Normandy to his absolute subjection, as it was before the invasion of the Normans. So as it may seem he was committed to these tutors, as a lamb should be committed to the tutelage of wolves. The only means of his preservation consisted in a factious nobility, divided into so many parts, as there were parties: some contending for possession of the young duke's person; others, of his authority and power; all of them incompatible to endure either equals, or

* Some historians say, that Duke Robert took her to wife. *Malm.* p. 97.

else superiors *: all of them united against a common enemy; all divided among themselves.

Here it may be demanded, how he, being unlawfully born, could succeed his father in the duchy of Normandy, his father leaving two brothers born in lawful marriage, and much other legitimate kindred behind him?

Will. Malmesbury †, and some others have reported, that, albeit he was born out of marriage, yet Duke Robert, his father, did afterwards entertain his mother for lawful wife; which by the law of that country, agreeable in that point to the civil and canon laws, sufficed to make the issue inheritable, although born before ‡.

And further, it was a general custom at that time in France, that bastards did succeed, even in dignities of highest condition, no otherwise than children lawfully begotten. Thierry, bastard of Clovis, had for his partage, with the lawful children of the same Clovis, the kingdom of Austrasy, now called Lorrain. Sigebert, bastard of king Dagobert the First, had his part in the kingdom of France, with Clovis the Twelfth, lawful son to Dagobert. Loys and Carloman, bastards of king Loys le Begue, succeeded after the death of their father. So likewise, in England, Alfride, bastard son of Oswine, succeeded his brother Egfride. So Adelstane, the bastard son of Edward the Elder, succeeded his father, before Edmund and Eldred, his younger brothers, notwithstanding they were lawfully begotten. So Edmund, surnamed the Martyr, bastard son to king Edgar, succeeded him in the state, before Ethelbred his lawful issue. Afterward Harold, surnamed Harefoot, bastard to Canutus, succeeded him in the kingdom, before Hardicanutus, his lawful son. The like custom has been observed in Spain, in Portugal, and in divers other countries. And it is probable, that this use was grounded upon often experience, that bastards (as begotten in the highest heat and strength of affection) have many times || been men of excellent proof, both in courage and understanding. This was verified in Hercules, Alexander the Great, Romulus, Timotheus, Brutus, Themistocles, Arthur; in Homer, Demosthenes, Bion, Bartholus, Gratian, Peter Lombard, Peter Comestor, John Andreas, and divers of most flourishing name; among whom our Conqueror may worthily be ranged.

And yet, in the third race of the kings of France, a law was made, that bastards should not inherit the crown of the realm. This custom was likewise banished out of England, and other countries of Europe. Notwithstanding, in France and Portugal, other bastards of great houses were still advowed.

The exercises of this duke, from his very youth, were ingenious, manly, decent, and such as tended to activity and valour; he was of a working mind

and vehement spirit, rather ambitious than only desirous of glory; of a piercing wit, blind in no man's cause, and well-sighted in his own; of a lively and present courage; neither out of ignorance, or rash estimation of dangers, but out of a true judgment both of himself and of them. In peace, he was politic; in war, valiant and very skilful, both to espy and to apprehend, and to follow his advantages; this valour and skill, in military affairs, was always seconded with good success. He was continually accustomed both to the weight and use of armour, from his very childhood. Oftentimes he looked death in the face with a brave contempt. He was never free from actions of arms; first upon necessity to defend himself, afterwards upon ambition to offend and disturb the possessions of others.

In his first age, he was much invested with rebels in Normandy; who often conspired both against his life, and against his dignity and state; traducing him, as a bastard, as a boy, as born of a base ignoble woman, as altogether unworthy to be their prince. Of these, some he appeased and reconciled unto him; others he prevented and dispersed their power, before it was collected; others encountered in open field, before he had any hair upon his face; where he defeated their forces in full battle, then took their strong holds, and lastly, chased them out of his dominion.

And first, Roger Trefny, having gained exceeding great both favour and reputation by his services against the Saracens in Spain, made claim to the duchy of Normandy; as one lawfully descended from Rollo, their first duke. And, albeit many others were before him in title, yet (said he) if they will sit still; if they either through sloth, which is ill, or through fear, which is worse, will abandon the adventure, he alone would free the Normans from their infamous subjection. He was followed by many, partly upon opinion of his right, but chiefly of his valour. But, when he brought his cause to the arbitrement of arms, he was overthrown in a strong battle, wherein his claim and his life determined together.

After this, William, earl of Arques, base son to Richard the Second, and uncle to duke William, upon the same pretence declared himself against his nephew. And, albeit the Normans were heavy to stir in his favour, yet he so wrought with the French king, by assuring him great matters in Normandy, that, with a mighty army of his own people, he went in person to place him in possession of that duchy. The way, which the king took, led him to a large valley, sandy and full of short bushes and shrubs, troublesome for horsemen either to fight or to march. On either side were rising hills, very thick set with wood. Here the army entered with small advise-

* In which case, we may well apply the saying of Seneca: *Societas nostra lapidibus fornicationi simillima est; quæ casura, nisi in vice obflarent, hoc ipso continetur.* Senec. Epist. 97.

† Lib. iii. in princ. Ingulph. lib. vi. cap. 19.

‡ Let that be as it will, I cannot but observe, that, after the

Conqueror obtained the crown of England, he often signed his grants with this subscription, William Bastarde; thinking it no abasement either to his title or reputation.

|| πολλὰκις δὲ τοὶ νόδοιτε πολλοὶ γνήσιον ἀμείνονες. Eurip. in Androm.

ment, either for clearing the passage, or for the safety of their carriages. The van-guard consisted chiefly of battle-axes and pikes. In the right wing were many Almans among the French. In the left were many of Anjou and Poitou. After these followed the baggage, with an infinite number of scullions, carters, and other base drudges attending upon it. Next came the French king with the main battle, consisting, for the most part, of valiant and worthy gentlemen, bravely mounted. The lances and men at arms closed the rereward.

When they were well entered this valley, the Normans did lively charge upon them in head; they delivered also their deadly shot from the hills on both sides, as thick as hail. Notwithstanding the van-guard, casting themselves into a pointed battle in form of a wedge, with plain force of hand made themselves way, and, marching in firm and close order through the thickest of their enemies, gained (albeit not without great loss) the top of a hill, and there presently incamped themselves. The like fortune happily might the residue have had, if they had followed with the like order and courage. But, failing herein, the right wing was hewed in pieces, and the left wing was broken and beaten upon the carriages; where, overbearing and treading down one another, they received almost as much hurt from themselves, as they did from their enemies. The main battle and rereward, advancing forward to rescue the carriage, were first miserably overwhelmed with a storm of arrows from the hill on both sides; and the gallant horses, once galled with that shot, would no more obey or endure their riders; but flinging out, either overthrew or disordered all in their way. And, the more to increase the misery of that day, the dust and light sand which was raised, partly by the feet of horses and men, and partly by violence of the wind, which then blew full in the faces of the French, involved them all as in a thick and dark cloud, which deprived them of all foresight and direction in governing their affairs. The valiant was nothing discerned from the coward; no difference could be set between contrivance and chance; all laboured in one common calamity, and every one increased the fear of his fellow.

The Normans having well spent their shot, and perceiving the French in this sort both disordered and dismayed, came down from the hills, where they hovered before, and falling to the close stroke of battle-axe and sword, most cruelly raged in the blood of their enemies. By whom, if any spark of valour was shewn, being at so great disadvantage, it was to no purpose, it was altogether lost; it was so far from relieving others, that it was not sufficient to defend themselves. And, doubtless, nothing so much favoured the state of the French that day, as that the number of the Normans sufficed not to inclose them behind. For then they had been intrapped as deer in a toil; then not one of them could have escaped.

But, the entrance of the valley remaining open, many fled back to the plain ground, tumbling together in such headlong haste, that, if the Normans had sharply put upon them the chase, it is certain that they had been extremely defeated. But the duke gave over the execution upon good advice. For, knowing himself not to be of force utterly to vanquish the French, he essayed, rather by fair forbearance to purchase their friendship.

Here the French king assembled his broken companies, and incamped them for that night so well as he could. The joy of their present escape expelled for the time all other respects. But, after a little breathing, their remembrance began to run upon the loss of their carriages; whereby they had lost all means to refresh themselves. Of their van-guard they made a forlorn reckoning, and the like did the van-guard of them. Many were wounded, all wearied, and the Normans gave notice by sounding out their instruments of war, that they were at hand on every side. The rudest of the soldiers did boldly upbraid this misfortune to the king; one asked him, Where his van-guard was? Where his wings? Where were the residue of his battle and rereward? Others called for the carriages, to preserve those in life who had not been slain. Others demanded, If he had any more mouse-traps to lead them into? But most fat heavy and pensive, scarce accounting themselves among the living. The king swallowed down all with a sad silence; sometimes he dissembled as though he had not heard; sometimes he would fairly answer, *Good words, good soldiers, have patience a while, and all will be well*; which was indeed a truer word than he thought it possible to be when he spoke it.

In this extremity the king assembled the chief of his commanders, to advise with them what was best to be done. It was generally concluded, that in staying their case was desperate, and dangerous it was to stir. But here lay the question, Whether it was least dangerous to remove together, or every man to shift for himself? Whilst this point was in debating, whilst they expected every minute to be assailed, whilst no man saw any thing but death and despair; behold, a messenger came from the duke, not to offer, but desire peace; and to crave protection of the French king, according to the trust which Robert, the duke's father, reposed in him. There needed not many words to persuade. Peace was signed, protection assured, in a more ample manner than it was required. Then the messenger with many good words appeased the king's heaviness, telling him, that his vanguard was safe, his carriages not touched, and that he should be furnished with horses, both for burthen and draught, instead of those that had been slain. These words, as a sweet enchantment, ravished the French king with sudden joy. But, when they came to gather up their baggage, a spectacle both lamentable and loathsome was presented unto them. The valley covered, and

* And was commanded by Odo, brother to the king of France.

in some places heaped with dead bodies of men and horses; many, not once touched with any weapon, lay trod to death, or else stifled with dust and sand; many, grievously wounded, retained some remainder of life, which they expressed with cries and groans; many, not mortally hurt, were so overlaid with the slain, that they were unable to free themselves; towards whom it is memorable, what manly both pity and help the Normans did afford. And so the French king, more by courtesy of his enemies, than either by courage or discretion of his own, returned in reasonable state to Paris.

Upon these events of open hostility, Guy, earl of Bourgoigne, who had taken to wife Alice*, daughter to Duke Richard II. and aunt to Duke William, conspired with Nigellus, president of Constantine, Ranulph, viscount of Bayonne, Beaumont, and divers others, suddenly to surprise the duke, and slay him in the night. A certain fool, nothing regarded for his want of wit, observing their preparations, secretly got away, and, in the dead of the night, came to Valogne, where the duke then lay, no less slenderly guarded with men, than the place itself was slight for defence. Here he continued rapping at the gate, and crying out until it was opened, and he brought to the presence of the duke; to whom he declared the conspiracy, with circumstances of such moment, that the duke forthwith took his horse, and posted alone towards Falais, a special place for strength of defence. Presently after his departure, the conspirators came to Valogne; they beset the house, they enter by force, they search every corner for the duke, and finding that the game was started and on foot, in hot haste they pursued the chace.

About break of day, the duke's horse tired, and he was ignorant of his right way. He was then at a little village, called Rie, where the chief gentleman of the place was standing at his door, ready to go abroad. Of him the duke enquired the next way to Falais. The gentleman knew the duke, and with all duty and respect desired to know the cause of his both solitary and untimely riding. The duke would willingly have passed unknown, but, perceiving himself to be discovered, declared to him the whole adventure. Hereupon the gentleman furnished him with a fresh horse, and sent with him two of his sons to conduct him the direct way to Falais.

No sooner were they out of sight, but the conspirators came, and enquired of the same gentleman (who still remained at his door) whether he saw not the duke that morning; as if, forsooth, they were come to attend him. The gentleman answered, that he was gone a little before, and therewith offered them his company to overtake him. But he led them about another way, until the duke was safely alighted at Falais. And thus, the more we consider these and the like passages of affairs, the less we shall admire

either the wisdom, or industry, or any other sufficiency of man. In actions of weight, it is good to employ our best endeavours; but, when all is done, he danceth well to whom Fortune doth pipe.

When the conspirators understood that their principal purpose was disappointed, they † made themselves so powerful in arms, that the duke was forced to crave aid of the king of France, who not long before was his greatest enemy. The king, preferring to his remembrance the late honourable dealing of the duke, came in person unto him, by whose countenance and aid the duke overthrew his enemies in a full battle in the vale of Dunes; albeit, not without great difficulty, and bold adventure of his own person. Guy de Bourgoigne escaped by flight, and defended himself in certain castles which he had fortified in Normandy for his retreat; but in the end he surrendered both himself and them to the duke's discretion. The duke not only pardoned him, but honoured him with a liberal pension; which he did afterwards both with valiant and loyal service requite.

Not long after, the French king had wars against Geoffrey Martell, and Duke William went with a fair company of soldiers to his aid. In this service he so well acquitted himself, both in judgment and in hand, that the French king was chiefly directed by him; only blaming him for too careless casting himself into the mouth of dangers; imputing that to ostentation, which was but the heat of his courage and age. Oftentimes he would range from the main battle, with very few in his company; either to make discoveries, or to encounter such enemies as could not be found with greater troops. Once he withdrew himself only with four, and was met with by fifteen of the enemies. The most forward of them he struck from his horse, and broke his thigh with the fall. The residue he chased four miles; and, most of them being hurt, took seven prisoners. Hereupon Geoffrey Martell then said of him, that he was at that time the best soldier, and was like to prove the best commander in the world.

And, as he was both favourable and faithful towards them who fairly yielded, so, against such as either obstinately or scornfully carried themselves, he was extremely severe, or rather cruel. When he besieged Alençon, which the duke of Anjou had taken from him, the defendants would often cry from the walls, *La pel, La pel*; reproaching him thereby with the birth of his mother. This base insolence, as it inflamed both his desire and courage to achieve the enterprize, so did it his fury, to deal sharply with them, when they were subdued; by cutting off their hands and feet, and by other severities which were not usual.

Besides these, some others of his own blood provoked Ingelrame, earl of Ponthieu, to move against him in arms; but the duke received him with so re-

ger, but by running into greater danger, declared openly against the duke.

solute

* Or rather son of Alice.

† Supposing that there could be no remedy against their dan-

ofute valour, that the earl was slain in the field, and they well chastised who drew him into the enterprize. The Bretagners did often feel the force of his victorious arms. He had many conflicts with Jeoffrey Martell, earl of Anjou, confederate with the princes of Bretagne, Aquitain, and Tours; a man equal unto him both in power and in skill to command, but, in fortune and in force of arms, much inferior. Many excellent atchievements were performed between them; insomuch as their hostility seemed only to be an emulation in honour. Once the duke fell into an ambuscade addressed for him by the earl of Anjou; wherewith he was so suddenly surprized, that he was almost in the midst of the danger, before he thought any danger near him. An exceeding great both terror and confusion seized upon his soldiers; because, the more sudden and uncertain a peril is, the greater is it always esteemed. Many of his bravest men were slain; the residue so disordered, or at least shaken, as they began to think more of their particular escape, than of the common either safety or glory.

When they were thus upon the point to disband, the duke, rather with rage than courage, cried unto them: *If you love me not, soldiers, yet, for shame, follow me; for shame, stand by me; for shame, let not any of your friends hear the report, that you ran from me, and left me fighting.* With that he threw himself into the thickest throng of his enemies, and denounced those either traitors or cowards who would not follow. This example breathed such brave life into his soldiers, that they rallied their loose ranks, and in close order seconded him with a resolute charge; encouraging one another, that it was shameful indeed not to fight for him, who so manfully did fight with them. The duke, brandishing his sword like a thunderbolt, dung down his enemies on every side; made at Earl Martell, in the midst of his battalion, struck him down, clove his helmet, and cut away one of his ears. This so diverted the Anjouans to the rescue of their earl, that they let the other part of their victory go. The earl they recovered again to horse, and so left the duke master of the field. Verily, it is almost impossible that a commander of such courage should have either faint or false-hearted soldiers *.

Now it happened, not long before, that Foulke, earl of Anjou, having drawn Herbert, earl of Maine, under fair pretences, to Xaintonge, cast him in prison; from whence he could not be released, until he had yielded to certain conditions, both dishonourable and disadvantageous unto him. Hugh succeeded Herbert; from whom Jeoffrey Martell, earl of Anjou, took the city of Maine, and made himself lord of all of the country. Hugh, having lost his dominion, left both his title and his quarrel to his son Herbert; who, having no issue, appointed Duke William to be his heir. Hereupon the duke invaded Maine, and, in a short time, subdued the whole country, and built two fortifications for assurance thereof; having first

sent word to the earl of Anjou, upon what day the work should begin. The earl used all diligence and means to impeach the buildings; but he not only failed of that purpose, but further lost the county of Medune.

Again, Henry, king of France, did many other times, with great preparation, invade his country; sometimes with purpose to win upon him, and sometimes to keep him from winning upon others. Upon a time the king led his troops over the Foord of Dine; and when half his army had passed, the other half, by reason of the rising of the sea, was compelled to stay. The duke, apprehending the advantage, came upon them with a furious charge, being now divided from the chief of the army; and either slew them, or took them prisoners, in the plain view of their king. After this they concluded a peace, whereof the conditions were, That the duke should release such prisoners as he had taken; and that he should retain whatsoever he had won, or afterwards should win from the earl of Anjou. And yet the king did again enterprize upon him, with greater forces than at any time before: but the duke entertained his armies with so good order and valour, that the king gained nothing but loss and dishonour: and, the greater his desire was of victory and revenge, the more foul did his foils and failings appear; which so brake both his courage and heart, that, with grief thereof, as it was conceived, he ended his life. And thus, during all the time that he was only duke of Normandy, he was never free from action of arms: in all his actions of arms, he was carried with a most rare and perpetual felicity.

As he grew in years, so did he in thickness and fatness of body; but so, as it made him neither unseemly, nor unserviceable for the wars; and never much exceeding the measure of a comely corpulency. He was most decent, and therewith terrible in arms. He was stately and majestic in his gesture; of a good stature, but in strength admirable; insomuch as no man was able to draw his bow, which he would bend sitting upon his horse, stretching out the string with his foot. His countenance was warlike and manly, as his friends might term it; but, as his enemies said, truculent and fierce. He would often swear, *By God's resurrection, and his brightness*; which he commonly pronounced with so furious a face, that he struck a terror into those that were present. His head was bald; his beard always shaven; which fashion, being first taken up by him, was then followed by all the Normans. He was of a firm and strong constitution for his health; so as he never was attacked with sickness, but that which was the summons of his death; and in his age seemed little to feel the heavy weight and burden of years.

In his first age, he was of a mild and gentle disposition; courteous, bountiful, familiar in conversation, a professed enemy to all vices. But, as in fortune, as in years, so changed he in his behaviour †; partly

* Tanti est exercitus quanti imperator. Flor. ii. cap. 18.

† Assidue dimicantibus difficile est morum custodire mensuram. Cassiod. l. Var. Epist. ix.

by his continually following the wars, whereby he was much fleshed in blood, and partly by the inconstant nature of the people over whom he ruled; who, by often rebellions, did not only exasperate him to some severity, but even constrained to hold them in with a more stiff arm*. So he did wring from his subjects very much substance, very much blood; not for that he was by nature either covetous, or cruel, but for that his affairs could not otherwise be managed†. His great affairs could not be managed without great expence, which drew a necessity of charge upon the people: neither could the often rebellions of his subjects be repressed, or restrained, by any mild and moderate means‡. And generally, as, in all states and governments, severe discipline hath always been a true faithful mother of virtue and valour; so in particular of his Normans he learned by experience, and oftentimes declared this judgment: That, if they were held in a bridle, they were most valiant, and almost invincible; excelling all men both in courage, and in strength, and in honourable desire to vanquish their enemies. But, if their reins were laid loose upon their necks, they were apt to run into licentiousness and mischief; ready to consume either themselves by riot and sloth, or one another by sedition; prone to innovation and change; as heavily moved to undertake dangers, so not to be trusted upon occasion||.

He took to wife Matilda, daughter to Baldwin, earl of Flanders; a man, for his wisdom, and power, both revered, and feared, even of kings; but, because she was his cousin-german, he was, for his marriage, excommunicated by his own uncle, Mauger, Archbishop of Roan. Hereupon he sued to pope Victor, and obtained of him a dispensation: and afterwards so wrought, that, by a provincial council, his uncle, Mauger, was deprived of his dignity. But, by this means, both he and his issue were firmly locked in obedience to the see of Rome; for that, upon the authority of that place, the validity of his marriage, and consequently the legitimation of his issue, seemed to depend.

When he was about fifty years of age, Edward, king of England, ended his life. This Edward was son to Ethelred, king of England, by Emma, sister to Richard, the second duke of Normandy, who was grandfather to Duke William; so as King Edward and Duke William were cousins-german once removed.

At such time as Ethelred was first overcharged with wars by the Danes, he sent his wife Emma, with two sons which she had born unto him, Alfred and Edward, into Normandy, to her brother; where they were entertained with all honourable usage for many years. Afterward, giving place to the malice of his fortune, he passed also into Normandy, and left his

whole state in the possession and power of Swamus, king of Denmark. But, after the death of Swamus, partly by the aid of the Normans, and partly by favour of his own people, he recovered his kingdom, and left the same to his eldest son, Edmund, who, either for the tough temper of his courage and strength, or for that he almost always lived in arms, was firnamed Ironsides.

Hereupon Canutus, the son of Swamus, made sharp war, first against Ethelred, then against Edmund; and finally, after many varieties of adventure, but chiefly by the favour of the clergy of England (because they had sworn allegiance to his father) spread the wings of his victory over the whole kingdom. He expelled out of the realm, Edwin and Edward, the two sons of King Edmund, of whom Edwin married the king's daughter of Hungary, but died without issue; Edward was advanced to the marriage of Agatha, daughter to the emperor Henry, and by her had issue two sons, Edmund and Edgar, and so many daughters, Margaret and Christine. The same Canutus took Emma to wife, who had been wife to King Ethelred; by whom he had a son, named Hardicanutus.

After the death of Canutus, Alfred, the son of Ethelred, came out of Normandy, and with fifty sail landed at Sandwich, with purpose to attempt the recovery of his father's kingdom: in which enterprize he received not only encouragement, but good assistance, from many of the English nobility. But by Earl Goodwin he was abused and taken, his company slain, his eyes put out, and then sent to the Isle of Ely, where, in a short time, he ended his life. Edward also arrived at Hampton with forty ships; but, finding the country so far from receiving, as they were ready to resist him, he returned into Normandy, and attended the further favour of time. So after Canutus, succeeded, in England, first Harold, firnamed Harefoot, bastard son to Canutus; and after him Hardicanutus, son to Canutus, by Emma, mother also to King Edward.

Hardicanutus being dead, the nobility of the realm sent into Normandy for Edward to be their king; whereto also he was appointed, as some have written, by Hardicanutus. But, because Alfred his brother, upon the like invitation, had been traiterously taken and slain before, William, at that time duke of Normandy, would not permit him to depart, until he had received, for pledges of his safety, Woolnoth, son to Earl Goodwin, and Hacon, son to Swain, Earl Goodwin's eldest son. Upon this assurance he was furnished by the duke, his cousin, with all means fit both for his enterprize and estate. And so he passed the seas, arrived in England, and with general joy was received for king. He took to wife, Edith, the daughter of Earl Goodwin; but, whether upon a

* Regum clementia, non in ipsorum modo, sed in illorum quum parent ingenio sita est. Curt. lib. viii.

† Δει δὲ χερμάτων, καὶ ἀνευ τούτων ἐδὲν ἐστὶ γινέσθαι τῶν δόντων.

Opus sunt opes, & sine iis nihil fiet quod opus. Demost. Olynth. i.

‡ Crudelem medicum intemperans æger facit. Publ.

|| Principis est virtus maxima nosse suos. Martial.

vow of chastity, or whether upon impotency of nature, or whether upon hatred to her father, or whether upon suspicion against herself, for all these causes are alledged by several writers of those times, he forbore all private familiarity with her.

When he was well locked into the chair of state, Duke William came out of Normandy to see him, to shew his magnificence to the English people; to shew to the English, both that he loved their king, and that he was of power to relieve him, in case his necessities should so require. Here, besides honourable entertainment, besides many rich gifts, both to himself, and to his followers, the king having neither hope, nor desire of issue, promised him, in regard of his great favours and deserts, that he should be his next successor in the kingdom. And, for further assurance thereof, sent him also the like message into Normandy, by Robert archbishop of Canterbury.

After this, Harold, son to Earl Goodwin, passed the seas into Normandy, to deal for the discharge of his brother Woolnoth, and Hacon, his nephew, who had been delivered for hostages to the duke*. In his passage he was much tossed with troublesome weather, and, in the end, was cast upon the coast of Ponthieu, and there taken by the earl, and committed to prison†. But, at the request of the duke of Normandy, Harold was released with honourable respect, and by the earl himself accompanied to the duke, who entertained him with great magnificence at Roan. The duke was then going in arms against the Bretnagers; in which journey Harold did accompany him, and shewed himself a man, neither rash in undertaking, nor fearful in performing any services of the field. After a prosperous return, the duke declared to Harold the promises of King Edward concerning the duke's succession to this crown. Harold did avow the same to be true; and promised to afford thereto the best furtherance that he could. Hereupon the duke assembled a council at Bonneville, where Harold did swear fidelity‡ unto him; and promised likewise, by oath, that, after the death of King Edward, he would keep the realm of England to the use of the duke; that he would deliver unto him the castle of Dover, and certain other pieces of defence, furnished at his

own charge. Hereupon the duke promised unto him his daughter in marriage, and with her half the realm of England in the name of her dower. He also delivered to him his nephew Hacon; but kept his brother, Woolnoth, as an hostage, for performance of that which Harold had sworn||.

In a short time after King Edward died, and Harold§, being general commander of the forces of the realm, seized upon the sovereignty, and, without any accustomed solemnities, set the crown upon his own head. The people were nothing curious to examine titles; but, as men broken with long bondage, did easily entertain the first pretender. And yet to Harold they were inclinable enough, as well upon opinion of his prowess, as for that he endeavoured to win their favour, partly by abating their grievous payments, and partly by increasing the wages of his servants and soldiers; generally by using justice with clemency and courtesy towards all**. About this time a blazing star appeared, and continued the space of seven days; which is commonly taken to portend alteration in states††. Of this comet a certain poet, alluding to the baldness of the Norman, wrote these verses:

*Casariem, Caesar, tibi si natura negavit,
Hanc, Willielme, tibi stella comata dedit.*

Duke William sent divers ambassadors to Harold; first‡‡, to demand performance of his oath; afterwards to move him to some moderate agreement§§. But ambition, a reasonless and restless humour, made him obstinate against all offers or inducements of peace. So both parties prepared to buckle in arms; equal both in courage and in ambitious desires, equal in confidence of their fortune; but Harold was the more adventurous, William the more advised man: Harold was more strong in soldiers, William in allies and friends.

Harold was seated in possession, which, in case of a kingdom, is oftentimes with facility attained, but retained hardly: William pretended the donation of King Edward***, and that he was near unto him in blood by the mother's side.

* This voyage was much against the liking of King Edward, who, either by conjecture, as a good politician, or, as some will have it, by divination, foretold him, "That his journey would be fatal to himself, and unprosperous to the whole realm."

† According to the barbarous custom of those days on that coast, which made every stranger a prisoner, till he could be ransomed, that put, or were driven, into their ports.

‡ Acknowledging William, duke of Normandy, to be the heir to the crown of England, after the death of Edward the Confessor.

|| Fidelity, as in the last note.

§ Being in possession of the military force of the nation, and relying on the favour of the people, to whom his martial conduct had rendered him very amiable; in which he was confirmed, not only by his noble birth, which was extracted from the first nobility, but strengthened by his marriage with Edgitha, the sister of the earl of Chester, and Morcard, governor of Northumberland.

** Simon Dunelm, and Brompton tell us, that Harold lessened

the taxes, and caused justice to be impartially administered: and from time to time insinuated, that he intended to resign the crown to Edgar Atheling, when of age; and, in the mean time, created him earl of Oxford, and seemed, by his particular care of his education, to qualify him for regal authority. Again, some authors say, that he claimed the crown, on a donation of King Edward, and was crowned, the day after the king's death, by Aldred, archbishop of York.

†† Heu vani monitus, frustra que morantia Parcas
Prodigia. ———— *Lucan.*

‡‡ On the tenth day after the death of King Edward.

§§ And finally, to declare war against him, if he would not agree upon his terms.

*** Ut nemo docet fraudis & scelerum vias,
Regnum docebit. ———— *Senec. Othyeft.*

First, in France, which he alledged was afterwards confirmed by Edward in England, and by the Archbishop of Canterbury, Earl Goodwin, and Earl Siwarde.

Now,

Now, there wanted not precedents*, both ancient and of later times, that free kingdoms, and principalities, not settled by custom in succession of blood, have been transported, even to strangers, by way of gift. Attalus, king of Pergamus, did constitute the people of Rome his heir; by force whereof they made his kingdom a part of their empire. Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, made the people of Rome likewise his heir†; whereupon his kingdom was reduced to the form of a province. So Alexander, king of Egypt‡, gave Alexandria and the kingdom of Egypt; and so Ptolemy gave the kingdom of Cyrene to the same people of Rome§. Prasutagus, one of the kings of Great Britain, gave the kingdom of the Iceni to Cæsar Nero, and to his daughters§. Yea, in the imperial state of Rome, Augustus designed Tiberius to be his successor; and, by like appointment, Nero became successor to Claudius; Trajan to Nerva; Antoninus Pius to Adrian; and Antoninus the Philosopher to another Antoninus. When the emperor Galba did openly appoint Piso for his successor, he declared** to the people, that the same custom had been observed by most approved and ancient princes. Jugurtha, being adopted by Micipsa, succeeded him in the kingdom of Numidia; and that by the judgment, as well of Micipsa himself, as of the senate and people of Rome††.

The holy ‡‡ histories report, that Solomon gave twenty cities to Hiram, king of Tyre; and, if the argument be good from the part to the whole, he might in like sort have disposed of all his kingdom. Who hath not heard of the donation falsely attributed to Constantine the Great, being in truth the donation of Lewis, surnamed the Pious; whereby he gave to Pope Paschal the city of Rome, and a large territory adjoining unto it; the instrument of which gift Volaterrane doth recite|||. So the Lady Matilda, daughter to Roger the most famous prince of Sicily, and wife to King Conrade, son to Henry the Fourth, emperor, gave the marquisate of Apulia to the bishop of Rome §§; which when the Emperor Otho the Fourth refused to deliver, he was for that cause excommunicated by the pope. In like sort the country of Dauphine was given by Prince Umberto to the king of France, upon condition that the eldest son of France should afterward be called Dauphin***. Lastly, the duke's first ancestor, Rollo, received the dukedom of Normandy, by donation of Charles king of France: and himself held the county of Maine by donation of Earl Herbert, as before it is shewed. And, by donation of the king of Britain. Hengist obtained Kent, the first kingdom of the English Saxons in Britain. After which time, the country was never long time free from invasion: first, by the

English and Saxons against the Britons, afterwards by the seven Saxon kingdoms among themselves, and then lastly by the Danes. By means whereof the kingdom at that time could not be settled in any certain form of succession by blood, as it hath been since; but was held for the most part in absolute dominion, and did often pass by transaction or gift; and he, whose sword could cut best, was always adjudged to have most right.

Touching his propinquity in blood to King Edward by the mother's side, he enforced it to be a good title; because King Edward not long before had taken succession from Hardicanutus, to whom he was brother by the mother's side. And, although King Edward was also descended from the Saxon kings, yet could not he derive from them any right; for that Edgar and his sisters were then alive, descended from Edmund Ironsides, elder brother to King Edward. He could have no true right of succession, but only from Hardicanutus the Dane. So Pepin, when he was possessed of the state of France, did openly publish, that he was descended of the blood of Charles the Great, by the mother's side. And albeit the said Edgar was both nearer to King Edward than the duke of Normandy, and also joined to him in blood by the father's side; yet was that no sufficient defence for Harold. The usurped possession of Harold could not be defended, by alledging a better title of a third person †††. The injury, which he did to Edgar, could not serve him for a title against any other.

These grounds of his pretence, beautified with large amplifications of the benefits which he had done to King Edward, he imparted to the bishop of Rome; who at that time was reputed the arbitrator of controversies which did rise between princes. And the rather to procure his favour, and to gain the countenance of religion to his cause, he promised to hold the kingdom of England of the apostolick see. Hereupon Alenander, the bishop of Rome, allowed his title, and sent unto him a white hallowed banner, to advance upon the prow of his ship; also an *Agnus Dei* of gold, and one of St. Peter's hairs, together with his blessing to begin the enterprise; cursing all those that should oppose against it.

But now concerning his further proceedings, concerning his victorious both entrance and continuance within the realm of England, two points are worthy to be considered; one, how he, being a man of no great either power or dominion, did so suddenly prevail against a courageous king, possessed of a large and puissant state? The other is, how he so secured his victory, as not the English, not the Britons, not the Danes, not any other could dispossess, or much disturb

* Flor. lib. ii. Eutr. lib. iv. Epit. liv. lix.

† Eutrop. Epit. liv. xciii.

‡ Cic. Agrar. Orat. ii.

§ Liv. lib. lxx.

§ Tacit. lib. xiv.

** Tacit. An. xvii.

†† Salust. Bel. Jug.

†† 1 Reg. ix.

|| Geogr. 3.

§§ Trithem. cap. 22.

*** Theod. Nehem. lib. ii. cap. 25.

††† Arg. l. creditor. & l. Claudius. D. qui pot. in pign. ha. him

him and his posterity, from enjoying the fair fruits thereof. And, if we give to either of these their true respects, we shall find his commendation to consist, not so much in the first, as in the second; because that was effected chiefly by force, this by wisdom only; which, as it is most proper to man, few men do therein excel. He, that winneth a state, surmounteth only outward difficulties; but he, that assureth the same, travelleth as well against internal weakness, as external strength. To attain a kingdom is many times a gift of fortune; but to provide that it may a long time continue firm, is not only to oppose against human forces, but against the very malice of fortune, or rather the power and wrath of time, whereby all things are naturally inclinable to change.

For the first then, besides the secret working and will of God, which is the cause of all causes; besides the sins of the people, for which (the prophet saith) *kingdoms are transported from one nation to another*; King Edward, not long before, made a manifest way for this invasion and change. For, although he was English by birth, yet, by reason of his education in Normandy, he was altogether become a Norman, both in affection and in behaviour of life. So as, in imitation of him, the English abandoned the ancient usages of their country, and with great affection, or affectation rather, conformed themselves to the fashions of France*. His chief acquaintance and familiar friends were no other than Normans; towards whom, being a mild and soft-spirited prince, he was very bountiful, and almost immoderate in his favours. These he enriched with great possessions; these he honoured with the highest places, both of dignity and charge. Chiefly he advanced divers of them to the best degrees of dignity in the church, by whose favour Duke William was afterwards both animated and aided in his exploit. Generally, as the whole clergy of England conceived a hard opinion of Harold†, for that, upon the same day wherein King Edward was buried‡, he set the crown upon his own head, without religious ceremonies, without any solemnities of coronation; so they durst not, for fear of the pope's displeasure, but give either furtherance or forbearance to the duke's proceedings; and to abuse the credit which they had with the people, in working their submission to the Normans. Now, of what strength the clergy were at that time within the realm, by this which followeth it may appear.

After that Harold was slain, Edwin and Morcard, earls of Northumberland|| and Mercland, brothers of great both authority and power within the realm, had induced many of the nobility to declare Edgar Atheling to be their king; but the prelates not only

crossed that purpose, but delivered the next heir from the Saxon kings, to the pleasure of the duke.

Again, when the duke, after his great victory at Hastings, advanced his army towards Hertfordshire; Frederick, abbot of St. Alban's, had caused the woods belonging to his church to be felled, and the trees to be cast so thick in the way, that the duke was compelled to coast about to the castle of Barkhamstead. To this place the abbot under sureties came unto him; and, being demanded wherefore he alone did offer that opposition against him, with a confident countenance, he returned answer: That he had done no more than in conscience, and by nature, he was bound to do; and that, if the residue of the clergy had borne the like mind, he should never have pierced the land so far. 'Well,' answered the duke, 'I know that your clergy is powerful indeed; but, if I live and prosper in my affairs, I shall govern their greatness well enough§.' Assuredly, nothing does sooner work the conversion or subversion of a state, than that any one sort of subjects should grow so great, as to be able to over-rule all the rest.

Besides this disposition of the clergy, divers of the nobility also did nothing favour King Harold or his cause; for that he was a manifest usurper, naked of all true title to the crown, pretending only as born of the daughter of Hardicanutus the Dane. Yea, he was infamous for his injury and perjury towards the duke, and no less hateful for his disloyalty in former times, in bearing arms with his father against king Edward. Hereupon the nobility of the realm were broken into factions**; many (of whom his own brother Tosto was chief) invited Harold king of Norway to invade; with whom, whilst Harold of England was encountering in arms, the residue drew in Duke William out of Normandy. And these also were divided in respects. Some were carried by particular ends, as being prepared in divers manners by the Norman before-hand; others upon a greedy, and for the most part deceivable, ambition, in hunting after hazard and change; others were led with love to their country, partly to avoid the tempest which they saw to gather in clouds against them, and partly to enlarge the realm, both in dominion and strength, by adjoining the country of Normandy unto it. In which regard, because the less doth always accrue to the greater, they thought it more advantageous to deal with a prince of an inferior state, than with a prince of a state superior or equal.

As for Edgar Atheling, the next successor to the crown in right of blood, he was not of sufficient age; of a simple wit, and slow courage; not gracious to the English, as well for his imperfections, both in years and nature, as for that he was altogether unac-

* *Moribus antiquis res stat Romana virisque. Æneid.*

† The bishops, to a man, were all for him.

‡ Which was the day after his death.

|| Or rather of Chester.

§ Consequently the king soon after deprives the abbey of St.

Alban's of all the lands and revenues which it then possessed between Barnet and London-Stone.

** Few being willing to become subjects to one, who for a long time had been their equal; so, as Tacitus observes, '*Stimulat non raro priati odii. pertinacia in publicum exitum.*' i. Hist.

quainted with the customs and conditions of their country; unfurnished of forces and reputation, unfurnished of friends, unfurnished of all means to support his title. So Duke William, having better right than the one*, and more power than the other†, did easily carry the prize from both‡.

Now touching the state of his own strength, albeit Normandy was but little in regard of England, yet was it neither feeble nor poor. For the people, by reason of their continual exercise in arms, by reason of the weighty wars which they had managed, were well enabled, both with courage and skill, for all military achievements. Their valour also had been so favoured by their fortune, that they were more enriched by spoil, than drawn down, either with losses, or with charge. Hereupon, when preparation was to be made, for the enterprise of England, although some dissuaded the duke from embracing the attempt, affirming, that it was a vain thing to strain at that which the hand is not able to contain, to take more meat than the stomach can bear; that he, who catches at matters too great, is in danger to gripe nothing: yet others did not only encourage him by advice, but enable him by their aid. Among which, William Fitz-Auber did furnish forty ships with men and ammunition; the bishop of Bajaux likewise forty; the bishop of Mans thirty; and in like sort others, according to the proportion of their estates.

And yet he drew not his forces only out of Normandy, but received aid from all parts of France, answerable not only to his necessity, but almost to his desire. Philip, king of France, at that time was under age, and Baldwin, earl of Flanders, was governor of the realm; whose daughter the duke had taken to wife. By his favour, the duke received large supplies from the state of France, both in treasure, and in men of war; for countenance whereof, it was given forth, that the duke should hold the realm of England, as he did the duchy of Normandy, under homage to the crown of France. Hereupon, divers princes of France did adjoin to his aid; and especially the duke of Orleans, the earls of Brittany, Anjou, Boulogne, Ponthieu, Nevers, Poictou, Hiefmes, Aumale, and the lord of Tours. Many other of the nobility and gentlemen did voluntarily adventure both their bodies, and whole estates, upon the event of this enterprise. So greatly had he either by courtesy won the love, or by courage erected the hopes of all men, yea, of many who had been his greatest enemies. With these also the emperor, Henry the Fourth, sent him certain troops of soldiers, commanded by a prince of Almaine. He received also many promises of favour from Swain, king of Denmark; and, who can assure (for the sequel maketh

the conjecture probable) that he held not intelligence with Harold Harfager, king of Norway, to invade England with two armies at once? So, partly by his own subjects, and partly by supply from his allies and friends, he amassed a strong army, consisting chiefly of Normans, Flemings, French, and Bretaggers, to the number of fifty thousand men, and brought them to St. Valery's, before which town his ships did ride. Here he staid a certain time, attending the wind, as most writers do report; but rather, as it may be conjectured, to wait the arrival of Harold Harfager§, king of Norway; knowing right well, that the invasion of Harold of Norway, upon the north parts of the realm, would draw away Harold of England to leave the coasts towards the south undefended.

During his abode at St. Valery's, certain English spies were taken, whom King Harold had sent to discover both the purposes and power of the duke. When they were brought to his presence, with a brave confidence he said unto them:

"Your lord might well have spared this charge; he needed not to have cast away his cost to understand that by your industry and faith, which my own presence shall manifest unto him, more certainly, more shortly, than he doth expect. Go your ways, go tell him from me, If he find me not, before the end of this year, in the place, where he supposeth that he may most safely set his foot, let him never fear danger from me, whilst he live."

Many Normans disliked this open dealing of the duke, preferring to his judgment the valour and experience of King Harold, the greatness of his treasure, the number and goodness of his men, but especially his *strong navy* and *expert sailors*, accustomed both to the fights, and dangers of the sea, more than any other people in the world§. To these the duke turned, and said:

"I am glad to hear this opinion run, both of his prowess, and of his power; the greater shall our glory be in prevailing against him: but I see right well, that I have small cause to fear his discovery of our strength, when you, who are so near unto me, discern so little. Rest yourselves upon the justice of your cause, and foresight of your commander**. Who hath less than he who can justly term nothing his own? I know more of his weakness, than ever he shall know of my strength, until he feel it. Perform you your parts like men††, and he shall never be able to disappoint either my assurance, or your hopes."

renowned over all the world, and claimed justly the dominion of the seas; which yet it is able to maintain against all nations.

** Fieri quid debeat, cum multis tracta: quid facturum sis, cum paucissimis, vel potius ipse tecum. *Veget. lib. iii.*

†† Parendo potius, quod imperia ducum sciscitando res militaris continetur. *Tacit. i. Hist.*

* Harold.

† Edgar Atheling.

‡ In summa fortuna id æquius quod validius. *Tacit. xv. Annal.*

§ Which, by interpretation, is *Fair Locks*.

§ So early, you may observe, was the *naval power* of England

Now Harold, king of England, had prepared a fleet to resist the invasion of the duke of Normandy; but, by reason of his long stay at St. Valery's, speeches did spread, whether by error, or subornation, yea, assured advertisement was sent out of Flanders*, that he had, for that year, abandoned his enterprise. In the mean time, Harold Harfager, king of Norway, than whom no man was esteemed more valiant, having assured both intelligence and aid out of England, arrived in the mouth of the Humber†; and from thence, drawing up against the stream of the river Owse, he landed his forces at a place called Richball, where he marshalled his army, and marched forth into the country. When he came near unto York, he was encountered by the English, led by Edwin and Morchard, the principal commanders of all those quarters‡. The fight was furious; but, in the end, the English were overthrown, and, with a great slaughter, chased into York.

Upon advertisement hereof, Harold, king of England, carried all his forces against Harfager: his readiness was such, and such his expedition, that, the fifth day after the fight before-mentioned, he gave him battle again||; wherein Harold Harfager was slain, and so was Tosto, the king of England's brother; Tosto, by an uncertain enemy, but Harfager by the hand of Harold of England. Their army also was routed, and, with a bloody execution, pursued, so long as day and fury did last. Here a certain soldier of Norway was most famous, almost for a miracle of manhood: he had been appointed, with certain others, to guard the passage at Stamford-Bridge. The residue, upon approach of the English, forsook their charge; but he alone stepped to the foot of the bridge, and, with his battle-ax, sustained the shock of the whole army, slew above forty assailants, and defended both the passage and himself, until an English soldier went under the bridge, and, through a hole thereof, thrust him into the body with a lance.

If this victory of King Harold had been as wisely used, as it was valiantly won, he should have neglected the spoil, and returned with the like celerity, wherewith he came. But he gave discontentment to his soldiers, in abridging their expectation for free sharing the spoil; and, having lost many in that conflict, he retired to York, and there staid, as well to reform the state of the country, greatly disordered by means of these wars, as also both to refresh and repair his army.

In the mean time, the duke of Normandy, receiving intelligence that the sea-coasts were left naked of defence, loosed from St. Valery's with three hundred, or, as some writers report, eight hundred and ninety-six, or, as one Norman writer affirms, with more than one thousand sail; and, having a gentle gale, arrived at Pemsey in Suffex, upon the twenty-

eighth of September. The ship, wherein the duke was carried, is said (as if it had run for the garland of victory) to have outstripped the rest so far, that the sailors were forced to strike sail, and hull before the wind to have their company. When he first stepped upon the shore, one of his feet slipped a little. The duke, to recover himself, stepped more strongly with the other foot, and sunk into the sand somewhat deep. One of his soldiers, espying this, said merrily unto him: "You had almost fallen, my lord; but you have well maintained your standing," and have now taken deep and firm footing in the "foil of England: the presage is good, and here-upon I salute you king." The duke laughed; and the soldiers, with whom superstition doth strongly work, were much confirmed in courage by the jest.

When he had landed his forces, he fortified a piece of ground with strong trenches, and discharged all his ships, leaving his soldiers no hope to save themselves, but only by victory. After this, he published the causes of his coming in arms, namely:

1. To challenge the kingdom of England, given to him by his cousin, King Edward, the last lawful possessor at that time thereof.
2. To revenge the death of his cousin Alfred, brother to the same King Edward, and of the Normans, who did accompany him into England, no less cruelly than deceitfully slain by Earl Goodwin, and his adherents.
3. To revenge the injury done unto Robert, archbishop of Canterbury; who, by the practice (as it was then given forth) of Harold, had been exiled, in the life-time of King Edward.

This last article was added, either to please the pope, or generally in favour of the clergy; to whom the example grew then intolerable, that an archbishop should be once questioned by any other, than by themselves.

So the duke, leaving his fortification furnished with competent forces to assure the place, as well for a retreat, as for daily landing of fresh supplies, marched forward to Hastings, and there raised another fortress, and planted likewise a garrison therein. And, in all places, he restrained his soldiers either from spoiling, or harming the country-people, for fear that, thereby, they would fall into § disorder; but giving forth, that it were cruelty to spoil them, who in a short time should be his subjects. Here the duke, because he would not either adventure, or trust his soldiers, went forth in person to discover the country, with fifteen horsemen in his company, and no more. His return was on foot, by reason of the evil-qualified ways; and, when Fitz-Osborne,

* From earl Baldwin.

† With three hundred sail. Here also he was joined by Tosto, earl of Northumberland and brother to Harold; who, having been banished by Edward, had attached himself to the interest of William, duke of Normandy.

‡ The field of battle is yet shewn to travellers by the citizens of York.

|| Which continued from morning until noon, with equal courage and fortune on both sides.

§ Fury, or despair.

who went with him, was over-wearied with the weight of his armour, the duke eased him*, by bearing his helmet upon his shoulder. This action may seem of slender regard, but yet did gain him both favour and duty among his soldiers.

King Harold, hearing of these approaches, hastened by great journeys towards London, sending his messengers to all places, both to encourage and intreat the people to draw together for their common defence. Here he mustered his soldiers; and, albeit he found that his forces were much impaired by his late battle against Harfager, yet he gathered an able army, countenanced and commanded by divers of the nobility, which resorted unto him from many parts of the realm. The duke, in the mean time, sent a messenger unto him, who demanded the kingdom in so stout a manner, that he was at the point to have been evil-intreated by the king. Again, the king sent his messenger to the duke, forbidding him, with lofty language, to make any stay within that country, but to return again no less speedily, than rashly he had entered. The duke, between mirth and scorn, returned answer, "That, as he came not upon his treaty, so at his command he would not depart. But (said he) I am not come to word with your king, I am come to fight, and am desirous to fight: I will be ready to fight with him, albeit I had but ten thousand such men, as I have brought sixty thousand."

King Harold spent little time, lost none (unless haply that which he might have taken more) both in appointing and ordering his army. And, when he was ready to take the field, his mother intreated him first moderately, then with words of passion, and with tears, that he would not adventure his person to the battle. Her importunity was admired the more, for that it was both without any apparent cause, and not usual in former times. But Harold, with undaunted countenance and heart, conducted his army into Suffex, and incamped within seven miles of the Normans; who thereupon approached so near to the English, that the one army was within view of the other.

First, spies were sent on both sides, to discover the state and condition of their enemies. They, who were sent from the English, made a large report, both of the number, and appointment, and discipline of the Normans. Whereupon Girth, younger brother to King Harold, presented him with advice, not to play his whole state at a cast; not to be so carried with desire of victory, as not to wait the time to attain it; that it is proper to invaders presently to fight, because they are then in the very pride and flourish of their strength; but the assailed should rather delay battle, rather observe only and attend their enemies, cut off

their relief, vex them with incommodities, weary them, and wear them out by degrees†: that it could not be long before the duke's army, being in a strange country, would be reduced to necessities; it could not be long but, by reason it consisted of divers nations, it would draw into disorder; that it was proper to an army, compounded of different people, to be almost invincible at the first, whilst all contend to excel, or, at least, to equal others in brave performance; but, if they be advisedly endured, they will easily fall into disorders, and lastly of themselves dissolve. 'Or if,' said he, 'you resolve to fight, yet, because you are sworn to the duke‡, you shall do well to withdraw your presence, to employ your authority in mustering a new army, to be ready to receive him with fresh forces. And, if you please to commit the charge of this encounter unto me, I will not fail to express both the love of a brother, and the care and courage of a commander. For, as I am not obliged to the duke by oath, so shall I either prevail with the better cause, or with the quieter conscience die.'

Both these counsels were rejected by Harold: the first out of a violent vehemency of these Northern nations, who do commonly esteem delay of battle a dejected cowardice, a base and servile deflowering of time, but to bear through their designs, at once, they account a point of honourable courage§. The second he esteemed both shameful to his reputation, and hurtful to the state of his affairs. For, what honour had he gained by his former victories, if, when he came to the greatest pinch of danger, he should fearfully shrink back? With what heart should the soldiers fight, when they have not his presence for whom they fight; when they have not their general an eye-witness of their performance; when they want his fight, his encouragement, his example to enflame them to valour? The presence of the prince is worth many thousands of ordinary soldiers: the ordinary soldier will undertake both labour and danger for no other respects so much, as by the presence of the prince. And therefore he did greatly extenuate the worth of the Normans, terming them a company of priests; because their fashion was to shave their faces: but whatsoever they were, as he had (he said) digested in his mind the hardest events of battle; so either the infamy or suspicion of cowardice in no case he would incur. He resolved not to overlive so great dishonour; he resolved to set up, as his last rest, his crown, and kingdom; and life withal. And thus oftentimes fortune dealeth with men, as executioners do with condemned persons; she will first blindfold, and then dispatch them**.

After this, the Norman sent a monk to offer the choice of these conditions to Harold; either to relinquish his kingdom upon certain conditions; or to

* ——— Monstrat tolerare labores,

Non jubet, ——— Lucan. lib. ix.

† Multa bella, impetu valida, per tædia & moras evanescere. Tacit. ii. Hist.

‡ This refers to the oath Harold had taken to the Duke of Normandy in King Edward's life-time.

§ Barbaris cunctatio servilis, statim exequi regium videtur. Tacit. vi. Annal.

§ Si status imperii in discrimine vertatur, debet in acie stare. Minora bella, minoribus ducibus, deleganda. Tacit. iv. Hist.

** Occæcat animos fortuna, ubi vim suam ingruentem frangi non vult. Liv. lib. v.

hold it under homage to the duke; or to try their cause by single combat; or to submit it to the judgment of the pope, according to the laws of Normandy or of England, which he would. Again, some conditions were propounded from King Harold to the duke: but their thoughts were so lifted up, both with pride and confidence, by reason of their former victories, that no moderate overture could take place; and so they appointed the day following, which was the fourteenth of October, to determine their quarrel by sentence of the sword. This happened to be the birth-day of King Harold, which, for that cause, by a superstitious error, he conjectured would be prosperous unto him.

The night before the battle for divers respects was unquiet. The English spent the time in feasting and drinking, and made the air ring with shoutings and songs; the Normans were more soberly silent, and busied themselves much in devotion*; being rather still than quiet, not so much watchful as not able to sleep. At the first appearance of the day, the king and the duke were ready in arms, encouraging their soldiers, and ordering them, in their arrays; in whose eyes it seemed that courage did sparkle, and that in their face and gesture victory did dance. The duke put certain relicks about his neck, upon which King Harold had sworn unto him. It is reported that, when he armed, the back of his curasses was placed before, by the error of him that put it on; some would have been dismayed hereat, but the duke smiled and said, Assuredly this day my fortune will turn, I shall either be a king, or nothing, before night.

The English were knit in one main body on foot; whereof the first ranks consisted of Kentishmen (who by an ancient custom did challenge the honour of that place) the next were filled with Londoners; then followed the other English. Their chief weapons were pole-ax, sword, and dart, with a large target for their defence. They were paled in front with pavises in such wise, that it was thought impossible for the enemy to break them. The king stood on foot by his standard, with two of his brothers, Girth and Leofwine; as well to relieve from thence all parts that should happen to be distressed, as also to manifest to the soldiers, that they retained no thought of escaping by flight. On the other side, the Normans were divided into three battles: the first was conducted by Roger Montgomery, and William Fitz-Osborne; it consisted of horsemen of Anjou, Maine, and Bretagne, commanded by a Bretagner, named Fergent; it carried the banner, which the pope had sent. The middle battle, consisting of soldiers out of Germany and

Poictou, was led by Jeffery Martell, and a prince of Almaine. The duke himself closed the last battle, with the strength of his Normans, and the flower of his nobility†. The archers were divided into wings, and also dispersed by bands through all the three battles.

Thus were both sides set upon a bloody bargain; ambition, hope, anger, hate, inflaming them to valour. The duke edged his soldiers, by declaring unto them the noble acts of their ancestors‡, the late admirable achievement of their fellow Normans, in subduing the kingdom of Sicily; their own brave exploits under him; by shewing them all that pleasant and plentiful country, as the purchase of their prowess, as the gain and reward of their adventure||; by putting them in mind, that they were in a country both hostile and unknown, before them the sword, the vast ocean behind, no place of retreat, no surety, but in valour and in victory; so that they, who would not contend for glory, were upon necessity to fight for their lives: lastly, by assuring them, that, as he was the first in advice, so would he be the foremost in adventure, being fully resolved either to vanquish, or to die. The king§ encouraged his men, by presenting to their remembrance the miseries which they sustained, not long before, under the oppression of the Danes**; which whether they were again to endure, or never to fear, it lieth (said he) in the issue of this field. The king had the advantage both for number of men, and for their large able bodies. The duke both in arms, especially in regard of the bow and arrows, and in experience and skill of arms; both equal in courage; both confident alike in the favour of fortune, which had always crowned their courage with victory. And,

Now, by fronting of both the armies, the plots and labours of many months were reduced to the hazard of a few hours. The Normans marched with a song of the valiant acts of Rowland, esteeming nothing of peril, in regard to the glory of their adventure. When they approached near their enemies††, they saluted them first with a storm of arrows: Robert Fitz-Beaumont, a young gentleman of Normandy, beginning the fight from the right wing. This manner of fight, as it was new, so was it most terrible to the English, and they were least provided to avoid it. First, they opened their ranks, to make way for the arrows to fall; but, when that avoidance did nothing avail, they closed again, and covered themselves with their targets, joined together in manner of a pent-house; encouraging one another, to haste forward, to leap lustily to hand-strokes, and to scour their swords in the intrails

* Fortissimus in ipso discrimine exercitus, qui ante discrimen modestissimus. Tacit. i. Hist.

† Ad victoriam plurimum confert, ut-lecissimos de peditibus & equitibus habeat dux post aciem in subsidiis præparatos. Veget. iii. cap. 17.

‡ The Norwegians and Danes, as well in England, as in France.

|| Eo impenditur labor & periculum, unde emolumentum & honos speretur. Liv. iv.

§ Harold.

** Viz. The spoil and ruin of their flourishing land and common government; the rifling of their private estates; the abusing of their wives and daughters; the destruction, or, what is worse, the oppression and slavery of all sorts of people.

†† One named Taillefer advanced forward at the head of the army, and challenged any one of the English to a single combat, which being accepted, he slew the first and second; but was himself slain by the third assailant: upon which the Normans began the attack.

of their enemies. Then the duke commanded his horsemen to charge; but the English received them upon the points of their weapons, with so lively courage, in so firm and stiff order, that the overthrow of many of the foremost did teach their followers to adventure themselves with better advice. Hereupon they shifted into wings, and made way for the footmen to come forward. Then did both armies join in a horrible shock, with pole-axes, and the prince of weapons, the sword: maintaining the fight with so manlike fury, as if it had been a battle of giants, rather than of men. And so they continued the greatest part of that day, in close and furious fight; blow for blow, wound for wound, death for death; their feet steady, their hands diligent, their eyes watchful, their hearts resolute; neither their advisement dazzled by fierceness, nor their fierceness any thing abated by advisement.

In the mean time the horsemen gave many sharp charges, but were always beaten back with disadvantage. The greatest annoyance came from the archers, whose shot showered among the English so thick, that they seemed to have the enemy in the midst of their army. Their armour was not sufficiently either compleat or of proof to defend them, but every hand, every finger's breadth, unarmed, was almost an assured place for a deep, and many times a deadly wound. Thus, whilst the front was maintained in good condition, many thousands were beaten down behind, whose death was not so grievous unto them, as the manner of their death, in the midst of their friends, without an enemy at hand, upon whom they might shew some valour, and work some revenge.

This manner of fight would soon have determined as well the hopes as the fears of both sides, had not the targets of the English been very serviceable unto them; had not K. Harold also, with a lively and constant resolution, performed the part not only of a skilful commander, by directing, encouraging, providing, relieving, but of a valiant soldier, by using his weapon, to the example of his soldiers. In places of greatest danger he was always present, repairing the decays, reforming the disorders, and encouraging his company, that in doing as men, whether they prevailed, or whether they perished, their labour was always gloriously employed. So they knit strongly together, and stood in close and thick array, as if they had been but one body; not only bearing the brunt of their enemies, but making such an impression upon their squadron that the great body began to shake. The duke adventured in person so far, moved no less by his natural magnanimity, than by glory of the enterprise, that, besides his often alighting to fight on foot, two, or (as some report) three horses were slain under him. And having a body both able by nature, and by use, hardened to endure travail, he exacted the greater service of his soldiers, commending the forward, blaming the slow, and crying out (according to

his nature) with vehement gesture and voice unto all, that it was a shame for them, who had been victorious against all men with whom they dealt, to be so long held by the English in delay of victory. So partly by his authority, and partly by his example, he retained his soldiers, and imposed upon them the fairest necessity of courage; whilst every man contended to win a good opinion of their prince.

Then the fight entered into a new fit of heat; nothing less feared than death, the greatness of danger making both sides the more resolute; and they, who could not approach to strike with the hand, were heard to encourage their fellows by speech, to pursue the victory, to pursue their glory, not to turn to their own both destruction and disgrace. The clashing of armour, the jostling of bodies, the resounding of blows, was the fairest part of this bloody medley; but the gristliness of wounds, the hideous falls and groans of the dying, all the field defiled with dust, blood, broken armour, mangled bodies, represented terror in her foulest form. Never was fury better governed; never game of death better played. The more they fought, the better they fought; the more they smarted, the less they regarded smart.

At the last, when the duke perceived that the English could not be broken by strength of arm, he gave direction that his men should retire and give ground; not loosely, not disorderly, as in a fearful and confused haste, but advisedly and for advantage; keeping the front of their squadron firm and close, without disbanding one foot in array. Nothing was more hurtful to the English, being of a frank and noble spirit, than that their violent inclination carried them too fast into hope of victory. For, feeling their enemies to yield under their hand, they did rashly follow those who were not hasty to fly; and in the heat of their pursuit, upon a false conceit of victory, loosed and disordered their ranks, thinking then of nothing but of executing the chase. The Normans espying the advantage to be ripe, made a stiff stand, redoubled upon the English, and, pressing on with a fury equal to their favourable fortune, with a cruel butchery broke into them. This error could not possibly be repaired*. But it is scarce credible with what strength both of courage and hand the English, even in despite of death, sustained themselves in this disorder; drawing into small squadrons, and beating down their enemies on every hand, being resolved to sell their lives with their place.

But a mischief is no mischief, if it comes alone. Besides this disadvantage of disarray, the shot of the Normans did continually beat upon the English, with a grievous execution. Among others, King Harold, about the closing of the evening, as he was busy in sustaining his army, both with voice and hand, was struck with an arrow through the left eye into his brains, of which wound he presently died. His two brothers, Girth and Leofwine, were also slain, and

* Οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν πολέμῳ δις ἀμαρτανεῖν. Non licet in bello bis peccare. Plut. in Apoph.

also most of the nobility that were present; so long as the king stood, they stood stoutly, both with him and for him, and by him; his directions supported them, his brave behaviour breathed fresh boldness and life into them. But his death was a deadly stab to their courage; upon report of his death, they began to waver in resolution, whether to trust to the force of their arms, or to commend their safety to their good footmanship. In this uncertainty many were slain; many retired in reasonable order to a rising ground, whither they were closely followed by the Normans; but the English, having gotten the advantage of the place, and drawing courage out of despair, with a bloody charge did drive them down. Count Eustachius, supposing fresh forces to be arrived, fled away with fifty soldiers in his company, and, meeting with the duke, rounded him secretly in his ear, that if he went any further, he was undone. Whilst he was thus speaking, he was struck between the shoulder with so violent a blow, that he fell down as dead, and voided much blood at his nose and mouth. In this conflict many of the noblest Normans were slain, which moved the duke to make a strong ordered stand, giving liberty, thereby, for those English to retire. Others fled through a watery channel, the passages whereof were well known unto them; and, when the Normans did more sharply than advisedly pursue, the place being shadowed partly with sedges and reeds, and partly with the night, they were either stifled in the waters, or easily destroyed by the English, and that in so great numbers, that the place was filled up with dead bodies. The residue scattered in smaller companies, and had their flight favoured by increasing darkness; the enemy not adventuring to follow, both in a strange country, and in the night. Earl Edwin and Earl Morchard, brothers of approved both courage and faith, did great service at that time, in collecting these dispersed troops, and leading them in some fashion to London.

Duke William, surprized with joy, gave publick charge for a solemn thanksgiving to God. Then he erected his pavilion in the midst of the field, among the thickest of those bodies whom death had made to lie quietly together. There he passed the residue of that night; and the next morning mustered his soldiers, buried those that were slain, and gave liberty to the English to do the like. The body of King Harold could not be known by his face, it was so deformed by death, and by his wound; by his armour and by certain marks upon his body it was known. As it lay upon the ground, a Norman soldier did strike it into the leg with his sword; for which unmanly action he was called by the duke with open disgrace. It was carried into the duke's pavilion, and there kept under the custody of William Mallet. And, when his mother made suit for it to be buried, the duke denied it at first, affirming, that burial was not fit for him, whose ambition was the cause of so many fune-

erals. The mother, besides her lamentations and tears, offered for it (as one Norman writer affirms) the weight thereof in gold; but the duke, with a manly compassion, gave it freely, as holding it dishonourable both to value the body of a king, and make sale of a slain enemy. So his body was buried by his mother, at Waltham-crofs, within the monastery which he had founded. Verily there was nothing to be blamed in him, but that his courage could not stoop to be lower than a king.

I have been the longer in describing this battle, for that I esteem it the most memorable and best executed that ever was fought within this land; as well for skilful direction, as for courageous performance, and also for the greatness of the event. The fight continued with very great both constancy and courage, and variety of fortune, from seven of the clock in the morning until night. Of the Normans were slain six thousand and more, besides those that were drowned and beaten down in the water. The slaughter of the English is uncertainly reported, but certainly it was far greater than that of the Normans. Certain also that their death was most honourable and fair, not any one basely abandoning the field; not any one yielding to be taken prisoner. And yet one circumstance more I hold fit to be observed, that this victory was gotten only by the means of the blow of an arrow*; the use whereof was by the Normans first brought into this land. Afterwards the English, being trained to that fight, did thereby chiefly maintain themselves with honourable advantage, against all nations with whom they did contend in arms, being generally reputed the best shot in the world.

But of late years it hath been altogether laid aside, and instead thereof the harquebuz and calliver are brought into use; yet not without contradiction of many expert men of arms; who, albeit they do not reject the use of these small pieces, yet do they prefer the bow before them. First, For that, in a reasonable distance, it is of greater both certainty and force. Secondly, For that it dischargeth faster. Thirdly, For that more men may discharge therewith at once; for only the first rank dischargeth the piece, neither hurt they any but those that are in front; but with the bow ten or twelve ranks may discharge together, and will annoy so many ranks of the enemies. Lastly, For that the arrow doth strike more parts of the body; for in that it hurteth by descent (and not only point-blank like the bullet) there is no part of the body but it may strike; from the crown of the head even to the nailing of the foot to the ground. Hereupon it followeth, that the arrows falling so thick as hail upon the bodies of men, as less fearful of their flesh, so more slenderly armed than in former times, must necessarily work most dangerous effects.

Besides these general respects, in many particular services and times, the use of the bow is of greatest advantage. If some defence lie before the enemy,

* *At.* By the means of the bow and arrow, which the English were strangers unto; or else this expression refers to the wound given by an arrow, of which King Harold died.

the arrow may strike where the bullet cannot. Foul weather may much hinder the discharge of the piece, but it is no great impediment to the shot of the bow. A horse, struck with a bullet, if the wound be not mortal, may perform good service; but, if an arrow be fastened in his flesh, the continual stirring thereof, occasioned by the motion of himself, will force him to cast off all command, and either bear down or disorder those that are near.

But the crack of the piece (some men say) doth strike a terror into the enemy. True, if they be such as never heard the like noise before. But a little use will extinguish these terrors. To men, yea to beasts acquainted with these cracks, they work a weak impression of fear. And if it be true, which all men of action do hold, that the eye in all battles is first overcome*, then, against men equally accustomed to both, the sight of the arrow is more available to victory than the crack of the piece. Assuredly, the duke, before the battle, encouraged his men, for that they should deal with enemies, who had no shot. But I will leave this point to be determined by more discerning judgments, and haply by further experience in these affairs, and return again to my principal purpose.

The next day after the victory, the duke returned to Hastings, about seven miles from the place of the encounter, partly to refresh his army, and partly to settle in advice and order, for his further prosecution. First, He dispatched messengers to signify his success to his friends abroad. To the pope he sent King Harold's standard, which represented a man fighting, wrought curiously with gold and precious stones. Afterwards, placing a strong garrison at Hastings, he conducted his army towards London, not the direct way, but coasted about through Sussex, Surrey, Hampshire, and Berkshire; the ways where he passed being as free from resistance, as his thoughts were from change. At Wallingford he passed over the Thames, and then marched forward through Oxfordshire, Buckinghamshire, and Hertfordshire, until he came to the castle at Berkhamstead. In this passage many of his soldiers languished and died of the flux. And whether it were upon licentiousness after the late victory, or whether for want of necessary provision, or whether to strike a terror into the English, or whether to leave no danger at his back, he permitted the sword to range at large, to harrafs freely, to defile many places with ruin and blood.

In the mean time the English lords assembled at London, to advise upon their common affairs; but the variety of opinions was the chief impediment to the present service; the danger being more important than the council resolute, or the confidence assured†.

* *Primi in omnibus praeliis oculi vincuntur. Tacit. De Mor. Germ.*

† *Timet, atque eum deficere omnia videntur, qui in ipso negotio consilium capere cogitur. Cæs. Com. lib. vi.*

‡ *Al. Aldred.*

The nobility inclined to declare Edgar, grandchild to Edmund Ironsides, to be their king; and with these the Londoners wholly went. But those of the clergy were of opinion (some upon particular respects, all upon fear to displease the pope) to yield to the storm and stream of the present time, to yield to the mighty arm of God; that, their forces being prostrated, their hopes feeble and forlorn, they must be content not to be constrained; they must not provoke the victor too far; against whose forces and felicities, time gave them not power to oppose. This deliberation held so long, that all the time of action was spent. For the duke approached so near the city, that many, preferring their safety before other respects, withdrew themselves and went unto him. Hereupon the residue dissolved, and Alfred‡, archbishop of York, Wolfstane, bishop of Worcester, Wilfire, bishop of Hereford, and many other prelates of the realm went unto the duke at Berkhamstead, accompanied with Edgar, Earl Edwin, Earl Morchard, and divers others of the nobility; who gave pledges for their allegiance, and were thereupon received to subjection and favour. The duke, presently dispatched to London, was received with many declarations of joy, the lesser in heart, the fairer in appearance, and upon Christmas-day next following was crowned king||.

Now the means, whereby this victory was assured, were the very same whereby it was achieved§; even by a stiff and rigorous hand. For whosoever supposeth that a state, attained by force, can be retained by milder means, he shall find himself disappointed of his hopes. A people, newly subdued by force, will so long remain in obedience, as they find themselves not of force to resist.

And first he endeavoured either to prevent or appease all foreign wars**, especially against the Danes, who were then chiefly feared in England, as well in regard of their former victories, as for that they pretended title to the crown. And herein two things did especially favour his affairs: one, for that the Normans were in some sort allied to the Danes; being the progeny of those Norwegians and Danes, which under the conduct and fortune of Rollo invaded France, and, after many great achievements, seated in Normandy. The other was, for that, after the death of Canutus, the state of Denmark was much infeebled by division. For the Norwegians set up Magnus, the son of Olaus, for their king; but the Danes acknowledged Canutus the Third of that name; by means whereof that puissant empire did languish in consumption of itself, and could not be dangerous to any neighbour country. Yet ceased they not, for many years, to continue claim to the crown of England; but King William had purchased many sure and

|| By Aldred, archbishop of York, Stigand, archbishop of Canterbury, refusing to perform the ceremony.

§ *Imperium iis artibus facillime retinetur quibus partum est. Sal. Catil.*

** *Novis ex rebus aucti, tuta & presentia, quod vetera & periculosa malunt. Tacit. i. Ann.*

secret friends in that diseased state, wherein all publick affairs were set to sale; especially he used the authority of Adelbert, archbishop of Hamburg, either to cross all counsel of hostility against him, or else to delay, and thereby to delude the enterprize, or lastly so to manage the action, that it should not work any dangerous effect.

After the death of Swain, Canutus prepared a navy of one thousand sail for invasion of England; and was aided with six hundred more, by Robert le Frizon, whose daughter he had taken to wife. But either for want, or else by negligence, or haply of purpose, this navy continued, partly in preparation, and partly in readiness, the space of two years, and then the voyage was laid aside. The cause was attributed to contrariety of winds, but the contrariety of wills was the truest impediment. Likewise Swain had furnished against England a navy of two hundred and four sail, commanded by Earl Osborne, his brother. Another fleet of two hundred sail was set forth, under the charge of Earl Hacon; but King William so corrupted them both, that the one departed out of the realm without performing any great exploit, the other never would arrive.

Also, out of those confusions in England, Malcolm, king of Scots, did take his opportunity for action. He received into protection many English, who, either for fear or for discontentment, forsook their country; of whom many families in Scotland are descended, and namely these, Lindsey, Vaus, Ramsey, Lovell, Towbris, Sandlands, Bissart, Sowlis, Wardlow, Maxwell, and divers others. He entertained in his court Edgar Atheling, and took his sister Margaret to wife. He possessed himself of a great part of Cumberland, and of Northumberland*; wherewith the people were well content, for that he was their earl's sister's son.

Hereupon King William sent against him, first, Roger, a Norman, who was traiterously slain by his own soldiers; then Gospatrick, earl of Gloucester: these did only repress the enemy, but were not able to finish the war fully. Lastly, he went himself with a mighty army into Scotland, where he made wide waste; and, in Lothian, found King Malcolm, prepared both in force, and resolution, to entertain him with battle. The great army of King William, their fair furniture and order, their sudden coming, but especially their firm countenance and readiness to fight, much daunted the Scots: whereupon King Malcolm

sent a herald to King William, to move him to some agreement of peace. The more that the king was pleased herewith, the more he seemed unwilling and strange: the more he must be persuaded to that, which, if it had not been offered, he would have desired. At the last, a peace was concluded†, upon conditions honourable to King William, and not unreasonable for the king of Scots; whereby all the English were pardoned, who had fled into Scotland, and borne arms against their king.

As for the Welch, albeit both their courage and their power had been extremely broken in the time of King Edward, and that by the valour and industry of Harold; yet, upon advantage of these troubled times, they made some incursions into the borders of England; but in companies so disordered, and small, so secretly assaulting, so suddenly retiring, so desirous more of pillage than of blood, that they seemed more like to ordinary robbers, than to enemies in a field. Against these the king led an army into Wales, reduced the people both to subjection and quiet, made all the principal men tributary unto him, and received pledges of all, for assurance of their obedience and faith.

Whilst the king thus settled his affairs abroad, he secured himself against his subjects, not by altering their will, but by taking away their power to rebel‡. The stoutest of the nobility and gentry were spent, either by war, or by banishment, or by voluntary avoidance out of the realm. All these he stripped of their estates, and in place of them advanced his Normans; inasmuch as scarce any noble family of the English blood did bear either office or authority within the realm. And these ran headlong to servitude; the more hasty, and with the fairer shew, the more either countenanced or safe. These he did assure unto him, not only by oath of fidelity and homage, but either by pledges, or else by retaining them always by his side.

And, because at that time the clergy were the principal strings of the English strength, he permitted not any of the English nation to be advanced to the dignities of the church, but furnished them with Normans, and other strangers. And whereas, in times before, the bishop and alderman|| were absolute judges in every shire, and the bishop, in many causes, shared in forfeitures and penalties with the king; he clipped the wings of their temporal power, and confined them within the limits of their ecclesiastical jurisdiction; to maintain the canons and customs of the

* He invaded all the country as far as Tisidale, which he foraged with the places adjoining; destroyed Holderness, wasted the lands of Cuthbert and Durham, fired the church of St. Peter at Weremouth and divers others, and destroyed those that had taken sanctuary in them; and having perpetrated the greatest sacrileges and cruelties by robbing the churches, and putting the old men and young children to the sword, he returned with the most able-bodied and well-favoured both men and women to be made captives.

† *Melior certa pax, quam sperata victoria. Liv. xxx.*

‡ *Quos viceris cave amicos tibi credas. Curt. lib. vii.*

|| This title, *Alderman*, is of a Saxon extraction, and, in its first use, stood for the peers of the land, that were not princes, sons of the king, or foremost in the royal line. As for those Aldermen, or more properly, according to its original, *Earldermen*, which were ranked with bishops in the Saxon laws, as here mentioned, they were such as had counties, or other territories, under their government, and had the same power and jurisdiction as the *Earl* had afterwards, which was the same charge and care of counties, as at this time is committed to *High Sheriffs*, or, as we find it spelt in King Athelstan's Saxon laws, *High-gereves*.

church, to deal in affairs concerning the soul. He procured Stigand*, archbishop of Canterbury, Angelwine, bishop of East-Angles, and certain other bishops and abbots, to be deprived by authority from Rome†, and detained them in prison, during their lives, that strangers might enjoy their places. The matters, objected‡ against Stigand, were these:

I. "That he had intruded upon the archbishoprick, whilst Robert the archbishop was in life.

II. "That he received his pall from Benedict the Fifth, who, for buying the papacy, had been deposed.

III. "That he kept the see of Winchester in his hands, after his investiture into the see of Canterbury."

He was otherwise also infamous in life; altogether unlearned, of heavy judgment and understanding, sordidly servicable both to pleasure and sloth; in covetousness, beneath the baseness of rusticity; inasmuch as he would often swear, that he had not one penny upon the earth, and yet, by a key, which he did wear about his neck, great treasures of his were found under the ground. And this was a grief and sickness to honest minds, that such spurious and impure creatures should sustain, or rather disdain the reverence and majesty of religion.

Further, the king caused all the monasteries and abbeys to be searched, pretending, that the richer sort of the English had laid up their money in them: under colour whereof, he discovered the state of all, and bereaved many of their own treasure. Some of these religious houses he appropriated wholly to himself; of divers others he seized the liberties, which they redeemed afterward at a very high and expensive rate. Those bishopricks and abbeys which held baronies, and had been free before from secular subjection, he reduced under the charge of his service, appointing how many soldiers, and of what sort, they should furnish for him, and his successors, in the time of their wars. Those strangers, which he entertained in pay, he dispersed into religious houses, and some also among the nobility, to be maintained at their charge; whereby he not only favoured his own purse, but had them as a watch, and sometimes as a garrison over those, of whose allegiance he stood in doubt.

Now, against the inferior sort of people, knowing right well that he was generally hated, he prepared these remedies for his estate: all their armour was taken from them, they were crushed down with change

of calamity, which held them prostrate under the yoke, and brake the very heart of their courage, leaving them no hope to be relieved, no hope to rise into any degree of liberty, but by yielding intire obedience unto him. Those, who either resisted or favoured not his first entrance, he bereaved of all means afterward to offend him; holding them down, and keeping them so low, that their very impotency made him secure. All such as had their hand in any rebellion, albeit they were pardoned their lives, lost their livings, and became vassals to those lords to whom their possessions were given. And, if they attained any thing afterward, they held it only at the pleasure of their lords; that at the pleasure of their lords they might be dispoiled||.

He much condemned the judgment of Swanus the Dane, sometime king of England, who permitted those whom he had vanquished, to retain their former authority and estates; whereby it happened, that, after his death, the inhabitants were of force to expel the strangers, and to quit themselves both from their society and subjection. Hereupon many severe laws were made; divers of all sorts were put to death, banished, stripped of their wealth, disabled in their bodies by unusual variety of punishments, as, putting out the eyes, cutting off the hands, and such like: not only to diminish his fears, if they were suspected; but sometimes, if they were of wealth, to satisfy themselves with either his pleasure or wants. His cruelty made the people rebellious, and their rebellions made him the more cruel; in which case, many innocents were made the oblations of his ambitious fears. Many heavy taxations were imposed upon them; their ancient lords were removed, their ancient laws and policies of state were dashed to dust; all lay couched under the conqueror's sword, to be newly fashioned by him, as should be best fitting for his advantage.

He erected castles in divers parts of the realm, of which the tower, near London, was the chief, which afterward was increased, both in compass, and in strength, by addition of the outward walls. In these he planted garrisons of the Normans, as if it had been in a hostile country; not without oppression to the people, although they remained quiet, and sufficient to suppress them, if they should rebel. Thus he secured the realm against a general defection; as for particular stirs, they might haply molest him, but endanger him they could not. Exeter, Northumberland, and some other parts did rise against him in arms; but, being unable to maintain their revolt, their overthrow did much confirm his state.

He either imitated, or concurred with Cæsar in advice: for, as Cæsar invaded the Germans, which

never restored them, without a large sum of money; by which means he got the greatest part of the nation's wealth into his own power, and so impoverished them all, that he had nothing to fear from them: so that, when it was told him at any time, That the oppressed people *spoke evil of him*, his usual reply was, *It is well they can do me no evil.*

* Whom he ever hated, for refusing to set the English crown upon his head.

† In a provincial council held at Winchester, in the presence of two cardinals.

‡ Publicly.

|| He also seized the charters and privileges of cities, and towns corporate, and of the politick bodies throughout the land, and

kept the great forest of Ardenna, not with his own soldiers, but with his aids out of Gallia; gaining thereby victory over the one, and security from the other, without any dispence of the Roman blood; so after the king's great victory over the valiant, but too adventurous, King Harold, when many of the English fled into Ireland, and from thence with fresh, both courage, and supplies, returned into England, commanded by two of Harold's sons; he encountered them only with English forces. In the first conflict the king's party was overthrown, and the valiant leader Ednothus slain, who had been master of the horse to King Harold. In the second his enemies were so defeated, as they were never able to make head again. So, the victors being weakened, and the vanquished wasted, the king with pleasure triumphed over both. Likewise, when he was occasioned to pass the seas into Normandy, either to establish affairs of government, or to repress rebellions, which in his absence were many times raised, he drew his forces out of England, and that in a more large proportion, than the importance of the service did require. He also took with him the chief men of English blood, as well to use their advice and aid, as also to hold them and their friends from working innovation in his absence.

He inclosed the great forest near unto the sea in Hampshire, for which he dispeopled villages and towns*, about the space of thirty miles, to make a desert for beasts of chase; in which place two of his sons†, Richard and William, ended their lives; Richard, by a fall from his horse, and William, by the stroke of an arrow. The king's great delight in hunting was made the pretence of this forest; but the true end was rather, to make a free place of footing for his Normans, and other friends out of France, in case any great revolt should be made. Divers other parts of the realm were so wasted with his wars, that, for want both of husbandry and habitation, a great dearth did ensue, whereby many were forced to eat horses, dogs, cats, rats, and other loathsome and vile vermin; yea, some abstained not from the flesh of men. This famine and desolation did especially rage in the north parts of the realm; for the inhabitants beyond Humber, fearing the king's secret hate, so much the more deep and deadly, because unjust, received without resistance, and perhaps drew in the

army of the king of Swedeland, with whom Edgar Atheling, and the other English that fled into Scotland, joined their power. The Normans within York fired the suburbs, because it should not be a lodging for their enemies: but the strength of the wind carried the flame into the city, which consumed a great part thereof, with the minster of St. Peter, and therein a fair library. And herein, whilst the Normans were partly busied, and partly amazed, the enemies entered, and slew in York, in Duresme‡, and thereabout, three thousand Normans, among whom were many of eminent dignity, as well for birth, as for place of their charge. But in a short time the king came upon them, and having partly by arms, and partly by gifts, dispatched the strangers§, exercised upon the English an ancient and assured experience of war, to repress with main force a rebellion in a state newly subdued; insomuch as all the land between Duresme and York, except only the territory of Sir John of Beverlace§, lay waste for the space of nine years, without inhabitants to manure the ground.

And, because conspiracies and associations** are commonly contrived in the night, he commanded, that in all towns and villages a bell should be rung in the evening at eight of the clock; and that in every house they should then put forth their fire and lights, and go to bed. This custom of ringing a bell at that hour, in many places, is still observed.

And, for that likeness is a great cause of liking and of love, he enjoined the chief of the English, and these were soon imitated by the rest, to conform themselves to the fashions of Normandy, to which they had made themselves no strangers before. Yea, children in the school were taught their letters and principles of grammar in the Norman language. In their speech, attire, shaving of the beard, service at the table; in their buildings, and household furniture; they altogether resembled the Normans.

In the beginning of his reign, he ordained that the laws of Edward should be observed, together with those laws which he did prescribe; but afterwards he commanded, that nine men should be chosen out of every shire, to make a true report, what were the laws and customs of the realm. Of these he changed the greatest part, and brought in the customs of Normandy in their stead††; commanding also that causes

* He, in this exploit, demolished thirty-six towns.

† As also his grandson, Richard, the son of Robert, who, being in full chase, was struck in the jaws by a bough, upon which he hung, till he expired. See *Malm'sbur.* p. 111. See *Dunelm.* p. 225.

‡ *Al.* Durham.

§ *Viz.* The army of the king of Swedeland.

§ *Al.* Beverley. And this happened more through superstition, than any devotion for God, or his saints; for, one of his horsemen riding full speed into the lands belonging to Beverley, the horse fell, and broke his neck, and the man's face became so convulsed, as to turn behind him: which the king esteemed a bad omen, and so desisted from his intended violence on that place. *ib.*

** *Summum periculum est si cœtus, concilia, & secretas consultationes esse sinas. Liv. xxxiv.*

†† This I apprehend is a misinterpretation of Ingulphus, who does not say that the Conqueror changed the laws, or brought in the Norman customs in their stead; but *Ipsum etiam Idioma tantum abhorrebant (Normanni) quod Leges Terræ, Statutaque Anglicorum Regum Lingua Gallica tractarentur*, p. 71. which affirms only, that the emperor had the ancient English laws translated into French, but still they remained the laws of the land, and the statutes of the English kings. And whoever will consult Madox's History of the Exchequer, p. 123, will find good authority for what is here advanced, and that the change, mentioned by our author, was not compleatly brought about till the reign of Hen. II.

should be pleaded, and all matters of form dispatched in French. Only he permitted certain Danish laws, which before were chiefly used in Norfolk, Suffolk, and Cambridgeshire, to be generally observed; as having great affinity with his Norman customs; both being derived from one common head.

Likewise, at the great suit of William, a Norman, then bishop of London, he granted a charter of liberty to that city*, for enjoying the use of King Edward's laws†; a memorial of which benefit the citizens fixed upon the bishop's grave, being in the midst of the great west isle of St. Paul's. Further, by the council of Stigand, archbishop of Canterbury, and of Eglefine, abbot of St. Augustine's, (who at that time were the chief governors of Kent) as the king was riding towards Dover, at Swanescumb, two miles from Gravesend, the Kentish men came towards him armed, and bearing boughs in their hands, as if it had been a moving wood; they inclosed him upon the sudden, and with a firm countenance, but words well tempered with modesty and respect, they demanded of him the use of their ancient liberties and laws; that in other matters they would yield obedience unto him; that, without this, they desired not to live. The king was content to strike sail to the storm, and to give them a vain satisfaction for the present; knowing right well, that the general customs and laws of the residue of the realm, would in a short time overflow these particular places. So, pledges being given on both sides, they conducted him to Rochester, and yielded the county of Kent and the castle of Dover into his power.

In former times many farms and manors were given by bare word, without writing, only with the sword of the lord, or his head-piece; with a horn or standing goblet, and many tenements with a quill, with a horse-comb, with a bow, with an arrow; but this sincere simplicity at that time was changed. And whereas charters and deeds were before made firm by the subscription of the party, with crosses of gold, or of some other colour; then they were firmed by the parties special seal, set upon wax, under the teste of three or four witnesses.

He ordained also his council of state, his chancery, his exchequer, his courts of justice, which always removed with his court. These places he furnished with officers, and assigned four terms in the year for determining controversies among the people‡; whereas before all suits were summarily heard and determined in the *gemote*, or monthly convention in every hundred, without either formality or delay.

He caused the whole realm to be described in a censual roll, so as there was not one hide of land,

* N. B. In this first charter given by the Conqueror to London, there is no word that signifies *City*, and its inhabitants are there called *Burghers*, *Burgeses*, or *Inhabitants* of the *Borough*; and the lord-mayor is styled the *Port-Reeve*.

† Here by laws we must understand the liberties and privileges granted by King Edward to the city of London by charter.

‡ See Madox's History of the Exchequer.

§ Farms.

but both the yearly rent and the owner thereof were therein set down; how many plough-lands, what pastures, fens, or marshes; what woods, parks, farms, and tenements were in every shire; and what every one was worth. Also how many villains|| every man had, what beasts or cattle, what fees; what other goods, what rent or commodity his possessions did yield§. This book was called, *The Roll of Winton*, because it was kept in the city of Winchester. By the English it was called *Domesday-book*, either by reason of the generality thereof, or else corruptly instead of *Domus Dei Book*; for that it was laid in the church of Winchester, in a place called *Domus Dei*. According to this roll taxations were imposed; sometimes two shillings, and sometimes six shillings upon every hide of land, (a hide containing twenty acres) beside ordinary provisions for his house.

In all those lands, which he gave to any man, he reserved dominion in chief to himself; for acknowledgement whereof a yearly rent was paid unto him, and likewise a fine, whensoever the tenant did alien or die. These were bound as clients unto him, by oath of fidelity and homage; and if any died his heir, being in minority, the king received the profits of the land, and had the custody and disposing of the heir's body, until his age of one and twenty years.

It is reported of Caligula**, that when he intended to make advantage of his penaledicts, he caused them to be written in so small letters, and the tables of them to be fastened so high, that it was almost impossible for any man to read them. So the king caused part of those laws, that he established, to be written in the Norman language, which was a barbarous and broken French, not well understood of the natural French, and not at all of the vulgar English. The residue were not written at all, but left almost arbitrary, to be determined by reason and discretion at large. Hereupon it followed, partly through ignorance of the people, and partly through the malice of some officers of justice, who many times are instruments of secret and particular ends; that many were extremely intangled, many endangered, many rather made away, than justly executed.

But here it may be questioned, seeing these laws were laid upon the English, as fetters about their feet, as a ponderous yoke upon their neck, to depress and detain them in sure subjection: how it falleth out, that afterwards they became not only tolerable, but acceptable and well esteemed.

Affuredly, these laws were exceeding harsh and heavy to the English at the first: and therefore King William Rufus, and Henry the First, at such time

§ And though the counties of Durham, Lancaster, Northumberland, Westmorland, and Cumberland, were not contained in this survey; yet it appears that the remaining part of England, without Cornwall, was divided into thirty-four parishes, containing 52080 towns or villages; 45002 parish churches; 75000 knights fees, whereof 28015 were of religious order. See *Poly-cronicon*.

** Tranquil. in Calig.

as Robert their elder brother came in arms against them to challenge the crown, being desirous to win the favour of the people, did fill them with fair promises, to abrogate the laws of King William their father, and to restore to them the laws of King Edward. The like was done by King Stephen, and by King Henry the Second; whilst, both contending to draw the state to himself, they did most grievously tear it in pieces. The like by others of the first kings of the Norman race, whensoever they were willing to give contentment to the people; who desired no other reward for all their adventures and labours, for all their blood spent in the service of their kings, but to have the laws of King Edward restored. At the last, the nobility of the realm, with great dispende, both of their estates and blood, purchased a charter of liberty*. First, From King John, which was soon revoked, as violently forced from him; afterwards from King Henry the Third, which remained in force†. And thereby the sharp severity of these laws was much abated.

In that afterward they become, not only tolerable, but easy and sweet, and happily not fit to be changed; it is by force of long grounded custom, whereby those usages, which our ancestors have observed for many ages, do never seem either grievous or odious to be endured. So Nicetas writing of certain Christians, who, by long conversing with the Turks, had defiled themselves with Turkish fashions: *Custom*, saith he, *winneeth such strength by time, that it is more firm than either nature or religion*‡. Hereupon Dio. Chrysostom|| compareth customs to a king, and edicts to a tyrant; because we are subject voluntarily to the one, but upon constraint, and upon necessity, to the other. *It is manifest*, saith Agathias, *that, under whatsoever law the people hath lived, they do esteem the same most excellent and divine*§. Herodotus reporteth, that Darius the son of Hydaspes, having under his dominion certain Grecians of Asia, who accustomed to burn their dead parents and friends, and certain nations of India, who used to eat them, called the Grecians before him; and told them that it was his pleasure, that they should conform themselves to the custom of the Indians, in eating their deceased friends. But they applied all means of intreaty and persuation, that they might not be forced to such a barbarous, or rather brutish observation. Then he sent for the Indians, and moved them to conformity with the Grecians, but found

that they did far more abhor to burn their dead, than the Grecians did to eat them.

Now these severities of the king were much aggravated by the English, and esteemed not far short of cruelties. Notwithstanding he tempered it with many admirable actions both of justice and of clemency and mercy**, for which he is much extolled by the Norman writers††. He gave great privileges to many places; and the better to give the people contentment, and to hold them quiet, he oftentimes renewed the oath, which first he took at his coronation; namely, *to defend the holy church of God, the pastors thereof, and the people subject to him justly to govern, to ordain good laws, and observe true justice, and, to the utmost of his power, to withstand all rapines and false judgments*. Such of the nobility, as had been taken in rebellion, were only committed to prison, from which they were released in time; such, as yielded and submitted themselves, were freely pardoned, and oftentimes received to favour, trust, and employment‡‡.

Edric||, the first that rebelled after he was king, he held near and assured unto him. Gospatric, who had been a stirrer of great commotions, he made earl of Gloucester, and employed him against Malcolm king of Scots. Eustace earl of Boulogne, who upon occasion of the king's first absence in Normandy, attempted to surprize the castle of Dover, he embraced afterward with great shew of love and respect. Waltheof son to earl Siward, who, in defending the city of York against him, had slain many Normans, as they essayed to enter a breach, he joined in marriage to his niece Judith Edgar, who was the ground and hope of all conspiracies; who, after his first submission to the king, fled into Scotland, and maintained open hostility against him; who pretended title to the crown, as next heir to the Saxon kings; he not only received to favour, but honoured with fair entertainments. He furnished him to the war of Palestine, where he attained an honourable estimation with the emperors of Almaine §§ and of Greece. After his return he was allowed twenty shillings a day, by way of pension, and large livings in the country besides, where he mellowed to old age in pleasure and vacancy of affairs; preferring safe subjection, before ambitious rule, accompanied both with danger and disquiet.

Thus was no man more mild to a relenting and

* Which is that commonly known by the name of *Magna Charta*, and on which we to this day pretend to found our liberty and property.

† And, to make the same more effectual, this great charter raised, on this basis, is, by act of parliament in Edward the First's time, commanded to be allowed by the justices in their judgments and resolutions, as the common law of England.

‡ Nicet. pag. 19. *ὅτω χρόνῳ κρατεῖν δὲν ἔθος γένεσθαι καὶ θρασυκαίᾳ ἐστὶν ὀχυρότερον.*

|| Chryl. Orat. 76, *περὶ ἔθους. Suid. dict. ἔθος.*

§ Agath. lib. ii. *ἔνδεχον μὲν ὅτι δὴ τῶν ἀνθρωπείων ἐθνῶν ὡς ἕκαστος εἶγε ὁτοδὴν νόμον ἐν πλείεσσι νενικηκότι ἐμβολιεύσασιν, τῶτον δὲ ἀριστον ἡγνῆται καὶ θεοπίσιον.*

** *Temperatus enim timor est qui cohibet, assiduus & acer ad vindictam excitat. Sen. i. de Clem.*

†† He published the laws of Edward the Confessor, as such; and confirms them to be the laws of England, and commands them to be kept under severe penalties, himself at the same time taking an oath to keep inviolable those good and approved ancient laws of the realm, enacted and set forth by the holy and pious kings of England, his ancestors, and especially by King Edward. See the Preface by John Fortescue Aland, to Sir John Fortescue's *Treatise of Monarchy*, page 26.

‡‡ *Nihil gloriosius est principe impune læso. Senec. i. de Clem.*

||| Surnamed *Sylvaticus*, a man of great spirit and power, and had done him much harm by joining with Blethyn and Rywallon kings of Wales, who made an incursion into Herefordshire.

§§ Germany.

vanquished enemy; as far from cruelty, as he was from cowardice, the height of his spirit overlooking all casual, all doubtful and uncertain dangers. Other great offenders he punished commonly by exile or imprisonment, seldom by death*. Only among the English nobility, Waltheof earl of Northampton, Northumberland, and Huntingdon †, was put to death, for that, after twice breaking allegiance, he conspired the third time, with divers both English and Normans, to receive the Danes into England, whilst the king was absent in Normandy. And for the same conspiracy Ralph Fitz-aubert, a Norman, was also executed, who had furnished forty ships for the king in his voyage for England; for which, and for his other services in that war, he was afterward created earl of Hereford. But present injuries do always overbalance benefits that are past.

He much delighted in hunting and in feasting. For the first he inclosed many forests and parks, and filled them with deer; which he so dearly loved, that he ordained great penalties for such as should kill those or any other beasts of game. For the second he made many sumptuous feasts, especially upon the high festivals in the year. His Christmas he often kept at Gloucester, his Easter at Winchester, his Whitsontide at Westminster; and was crowned once in the year at one of these places, so long as he continued in England. To these feasts he invited all his nobility, and did then principally compose himself to courtesy, as well in familiar conversation, as in facility to grand suits, and to give pardon to such as had offended. At other times he was more majestic and severe; and employed himself both to much exercise and great moderation in diet; whereby he preserved his body in good state, both of health and strength, and was easily able to endure travel, hunger, heat, cold, and all other hardships both of labour and of want.

Many wrongs he would not see, of many smarts he would not complain; he was absolute master of himself, and thereby learned to subdue others. He was commended for chastity of body; by which his princely actions were much advanced. And albeit the beginning of his reign was pestered with such routs of outlaws and robbers, that the peaceable people could not account themselves in surety within their own doors ‡; he so well provided for execution of justice upon offenders, or rather for cutting off the causes of offence, that a young maiden, well charged with gold, might travel in any part of the realm, without any

* Principi non minus turpia multa supplicia, quam medico funera. *Senec. de Clem. i.*

† Besides it is thought that those courtiers, who envied his esteem with the king, and sought to obtain part of his great possessions, could they ruin him; and, above all, the intrigues of his wife Judith, who was niece to the king, and wanted to get another husband, contrived and chiefly effected his death.

‡ There were obliged to be placed guards between town and town.

§ Desfloured.

§ 'Οι ἀνδρείοι ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις ὀξέει, πρότερον, δὲ ἡσύχοι. Fortes, in opere acres, ante id placidi. *Arist. iii. Eth.*

offer of injury unto her. For, if any man had slain another upon any cause, he was put to death; and, if he could not be found, the hundred paid a fine to the king; sometimes twenty-eight, and sometimes thirty-six pounds, according to the largeness of the hundred in extent. If a man had oppressed || any woman, he was deprived of his privy parts. As the people by arms, so arms by laws were held in restraint.

He talked little and bragged less, a most assured performer of his word: in prosecution of his purposes constant and strong §, and yet not obstinate; but always applicable to the change of occasions; earnest, yea violent, both to resist his enemies, and to exact duties of his subjects. He neither loved much speech, nor gave credit to fair; but trusted truly to himself, to others so far as he might not be abused by credulity**.

His expedition (the spirit of actions and affairs) may hereby appear. He invaded England about the beginning of October; he subdued all resistance, he suppressed all rising rebellions, and returned into Normandy in March, following. So as, the time of the year considered, a man should hardly travel through the land in so short a time as he did win it. A greater exploit than Julius Cæsar, or any other stranger could ever achieve upon that place.

He gave many testimonies of a religious mind ††. For he did often frequent divine service in the church, he gave much alms, he held the clergy in great estimation, and highly honoured the prelates of the church. He sent many costly ornaments, many rich presents of gold and silver to the church of Rome; his *Peter* payments ‡‡ went more readily, more largely than ever before |||: to divers churches in France, after his victory, he sent crosses of gold, vessels of gold, rich palls, or other ornaments of great beauty and price. He bare such reverence to Lanfrank archbishop of Canterbury, that he seemed to stand at his directions. At the request of Wolstane bishop of Worcester, he gave over a great advantage that he made by sale of prisoners taken in Ireland. He respected Aldred archbishop of York, by whom he had been crowned king of England, as his father. At a time upon the repulse of a certain suit, the archbishop brake forth into discontent, expostulated sharply against the king, and in a humorous heat offered to depart: but the king staid him, fell down at his feet, desired pardon, and promised satisfaction in the best manner that he could. The nobility, that were present, put the archbishop in

** ——— σάφρονος δ' ἀπιστίας ὁδ' ἐστὶν ἄλλο χερσημιώτερον βροτοῖς. Sapiente diffidentia non alia res utilior est mortalibus. *Eurip.*

†† Romani non calliditate aut robore, sed pietate ac religione omnes gentes nationesq; superavere. *Cic. Orat. de Arusp. Resp.*

‡‡ See this explained in the beggar's petition to Henry the Eighth against popery.

||| But, though Lanfrank the archbishop endeavoured to persuade him to make allegiance to that see; he never could be brought to it, and said, That he neither promised so much, neither could he find that any of his ancestors did perform it.

mind,

mind, that he should cause the king to arise. Nay, (answered the archbishop) let him alone; let him still abide at St. Peter's feet*. So with much ado he was appeased, and intreated to accept his suit. And so the name of St. Peter, and of the church, hath been often used as a mantle, to cover the pride, passions, and pleasures of disordered men.

He founded and enlarged many houses of religion: he furnished ecclesiastical dignities, with men of more sufficiency and worth, than had been usual in former times. And because within his own dominions studies did not flourish and thrive, by reason of the turbulent times, by reason of the often invasions of barbarous people, whose knowledge lay chiefly in their fists; he drew out of Italy and other places many famous men, both for learning and integrity of life; to wit, Lanfrank, Anselm, Durand, Trahern, and others. These he honoured, these he advanced, to these he expressed great testimonies both of favour and regard.

And yet he preferred Odo, his brother by his mother's side, to the bishoprick of Bayonne, and afterwards created him earl of Kent: a man proud, vain, mutinous, ambitious; outrageous in oppression, cruelty, and lust; a prophaner of religion, a manifest contemner of all virtue. The king, being called by occasions into Normandy, committed unto him the government of the realm: in which place of credit and command, he furnished himself so fully with treasure, that he aspired to the papacy of Rome, upon a prediction, then cast abroad (which commonly deceive those that trust unto them) that the successor of Hildebrand was named Odo. So, filled with proud hopes, he purchased a palace and friends at Rome; he prepared for his journey, and drew many gentlemen to be of his train. But the king, returning suddenly out of Normandy, met with him in the Isle of Wight, as he was ready to take the seas. There he was arrested, and afterwards charged with infinite oppressions; also, for seducing the king's subjects to forsake the realm; and, lastly, for sacrilegious spoiling of many churches. Hereupon his treasure was seized, and he committed to prison; not as bishop of Bayonne, but as earl of Kent, and as an accomptant to the king. And so he remained about four years, even until the death of the king. His servants, some in falsehood, and some for fear, discovered such hidden heaps of his gold, as did exceed all expectation: yea, many bags of grinded gold were drawn out of rivers, wherein the bishop had caused them for a time to be buried. After this, he was called *the king's sponge*; as being preferred by him to that place of charge, wherein he might, in a long time, suck that from others, which should at once be pressed from himself. By this means, the king had the benefit of his oppression without the blame; and the people (being no deep searchers into secrets of state) were so well pleased with the present punishment, as they were thereby,

although not satisfied, yet well quieted for all their wrongs.

Towards the end of his reign, he appointed his two sons, Robert and Henry, with joint authority, governors of Normandy; the one to suppress either the insolency, or levity of the other. These went together to visit the French king, lying at Constance: where, entertaining the time with variety of disports, Henry played with Lewis, then Dauphin of France, at chess, and did win of him very much. Hereat, Lewis began to grow warm in words, and was, therein, little respected by Henry. The great impatience of the one, and the small forbearance of the other, did strike, in the end, such a heat between them, that Lewis threw the chess-men at Henry's face, and called him the son of a bastard. Henry again struck Lewis with the chess-board, drew blood with the blow, and had presently slain him upon the place, had he not been staid by his brother Robert. Hereupon they presently went to horse, and their spurs claimed so good haste, as they recovered Pontoise, albeit they were sharply pursued by the French.

It had been much for the French king to have remained quiet, albeit no provocations happened, in regard of his pretence to many pieces, which King William did possess in France: but, upon this occasion, he presently invaded Normandy, took the city of Vernon, and drew Robert, King William's eldest son, to combine with him, against his own father. On the other side, King William, who never lost any thing by losing of time, with incredible celerity passed into France, invaded the French king's dominions, wasted and took many principal places of Zantoigne and Poitou, returned to Roan, and there reconciled his son Robert unto him. The French king summoned him to do his homage for the kingdom of England: for the duchy of Normandy he offered him homage, but the kingdom of England, he said, he held of no man, but only of God, and by his sword. Hereupon the French king came strongly upon him; but, finding him both ready and resolute to answer in the field; finding also, that his hazard was greater than his hope; that his loss, by overthrow, would far surmount his advantage by victory, after a few light encounters, he retired, preferring the care to preserve himself, before the desire to harm others.

King William, being then both corpulent and in years, was distempered in body, by means of those travels, and so retired to Roan, where he remained not perfectly in health. The French king, hearing of his sickness, pleasantly said, *That he lay in a child-bed of his great belly*. This would have been taken in mirth, if some other had spoken it; but, coming from an enemy, it was taken in scorn. And, as great personages are most sensible of reproach, and the least touch of honour maketh a wide and incurable wound, so King William was so nettled with this jest, that he swore by *God's resurrection, and his brightness* (for this

* Or, as some authors more probably write, at his father's feet.

was the usual form of his oath; *that, so soon as he should be church'd of that child, he would offer a thousand lights in France.* So, presently after his recovery, he entered France in arms, took the city of Meaux*, set many towns and villages, and corn-fields on fire; the people abandoning all places where he came, and giving forth, that it was better the nests should be destroyed, than that the birds should be taken in them. At the last, he came before Paris, where Philip king of France did then abide; to whom he sent word, that he had recovered to be on foot, and was walking about, and would be glad, likewise, to find him abroad. This enterprize was acted in the month of August, wherein the king was so violent and sharp, that by reason both of his travel, and of the unreasonable heat, he fell into a relapse of his sickness. And, to accomplish his mishap, in leaping on horseback, over a ditch, his fat belly did bear so hard upon the pommel of his saddle, that he took a rupture in his inner parts; and so, overcharged with sickness and pain, and disquietness of mind, he returned to Roan, where his sickness increased by such dangerous degrees, that in a short time it led him to the period of his days.

During the time of his sickness, he was much molested in conscience†, for the blood which he had spilt, and for the severity, which he had used against the English; holding himself, for that cause, more guilty before God, than glorious among men. He spent many good speeches in reconciling himself to God and the world, and in exhorting others to virtue and religion. He gave great sums of money to the clergy of Meaux, and of some other places in France, to repair the churches which a little before he had defaced. To some monasteries he gave ten marks of gold, and to others six. To every parish church, he gave five shillings, and to every borough town, a hundred pounds, for relief of the poor. He gave his crown, with all the ornaments thereto belonging, to the church of St. Stephen, in Caen, which he had founded; for redeeming whereof, King Henry the First did afterwards give to the same church the manor of Brideton, in Dorsetshire. He retained perfect memory and speech, so long as he retained any breath. He ended his life upon the ninth day of September, full both of honour and of age, when he had reigned twenty years, eight months, and sixteen days, in the sixty-fourth year of his age.

So soon as he was dead, the chief men that were about him went to horse, and departed forthwith to their own dwellings, to provide for the safety of themselves, and of their families and estates; for all men were possessed with a marvellous fear, that some dangerous adventures would ensue. The servants and inferior officers also fled away; and, to double the baseness of their disposition, took with them whatsoever was portable about the king; his armour, plate,

apparel, household-stuff, all things were held as lawful booty. Thus the dead body was not only abandoned, but left almost naked upon the ground, where it remained from prime‡, until three of the clock, neither guarded nor regarded by any man. In the mean time, the religious persons went in procession to the church of St. Gervase, and there commended his soul to God. Then William, archbishop of Roan, commanded that his body should be carried to Caen, to be there buried in the church of St. Stephen. But he was so forsaken of all his followers, that there was not any found, who would undertake either the care or the charge. At the last, Herlwine, a country knight, upon his own cost, caused the body to be embalmed, and adorned for funeral pomp; then conveyed it by coach to the mouth of the river Soame, and so partly by land, and partly by sea, brought it to Caen.

Here the abbot, with the convent of monks, came forth, with all accustomed ceremonies, to meet the corpse, to whom the whole multitude of the clergy and lay-people did adjoin: but, when they were in the midst of their sad solemnities, a fire broke out of a certain house, and suddenly embraced a great part of the town. Hereupon, the king's body was once again abandoned; all the people running from it in a headlong haste, some to save their goods, others to repress the rage of the flame, others (as the latest novelty) to stand and look on. In the end, a few monks returned, and accompanied the hearse to the abbey church.

Afterward, all the bishops and abbots of Normandy assembled to solemnize the funeral: and when the divine office was ended, and the coffin of stone set into the earth, in the presbytery, between the quire and the altar (but the body remained upon the hearse) Guilebert, bishop of Eureux, made a long sermon, wherein he bestowed much breath in extolling the honourable actions of the king. In the end, he concluded, That, forasmuch as it was impossible for a man to live, much less to govern, without offence; First, By reason of the multitude of a prince's affairs; Secondly, For that he must commit the managing of many things to the conscience and courtesy of others; Lastly, For that personal grievances are many times beneficial to the main body of a state; in which case, particular, either losses or harms, are more than manifoldly recompensed by the preservation or quiet of the whole: if, therefore, any that were present did suppose they had received injury from the king, he desired that they would in charity forgive him.

When the bishop had finished his speech, one Anselm Fitz-Arthur stood up amongst the multitude, and with a high voice said; 'This ground, whereupon we stand, was sometimes the floor of my father's house, which that man, of whom you have spoken, when he was duke of Normandy, took

* And burnt its fine church.

† Perfecto demum scelere, magnitudo ejus intelligitur. Tacit. xv. Annal.

‡ The Morning.

‘ violently from my father, and afterwards founded thereon this religious building. This injustice he did not by ignorance or oversight; not by any necessity of state; but to content his own covetous desire: now, therefore, I do challenge this ground as my right; and do here charge you, as you will answer it before the fearful face of Almighty God, that the body of the spoiler be not covered with the earth of my inheritance.’

When the bishops and noblemen that were present heard this, and understood by the testimony of many, that it was true, they agreed to give him three pounds presently for the ground that was broken for the place of burial; and, for the residue which he claimed, they undertook he should be fully satisfied. This promise was performed in a short time after, by Henry, the king's son, who only * was present at the funeral; at whose appointment, Fitz-Arthur received, for the price of the same ground, one hundred pounds.

Now, when the body was to be put into the earth, the sepulchre of stone, which stood within the grave, was hewn somewhat too strait for his fat belly; whereupon they were constrained to press it down with much strength: by this violence, whether his bowels burst, or whether some excrements were forced out at their natural passage, such an intolerable stink proceeded from him, as neither the perfumes that smoaked in great abundance, nor any other means, were able to qualify. Wherefore, the priests hastened to finish their office, and the people departed in a sad silence, discoursing diversly afterwards, of all those extraordinary accidents.

A man would think, that a sepulchre, thus hardly attained, should not easily again be lost: but it happened otherwise to this unquiet king, not destined to rest, either in his life, or after his death. For, in the year 1562, when Castillon took the city of Caen, with those broken troops that escaped at the battle of Dreux; certain savage soldiers of divers nations, led by four dissolute captains, beat down the monument, which King William his son had built over him, and both curiously and richly adorned with gold and costly stones. Then they opened his tomb, and, not finding the treasure which they expected, they threw forth his bones with very great derision and despite. Many English soldiers were then in the town, who were very curious to gather his bones; whereof some were afterwards brought into England. Hereby the report is convinced for vain, that his body was found uncorrupt, more than four hundred years after it was buried. Hereby also it is found to be false, that his body was eight feet in length. For neither were his bones proportionable to that stature (as it is testified by those who saw them) and it is otherwise reported of him by some, who lived in his time; namely, that he was of a good stature, yet not exceeding the ordinary proportion of men.

* Of his sons.

† To those should be added a sixth daughter, named Gundred,

And this was the last end of all his fortunes, of all that was mortal in him besides his fame; whose life is too much extolled by the Normans, and no less extenuated by the English. Verily, he was a very great prince; full of hope to undertake great enterprizes, full of courage to achieve them; in most of his actions commendable, and excusable in all. And this was not the least piece of his honour, that the kings of England, which succeeded, did account their order only from him; not in regard of his victory in England, but generally in respect of his virtue and valour.

For his entrance was not by way of conquest, but with pretence of title to the crown; wherein he had both allowance and aid from divers Christian princes in Europe. He had also his party within the realm, by whose means he prevailed against the opposite faction (as Cæsar did against Pompey) and not against the intire strength of the state.

Again, he did not settle himself in the chair of sovereignty, as one that had reduced all things to the proud power and pleasure of a conqueror, but as an universal successor of former kings, in all the rights and privileges which they did enjoy. He was received for king by general consent; he was crowned with all ceremonies and solemnities then in use; he took an oath in the presence of the clergy, the nobility, and of much people, for defence of the church; for moderate and careful government, and for upright administration of justice.

Lastly, during the whole course of his government, the kingdom received no universal change, no loss or diminution of honour. For, neither were the old inhabitants expelled, as were the Britons; neither was the kingdom either subjected or annexed to a greater; but rather it received increase of honour, in that a less state was adjoined unto it: the change of customs was not violent, and at once, but by degrees, and with the silent approbation of the English, who have always been inclinable to accommodate themselves to the fashions of France. The grievances and oppressions were particular, and with some appearance either of justice, or of necessity for the common quiet; such as are not unusual in any government moderately severe. So the change was chiefly in the stem and family of the king; which, whether it be wrought by one of the same nation (as it was in France by Pepin and Capett) or by a stranger, (as in the same country by Henry the Fifth, and Henry the Sixth, kings of England) it bringeth no disparagement in honour; it worketh no essential change. The state still remained the same, the solid body of the state remained still English; the coming in of many Normans was but as rivers falling into the ocean, which change not the ocean, but are confounded with the waters thereof.

This king had by his wife, Matilda, daughter to Baldwin, earl of Flanders, four sons, Robert, Richard, William, and Henry: he also had five daughters, Cicely, Constance, Adela, Margaret, and Eleanor †.

who was married to William de Warren, a nobleman of Normandy, and afterwards the first earl of Surrey in England.

E

Robert,

Robert, his eldest son, surnamed Courtcuise, by reason of the shortness of his thighs, succeeded him in the duchy of Normandy. He was a man of exceeding honourable courage and spirit, for which cause he was so esteemed by the Christian princes in the great war against the Saracens, that, when they had subdued the city and territory of Jerusalem, they offered the kingdom thereof first unto him. Yet afterwards, either by the malice of his fortune, or for that he was both sudden and obstinate in his own advice (two great impediments that valour cannot thrive) he received many foils of his enemies, which shall be declared in their proper place. Before the king made his descent into England, he gave the duchy of Normandy unto him: but whether he did this only to testify his confidence, or whether afterwards his purpose changed, being often demanded to perform this gift, he would neither deny, nor accomplish his word, but interposed many excuses and delays; affirming, that he was not so surely settled in England, but the duchy of Normandy was necessary unto him, both for supply for his services (which he found, like Hydra's heads, to multiply by cutting off) and also for an assured place for retreat, in case he should be overcharged with extremities. Hereupon Robert, unable to linger and pine in hopes, declared openly against him in arms. Philip, king of France, was ready to put fuel to the flame; who, as he never favoured in his own judgment the prosperous increases of the king of England, so then he was vigilant to embrace all occasions either to abate, or limit the same. And thus Robert, both encouraged, and enabled by the king of France, invaded Normandy, and permitted his soldiers licentiously to waste; to satisfy those by spoil, which by pay he was not able to maintain. At the last he encountered the king, his father, in a sharp conflict, before the castle of Gerbery, wherein the king was unhorsed, and wounded in the arm; his second son, William, was also hurt, his soldiers defeated, and many of them slain. And albeit Robert, so soon as he knew his father by his voice, alighted forthwith, mounted him upon his own horse, and withdrew him out of the medley; yet did he cast upon his son a cruel curse, which lay so heavy upon him, that he never prospered afterward in any thing which he undertook. And although after this he was reconciled to his father, and employed by him in services of credit and weight, yet did the king often bewray of him an unquiet conceit, often did he ominate evil unto him: yea, a little before his death he openly gave forth, "That it was a miserable country which should be subject to his dominion, for that he was a proud and foolish knave, and to be long scourged by cruel fortune."

Richard * had erected the good expectation of many, as well by his comely countenance and behaviour, as by his lively and generous spirit. But he died young by misadventure, as he was hunting within the New-forest, before he had made experiment of his worth.

Some affirm, that he was gored to death by the deer of that forest, for whose walk his father had dispeopled that large compass of ground: others report, that he, as he rode in a chase, was hanged upon the bough of a tree by the chops; others more probably do write, that he perished by a fall from his horse. He was buried at Winchester, with this inscription: *Hic jacet Richardus, filius Willielmi senioris, Bernie Dux.*

William did succeed next to his father in the kingdom of England. To Henry, the king gave, at the time of his death, five thousand pounds out of his treasure; but he gave him neither dignity nor lands; foretelling, that he should enjoy the honour of both his brothers in time, and far excel them both in dominion and power. Whether this was devised upon event, or whether some do prophesy at their death, or whether it was conjecturally spoken, or whether to give contentment for the present, it fell out afterward to be true. For he succeeded William in the kingdom of England, and wrested Normandy out of the possession of Robert. Of these two I shall write more fully hereafter.

His daughter, Cicely, was abbess of Caen in Normandy. Constance was married to Allen Fergant, earl of Britain. Adela was wife to Stephen, earl of Blois, to whom she bare Stephen, who, after the death of Henry, was king of England. Margaret was promised in marriage to Harold; she died before he attained the kingdom, for which cause he held himself discharged of that oath which he had made to the duke her father. Eleanor was betrothed to Alphonso, king of Galicia; but she desired much to die a virgin: for this she daily prayed, and this in the end she did obtain. After her death, her knees appeared brawny and hard, with much kneeling at her devotions. Assuredly it will be hard to find, in any one family, both greater valour in sons, and more virtue in daughters.

In the beginning of this king's reign, either no great accidents did fall, or else they were obscured with the greatness of the change: none are reported by the writers of that time.

In the fourth year of his reign, Lanfrank, abbot of Caen in Normandy, but born in Pavia, a city of Lombardy, was made archbishop of Canterbury; and Thomas, a Norman, and canon, of Bayonne, was placed in the see of York. Between these two a controversy did arise, at the time of their consecration, for priority in place: but this contention was quieted by the king, and Thomas, for the time, subscribed obedience to the archbishop of Canterbury. After this they went to Rome for their palls, where the question for primacy was again renewed, or, as some affirm, first moved before pope Alexander. The pope used them both with honourable respect, and especially Lanfrank, to whom he gave two palls, one of honour, and the other of love: but their controversy he referred to be determined in England.

About two years after it was brought before the

* The son of Robert.

king and the clergy at Windsor. The archbishop of York alledged, that, when the Britons received the Christian faith, in the time of Lucius, their king, Eleutherius, then bishop of Rome, sent Faganus and Damianus unto them, who ordained twenty-eight bishops, and two archbishops, within the realm, one of London, and the other of York. Under these the church of Britain was governed almost three hundred years, until they were subdued by the Saxons. The Saxons remained infidels, until Gregory, bishop of Rome, sent Augustine unto them. By his preaching, Ethelbert, king of Kent, was first converted to the Christian faith: by reason whereof Augustine was made archbishop of Dover, by appointment of pope Gregory, who sent unto him certain palls, with his letter from Rome. By this letter it is evident, that Gregory intended to reduce the church of the Saxons to the same order wherein it was among the Britons; namely, to be under twelve bishops, and two archbishops, one of London, and the other of York. Indeed he gave to Augustine, during his life, authority and jurisdiction over all bishops and priests in England: but after his decease he joineth these two metropolitans in equal degree, to constitute bishops to oversee the church, to consult and dispose of such things as appertain to the government thereof, as in former times among the Britons. Between these he put no distinction in honour, but only as they were in priority of time: and as he appointeth London to be consecrated by no bishop, but of his own synod, so he expresseth, that the bishop of York should not be subject to the bishop of London. And albeit Augustine, for the reason before-mentioned, translated the see from London to Dover; yet, if Gregory had intended to give the same authority to the successors of Augustine, which he gave unto him, he would have expressed it in his epistle: but, in that he maketh no mention of his successors, he concludeth, or rather excludeth, them by his silence.

The archbishop of Canterbury alledged, that from the time of Augustine, until the time of Bede (which was about a hundred and forty years) the bishops of Canterbury, which, in ancient time, said he, was called Dover, had the primacy over the whole land of Britain, and of Ireland; that they did call the bishops of York to their councils, which divers times they kept within the province of York; that some bishops of York they did constitute, some excommunicate, and some remove. He alledged also divers privileges granted by princes for the primacy of that see; divers granted from the apostolick see, to confirm this dignity in the successors of Augustine; that it is reason to receive directions of well living, from whence we first received directions of right believing; and therefore as the bishop of Canterbury was subject to the bishop of Rome, because he had his faith from thence; for the very same cause the bishop of York should be in subjection to the bishop of Canterbury: that like as the Lord said that to all the bishops of Rome, which he said to St. Peter; so that, which Gregory said to Augustine, he said like-

wise to all his successors. And whereas much is spoken of the bishop of London, what is that to the archbishop of Canterbury? For neither is it certain that Augustine was ever resident at London, neither that Gregory appointed him so to be.

In the end, it was decreed, That York, for that time, should be subject to Canterbury; that, wherefore within England the archbishop of Canterbury should hold his council, the archbishop of York should come unto it, with the bishops of his province, and be obedient to his decrees: That, when the archbishop of Canterbury should decease, the archbishop of York should go to Canterbury, to consecrate him that should succeed; that, if the archbishop of York should decease, his successor should go to Canterbury, or to such place as the archbishop of Canterbury should appoint, there to receive his consecration, making first his oath of canonical obedience. And thus was the contention for this first time taken up; but in succeeding times it was often renewed, and much busied the clergy of the realm.

In the ninth year of the reign of King William, a council was holden at London, where another matter of like quality and nature was decreed; namely, that bishops should translate their sees from villages to cities; whereupon, in a short time after, bishops sees were removed, from Selese to Chichester, from Cornwall to Exeter, from Wells to Bath, from Sherbourn to Salisbury, from Dorchester to Lincoln, from Lichfield to Chester, and from thence again to Coventry. And albeit the archbishop of York did oppose against the erecting of a cathedral church in Lincoln, because he challenged that city to be of his province; yet Remigius, bishop of Dorchester, being strong both in resolution and in friends, did prosecute his purpose to effect. Not long before the bishoprick of Lindafarne, otherwise called Holy Land, upon the river Tweed, had been translated to Durham.

In the tenth year of his reign the cold of winter was exceeding memorable, both for sharpness and for continuance: for the earth remained hard frozen from the beginning of November, until the midst of April then ensuing.

In the fifteenth year a great earthquake happened in the month of April; strange for the strong trembling of the earth, but more strange for the doleful and hideous roaring which it yielded forth.

In the twentieth year there fell such abundance of rain, that the rivers did greatly overflow in all parts of the realm. The springs also, rising plentifully in divers hills, so softened and decayed the foundations of them, that they fell down, whereby some villages were overthrown. By this distemperature of weather much cattle perished, much corn upon the ground was either destroyed, or greatly impaired. Hereupon ensued first a famine, and afterwards a miserable mortality of men.

And, that all the elements might seem to have conspired the calamity of the realm, the same year most of the principal cities in England were lamentably deformed with fire. At London a fire began at the entry

of the west gate*, which apprehending certain shops and warehouses, wherein was merchandize apt to burn, it was at once begun and suddenly at the highest. Then being carried with a strong wind, and the city apt to maintain the flame, as well by reason of the crooked and narrow streets, as for that the buildings at that time had open and wide windows, and were covered with base matter†, fit to take fire, the mischief spread more swiftly than the remedies could follow. So it raged until it came to the east gate‡, and prostrated houses and churches all the way, being the most grievous that ever as yet || hath happened to that city. The church of St. Paul was at that time fired; whereupon Maurice, then bishop of London, began the foundation of the new church of St. Paul. A work so admirable, that many did judge, it would never have been finished; yet all might easily esteem thereby his magnanimity, his high erected hopes, his generous love and honour to religion. The king gave, towards the building of the east end of this church, the choice stones of his castle§, at the west end of the city, upon the bank of the river Thames; which castle at the same time was also fired; in place whereof Edward Killwarby, archbishop of Canterbury, did afterwards found a monastery of black friars. The king also gave the castle of Sturford, and all the lands which thereto belonged, to the same Maurice, and to his successors in that see. And doubtless nothing more than either parsimonious or prophane expending the treasures of the church hath, since those times, much dried up those fountains, which first did fill them.

After the death of Maurice, Richard his next successor, as well in virtue as in dignity, bestowed all the rents rising out of this bishoprick, to advance the building of this church; maintaining himself by his patrimony and friends; and yet all, which he could do, made no great shew; so that the finishing of this work was left to many other succeeding bishops. He purchased the ground about the church whereupon many buildings did stand, and inclosed the same with a strong wall of stone for a place of burial. It seemeth that this wall was afterwards either battered and torn in some civil wars, or else by negligence suffered to decay; for that a grant was made by King Edward the

Second, that the church-yard of St. Paul's should be inclosed with a wall, because of the robberies and murders that were there committed. Many parts of this wall remain at this time**, on both sides of the church, but covered for the most part with dwelling-houses.

The same year in Whitfun-week, the king honoured his son Henry with the order of knighthood. What ceremonies the king then used, it is not certainly known; but before his time the custom among the Saxons was thus:

First, He, who should receive the order of knighthood, confessed himself in the evening to a priest.

Secondly, Then he continued all that night in the church, watching and applying himself to his private devotions.

Thirdly, The next morning he heard mass, and offered his sword upon the altar.

Fourthly, After the gospel was read, the sword was hallowed, and with a benediction put about his neck.

Fifthly and Lastly, He communicated of the mysteries of the blessed body of Christ, and from that time remained a lawful soldier or knight. This custom of consecrating knights, the Normans did not only abrogate, but abhor; not for any evil that was therein, but because it was not altogether their own.

This year in a province of Wales called Rofs, the sepulchre of Wawyn, otherwise called Gawen, was found upon the sea-shore. He was sister's son to Arthur the Great, king of the Britons; a man famous in our British histories, both for civil courtesy, and for courage in the field. I cannot but esteem the report for fabulous, that his body was fourteen feet in length. I do rather conjecture that one credulous writer did take that for the length of his body, which haply might be the length of his tomb.

It is constantly affirmed that the ground, whereon the English and the Normans did combat, doth shew, after every rain, manifest marks of blood upon the grass; which if it was not a property of the soil before††, it is hard now to assign, either from what natural cause it doth proceed, or what it should supernaturally portend.

* Now called Ludgate.

† Thatch, viz. Straw, &c.

‡ Aldgate.

|| Anno 1613.

§ In the precinct now called Black Friars.

** Anno 1613.

†† For it is remarkable, that some soils always look reddish after rain.

The history of the most unfortunate prince, King Edward the Second; with choice political observations on him and his unhappy favourites, Gaveston and Spencer: containing several rare passages of those times, not found in other historians; found among the papers of, and (*supposed to be*) writ by the right honourable Henry viscount Faulkland, sometime lord deputy of Ireland.

Henry Cary, viscount Faulkland (among whose papers the following history was found) was born at Aldnam in Hertfordshire; his extraordinary parts, being a most accomplished gentleman, and a compleat courtier, got him such an esteem with King James the First, that he thought him a person fitly qualified to be lord deputy of Ireland (the government of which place required at that time a man of more than extraordinary abilities) which trust he very well discharged. Being recalled into England, he lived honourably here, until, by an unfortunate accident he broke his leg in Theobald's park; of which soon after he died. He was a person of great gallantry, the ornament and support of his country, which he served with no less faithfulness and prudence abroad, than honour and justice at home, being an excellent statesman. During his stay at the university of Oxford, his chamber was the rendezvous of all the eminent wits, divines, philosophers, lawyers, historians, and politicians of that time; for whose conversation he became eminent in all those qualifications.

The subject of the following history (*supposed to be written by the above-mentioned nobleman*) is the unhappy lives, and untimely deaths, of that unfortunate English King Edward the Second, and his two favourites Gaveston and Spencer; for his immoderate love to whom, (says Dr. Helin) he was hated by the nobles, and contemned by the commons. This king (saith sir Richard Baker) was a comely person, and of great strength, but much given to drink, which rendered him unapt to keep any thing secret. His greatest fault was, he loved but one, for, if his love had been divided, it could not have been so violent; and, though love moderated be the best of affections, yet the extremity of it is the worst of passions. Two virtues were eminent in him, above all his predecessors, continence and abstinence; so continent, that he left no base issue behind him; so abstinent, that he took no base courses for raising money.

Our author closes his history without declaring the particulars of the murder of this prince; wherefore I shall give you an account thereof, as I find it set down by the aforesaid sir Richard Baker.

Many ways were attempted to take away his life. First, they vexed him in his diet, allowing him nothing that he could well endure to eat, but this succeeded not: then they lodged him in a chamber over carrion and dead carcases, enough to have poisoned him; and, indeed, he told a workman at his window, he never endured so great a misery in all his life; but neither did this succeed. Then they attempted it by poisons, but whether by the strength of his constitution, or by the divine Providence, neither did this succeed. At last the pestilent Achitophel, the bishop of Hereford, devised a letter to his keepers, sir Thomas Gourney and sir John Mattrevers, blaming them for giving him too much liberty, and for not doing the service which was expected from them; and in the end of his letter wrote this line, *Edvardum occidere nolite timere bonum est*; craftily contriving it in this doubtful sense, that both the keepers might find sufficient warrant, and himself excuse. The keepers, guessing at his meaning, took it in the worst sense, and accordingly put it in execution. They took him in his bed, and casting heavy bolsters upon him, and pressing him down, stifled him; and not content with that, they heated an iron red-hot, and, through a pipe, thrust it up into his fundament, that no marks of violence might be seen; but, though none were seen, yet some were heard; for, when the fact was in doing, he was heard to roar and cry all the castle over. This was the lamentable end of King Edward of Carnarvan, son of King Edward the First.

What

What became of the actors and abettors of this deep tragedy, sir Winston Churchill tells us in these words:

Poor prince, how unkindly was he treated, upon no other account but that of his own over greatness! Other princes are blamed for not being ruled by their counsellors, he for being so: who whilst he lived, they would have him thought to be a sot, but being dead, they could have found in their hearts to have made him a saint. How far he wronged his people doth not appear, there being very few or no taxations laid upon them all his time; but, how rude and unjust they were towards him, is but too manifest. But their violence was severely paid by divine vengeance, not only upon the whole kingdom, when every vein in the body politick was afterwards opened, to the endangering the letting out of the life-blood of the monarchy in the age following; but upon every particular person consenting to, or concerned in his death. For as the throne of his son that was thus set in blood (though without his own guilt) continued to be imbrued all his reign, which lasted above fifty years, with frequent execution, battles, or slaughters; the sword of justice, or his own, being hardly ever sheathed all his time: So it is said, that the queen herself died mad, upon the apprehension of her own, in Mortimer's disgrace, who was executed at tyburn, and hung there two days, to be a spectacle of scorn. The king's brother Edmond had this punishment of his disloyalty, to be condemned to lose his head for his loyalty, it being suggested (and happy it had been for him if it had been proved) that he endeavoured the restoration of his brother; his death being imbittered by the mockery of fortune, whilst, by keeping him upon the scaffold five hours together, before any body could be found that would execute him, he was deluded with a vain hope of being saved. The fiend Tarlton, bishop of Hereford, who invented the cursed oracle that justified the murderers, died with the very same torture, as if the hot iron, that seared his conscience, had been thrust into his bowels. Of the two murderers, one was taken and butchered at sea, the other died in exile, perhaps more miserable. And for the nobility in general, that were actors in the tragedy, they had this curse upon them, that most of their race were cut off by those civil discords of their divided families, to which this strange violation gave the first beginning, not long after. A dreadful example, both to prince and people, that usurp unlawful methods to accomplish their unjust intention.

EDWARD the Second, born at Carnarvan, was immediately after the death of Edward the First, his father, crowned king of England. If we may credit the historians of those times, this prince was of an aspect fair and lovely, carrying in his outward appearance many promising predictions of a singular expectation. But the judgment, not the eye, must have preheminance in the censure of human passages, the visible calendar is not the true character of inward perfection, evidently proved in the life, reign, and untimely death of this unfortunate monarch.

His story eclipseth this glorious morning, making the noon-tide of his sovereignty full of tyrannical oppressions, and the evening more memorable by his death and ruin. Time, the discoverer of truth, makes evident his imposture, and shews him to the world, in conversation *light*, in will *violent*, in condition *wayward*, and in passion *irreconcilable*.

Edward his father, a king no less wise than fortunate, by his discreet providence, and the glory of his arms, had laid him the sure foundation of a happy monarchy. He makes it his last care so to inable and instruct him, that he might be powerful enough to keep it so. From this consideration he leads him

to the Scottish wars, and brings him home an exact and able scholar in the art military. He shews him the benefit of time and occasion, and makes him understand the right use and advantage. He instructs him with the precious rules of discipline, that he might truly know how to obey, before he came to command a kingdom. *Lastly*, he opens the closet of his heart, and presents him with the politick mysteries of state, and teacheth him how to use them by his own example, letting him know, that all these helps are little enough to support the weight of a crown, if there were not a correspondent worth in him that wears it.

These principles make the way open, but the prudent father had a remaining task of a much harder temper. He beheld many sad demonstrations of a depraved and vicious inclination, these must be purified, or his other cautions were useless, and to little purpose. A corruption in nature, that by practice hath won itself the habit of being ill, requires a more than ordinary care to give it reformation. Tendernefs of fatherly love abuseth his belief, and makes him ascribe the imperfections of the son, to the heat of youth, want of experience, and the wickedness of those that had

had betrayed his unripe knowledge, and easy nature, with so base impressions. He imagines, age, and the sad burthen of a kingdom, would, in the sense of honour, work him to thoughts more innocent and noble; yet he neglects not the best means to prepare and assure it. He extends the height of entreaty, and useth the befitting severity of his paternal power, making his son know, he must be fit for a scepter, before he enjoy it. He takes from him those tainted humours of his leprosy, and enjoins him by all the ties of obedience, no more to admit the society of so base and unworthy companions. Gaveston, the *Ganymede* of his affections, a man, as base in birth as conditions, he sentenceth to perpetual exile.

The melancholy apparitions, of this loth to depart, give the aged father an assurance, that this *fyren* had too dear a room in the wanton cabinet of his son's heart. He strives to enlighten his mind, and to make him quit the memory of that dotage, which he foresaw, in time, would be his destruction. But death overtakes him before he could give it perfection, the time is come, that he must, by the law of nature, resign both his life and kingdom.

He summons his son, and bequeaths him this dying legacy, commanding him, as he will in another day answer his disobedience, never to repeal his sentence. To his kindred and peers, that with sad tears, and watery eyes, were the companions of his death-bed, he shortly discourseth the base conditions of this parasite, and lets them understand both their own and the kingdom's danger, if they withstood not his return, if it were occasioned. They knew his injunctions were just, and promise to observe them; he is not satisfied till they bind it with an oath, and vow religiously to perform it. This sends him out of the world with more confidence, than in the true knowledge of his son's wilful disposition he had cause to ground on.

The father's funeral rights performed, Edward in the pride of his years undertakes the crown and guidance of this glorious kingdom. He glories in the advantage, knowing himself to be an absolute king, and at liberty; yet thinks it not enough, till the belief of the kingdom did equally assure it. He esteems no act more proper to confirm it, than running in a direct strain of opposition against his predecessor's will and pleasure. The strong motive of his violent affection suggests reasons, that the majesty of a king may not be confined from his dearest pleasure. When he was a son, and a subject, he had witnessed his obedience; being now a king and a sovereign, he expects a correspondence of the same nature. Where there was so ready an inclination in the will, reason found strength enough to warrant it, which made him make Gaveston's return the first act of his sovereignty. No protestation of his lords, nor persuasion of his council, can work a diversion, or win so much as a befitting respect. The barons, that were unable to withstand, are contented to obey, attending the issue of this so dangerous a resolution. Where the news was so pleasing, the journey is as sudden; Gaveston loseth

not a minute, till he felt the embraces of his royal lord and master.

Edward, having thus regained his beloved *Damon*, is so transported with his presence, that he forgets the will and ordinary respect, due to the greatest lords and pillars of this kingdom; and hence proceeds their first discontent and murmur. Many ways are invented to dissolve this enchantment, but none more fit and worthy than to engage him in the sacred knot of wedlock. The interest of a wife was believed the only remedy to engross or divert those unsteady affections, which they beheld so loosely and unworthily prostituted. Isabel, the daughter of the French king, the goodliest and beautifullest lady of her time, is moved, and the tender on all sides as plausibly accepted.

This sends Edward, scarce a king of nine months standing, into France, and brings him back, seized of a jewel, which not being rightly valued, occasioned his ensuing ruin. The excellency of so sweet and virtuous a companion could not so surprise her bridegroom, but Gaveston still kept possession of the fairest room in his affections. He makes it more notorious by creating him earl of Cornwall, and the gift of the goodly castle and lordship of Wallingford.

Gaveston applies himself wholly to the humour of the king, and makes each word that falls from his mouth an oracle; their affections go hand in hand, and the apparent injustice of the one never found contradiction in the other. The subject's voice was so fortunate, that it was always concurrent where the king maintained the party: if the discourse were arms, Gaveston extolled it as an heroic virtue; if peace, he maintained it not more useful than necessary; unlawful pleasure he stiled a noble recreation; and unjust actions, the proper and becoming fruits of an absolute monarchy. These glosses so betray the willing ear that heard them, that no honour is thought good and great enough for the reporter. The greatest command and offices are in the person or disposal of Gaveston. The command of war, and all provisions foreign and domestic, are committed solely to his care and custody. All treaties for peace or war had their success or ruin by his direction and pleasure. The king signed no dispatch, private or publick, but by his consent or appointment. So that all men believed their sovereign to be but a meer royal shadow, without a real substance. Neither was it enough to advance him beyond his desert, or the rules of a modest proportion; but his power must be made more extant in the commitment to the Tower of the bishop of Chester who he quarrels, as the occasion of his first banishment.

These insolencies, carried with so great a height and contempt, are accompanied with all the remonstrances of a justly grieved kingdom. The ancient nobility, that disdained such an equal, justly exclaim against the iniquity of the time, that made him their superior. The grave senators, that understood their own worths, are discontent to see themselves rejected, while upstarts, by money or favour, possess the higher places.

places. The soldier, that with his blood had purchased his experience, laments his own dishonour, seeing unworthy striplings advanced, while he, like the ruins of a goodly building, is left to the wide world, without use or reparation. The commons in a more intemperate fashion make known their griefs, and sad oppression.

Gaveston, that both saw and knew the general discontent, sought not to redress it, but, with an ill advised confidence, strives to outdare the worst of his approaching danger. Lincoln, Warwick, and Pembroke, whose noble hearts disdained the overgrown height of this untimely mushroom, let the king know their fidelity, and his apparent error. He must free himself, and right them, or else they will seek it in another fashion.

Edward knew their complaints were just, yet was most unwilling to hear or relieve them; till seeing their strong resolution, and himself wholly unprovided to withstand the danger, he makes his affections stoop to the present necessity, and consents to a second banishment of his so dearly beloved favourite. Gaveston, in the height and pride of his ambition, is forced to leave his protector, and to make Ireland the place of his abiding. With a sad heart he takes his leave, departing, yet, with a more desire of revenge, than sorrow for his absence.

All things thus reconciled, the kingdom began to receive a new life; men's hopes were suitable to their desires, and all things seemed to promise a swift and fair reformation. But the bewitching charms of this wily serpent made it soon evident, that alone his death must prevent his mischief. The personal correspondence taken away, the affections of the restless king becomes far more violent. In the short *interim* of his absence, many reciprocal and sweet messages interchangeably pass betwixt them: Edward receives none, but he returns with a golden interest. He is not more sensible of his loss, than the affront and injury, which persuades him it were too great indignity for him to suffer at the hand of a subject: though, with his own hazard, he once more calls him home, pacifying the incensed lords, with an assurance of reconciliation and amendment. Those strict admonitions, so fully expressed, were not powerful enough to reclaim the fondness of the one, and insolence of the other.

The king, regaining thus his beloved Minion, doats on him in a far greater measure; and he, to make the musick perfect, is of a far more violent temper. He affronts and condemns his adversaries, the ancient nobility, surreptitiously wasting and imbezelling the revenues of the crown. He inflames the king's heart, so apt to receive it, with all the motives of revenge, uneasiness, and disorder. The jewels of the crown, and that rich table and treasuries of gold, are purloined and pawned, to supply this wanton riot. He had so true a knowledge of his master's weakness, that he made him solely his. His creatures were alone preferred, his agents were the guides, and no man hath

the king's ear, hand, or purse, but such as were by Gaveston preferred or recommended.

Edward, by his voluptuous sensuality, supplies the place; but he had the sole execution of that royal prerogative, that was alone proper to the crown. The nobility, whose lion-hearts struggled betwixt the sense of their just grief and allegiance, at length resolve, the king, as to himself, must be so to them and the kingdom, or they may no more endure it. With grave and weighty reasons, they make the king know both the error and the vanity of his affections; letting him truly understand, that they had a dear interest, both in him and the kingdom, which they would no longer suffer to be so abused and misguided.

Edward, being himself thus hardly pressed, and that no entreaty or dissimulation could prevail, he must now set right the disorders of the kingdom, or have his work done to his hand, with less honour, and more danger. Once more he subscribes to their will, which he feels he cannot withstand or alter. Gaveston is again banished, and makes Flanders, the next neighbour, the place of his reception. Infinite was the joy of the kingdom, who now expected a secure freedom from that dangerous convulsion that threatened so apparent an intestine ruin.

This, their imaginary happiness, was made more real and perfect, in the knowledge, that Windsor had blessed them with an heir apparent. The royal father is pleased with the news, but had not (whether his divining spirit, or Gaveston's absence, were the cause) those true expressions of joy, that in justice became so great a blessing. The absence of his minion could not lighten his heavy soul; but all other comforts seemed vain and counterfeit; his distracted brains take new and desperate resolutions; he revokes the sentence of his grief, and vows to justify it against the utmost strength of contradiction.

He, that dares to do those things that are dishonest and unjust, is not ashamed to justify and maintain them: this error gave this unfortunate king more enemies, than he had friends to defend them. Kings that once falsify their faiths, more by their proper will, than a necessary impulsion, grow infamous to foreign nations, and fearful or suspected to their own peculiar subjects. He that is guilty of doing ill, and justifies the action, makes it evident, he hath won unto himself a habit of doing so, and a daring impudence to maintain it by the protection, of which he believes all things in a politick wisdom lawful. This position may, for a time, flatter the professor, but it perpetually ends with infamy, which stands with reason and justice; for, as virtue is the road-way to perfection, so is the corruption of a false heart the true path to a certain and unpitied ruin.

The enraged barons are not more sensible of their own disparagement, than the inconstancy and injustice of their sovereign. They think this affront done to them, and the whole kingdom, of too high a nature to be dispensed with, yet, with a temperate resolution, they

they a while attend the issue. The actions of injustice seldom lesson; they believe progression to be in all things an excellent moral virtue. He that hath a will to do ill, and doth it, seldom looks back, until he be at the top of the stairs. This makes the ill-affected return of this our favourite, more infamous and hated. With an imperious storm, he lets the lords know, he meditates nothing but revenge, and waits a fit advantage to entertain it. They believe time ill lost in so weighty a cause, and therefore draw themselves and their forces together, before the king could prevent, or his abuser shun it. The clouds presaging so great a storm, he studies the best means he could to avoid it. The general distaste of the kingdom takes from him the hope of an able party. Scarborough castle, his last refuge, he makes his sanctuary; but it was too weak against the number of his enemies, and the justice of their quarrel. He falls at length into the power of those, from whom he had no cause to expect protection or mercy. The butterflies of the time, that were the friends of his fortunes, not him, seeing the season changed, betake themselves to the warmer climate. His greatness had won him many servants; but they were but retainers, that, like rats, forsook the house, when they beheld it falling. The spring was laden with many glorious and goodly blossoms, but the winter of his age leaves him naked, without a leaf to trust to.

In this uncomfortable case, remains this glorious cedar, in the hands of those, whom, in his greater height, he had too much condemned and abused. They resolve to make short and sure work, unwilling to receive a command to the contrary, which they must not obey, though it should come from him to whom they had sworn obedience. Forsaken, unpitied, scorned, and hated, he falls under the hands of justice. Gaverseed is the place which gives the epilogue to this fatal tragedy, whence his adversaries return more satisfied than assured.

Thus fell that glorious minion of Edward the Second, who, for a time, appeared like a blazing comet, and swayed the jurisdiction of the state of England, and her confederates. He did not remember, in the smiles and embraces of his lovely mistress, that she was blind, nor made himself such a refuge as might secure him when she proved unconstant. Such a providence had made his end as glorious, as his beginning fortunate, leaving neither to the just censure of time or envy.

The king's vexations, in the knowledge, are as infinite as hopeless; his passions transport him beyond the height of sorrow. He vows a bitter revenge, which, in his weakness, he strives to execute with more speed than advisement. The graver senators, that had most interest in his favour, mildly discourse his loss to the best advantage. They lay before him his contempt and abusive carriage, his insolence, honour beyond his birth, and wealth above his merit, which must, to all ages, give a just cause to approve their actions, and his fortune. The least touch of his memory adds more to the king's affliction, who is

fixed not to forget, or forgive, so bold and heinous a trespass.

The operations in the king were yet so powerful, but the jealousies of the actors are as cautious, so fair a warning-piece bids them in time make good their own security. Lincoln, the principal pillar of this faction, follows his adversary to the grave, but with a much fairer fortune. This man was a goodly piece of true nobility, being in speech and conversation sweet and affable; in resolution grave and weighty; his aged temper active above belief; and his wisdom far more excellent in a solid inward knowledge, than in outward appearance.

When the harbinger of death plucked him by the sleeve, and he saw and knew he must leave the world, he calls upon him Thomas earl of Lancaster, that had married his daughter, giving him a strict imposition on his death-bed, that he should carefully maintain the welfare of the kingdom, and make good his place among the barons. This reverend old statesman saw the king's ways, and knew him to be a most implacable enemy, and, with a kind of speculative prediction, would often seem to lament the misery of the time, where either the king, kingdom, or both must suffer. The son, whose noble heart was before seasoned with the same impressions, assures it, which he in time as really performs, though it cost him the loss of his estate, life, and honour.

Things are too far past to admit a reconciliation; the king's meditations are solely fixed upon revenge; and the lords, how they may prevent, or withstand it. The kingdom hangs in a doubtful suspense, and all men's minds are variously carried with the expectation of what would be the issue. Meditation and intercession brings it at length to parliamentary discussion, which being assembled at London, enacts many excellent laws, and binds both the king and lords by a solemn oath to observe them. Thus the violence of this fire is a while suppressed, and raked up in the embers, that it may (in opportunity and advantage) beget a great danger.

A new occasion presents itself, that makes each part temporise for a while, and smothers the thoughts of the ensuing rumour. Robert le Bruce re-enters Scotland, whence he had been by Edward the First expelled, inverting all the English institutions, that had so lately settled the peace and subjection of the kingdom. Edward, tender of his honour, and careful to preserve that purchase, that had proved so dear a bargain, adjourns his private spleen, and provides to suppress this unlooked for rebellion. He knew the justice of his quarrel, and wakens from the dream, that had given him so large a cause of sorrow. He gives his intentions a small intermission, and a less respite; with all speed, he levies an army, and leads it with his own person. Whether it were the justice of heaven, or his own misfortune or improvidence, the Scots attend and encounter him, making Easttrivelyn the fatal witness of his disaster. His army lost and defeated, he returns home laden with his own shame

and sorrow. His return is welcomed with a strange impostor, that pretends himself the heir of Edward the First, and the king, the son of a baker. A tale, so weak in truth and probability, wins neither belief or credit. Voidras, this imaginary king, is apprehended, and makes Northampton gallows the first stair of his preferment. His execution is accompanied with as strange a story, which suggests the instigation of a spirit, that, in likeness of a cat, had for two years space advised it.

The king, with a true feeling grief, lamenting his dishonourable return from Scotland, where his noble father had so oft displayed his victorious arms, doth vow with a speedy rescue to revenge it. He communicates his resolution with the whole body of his council, who are, in their advice, equally concurrent in the action. The former loss exacts a more care, and a better provision. York, as the fittest place, is made the senate of this grave assembly. Thither resort all the sages of the kingdom, and make it their first deliberation to secure Berwick, that is one of the keys of the kingdom, and exposed to the greatest hazard. This charge is given to Sir Peter Spalden, who was believed able enough, both in fidelity and valour. A short time discovers him truly possessed of neither. A small sum of money, with an expectant preferment promised, betrays the trust reposed, and gives the Scots the full possession of the charge to him committed.

The pope, wisely foreseeing into the misery of this dissension, out of his Christian and pious care, sends over two cardinals, to mediate a peace and agreement. They, being arrived in England, find the king well disposed, so the conditions might be reasonable, and such as might become his interest and honour. They pass from hence into Scotland, and are by the way, with a barbarous example, surprized and robbed. The king is infinitely discontented with so inhuman an act, that threw a taint upon the whole nation. Great inquiry is presently made, which finds out the actors, and sends Sir Peter Middleton, and Sir Walter Selby, to a shameful and untimely execution. Immediately at the heels of this follows another example, no less infamous, and full of danger.

Sir Gilbert Denvil, and others, pretending themselves to be outlaws, with a jolly army, to the number of two hundred, ramble up and down the country, acting divers notorious insolencies and robberies. The fame of an attempt so new and unexpected, without a speedy prevention, seemed to intimate a greater danger. A commission is immediately sent out, which apprehends the heads of this increasing mischief, and delivers them over to the hand of justice. They which confessed themselves out of the protection of the law, and glory in their being so, fall under his rigour.

Those, that duly examined the truth of this action, believed the pretence to be but a mask, that hid a more perilous intention. The king, by his untemperate and undiscereet actions, had lost the hearts of his people, and there was a general face of discontent through-

out the whole kingdom. The ulcers festered daily, more and more, which seemed to preface and threaten, without some speedy prevention, a dangerous issue. All men discover their ill affections, expecting but a patron that durst declare himself, and adventure to hang the bell about the cat's neck. If this disorderly attempt, which was but to taste the people's inclinations, had succeeded, the king (as it was to be feared) had much sooner felt the general loss and revolt of his whole kingdom. But this work was reserved to future time, and the operation of those who had the time to effect it with more power and pretence of justice. The crying maladies of this climate were such, that the divine power sent down, at one and the self-same instant, his three fatal executioners, Plague, Dearth, and Famine, to call upon us for a repentant reformation. No part of the kingdom is free, but was grievously afflicted by the unmerciful prosecution of one, or all these fatal angry sisters. So great a misery was too much, but it is seconded with a sudden invasion of the hungry Scots, who apprehending the advantage of the present visitation, and ill estate of their neighbours, like a land-flood, over-run the naked and unprovided borders.

The archbishop of York, a grave and wise prelate in his element, but as far from the nature, as name of a soldier, resolves to oppose this over-daring and insolent eruption. He levies in haste an army, in number hopeful; but it was composed of men, fitter to pray for the success of a battle, than to fight it. With these, and an undaunted hoping spirit, he affronts the Scots, and gives them battle, making Mitton upon Swale, that honoured his enemies with the glory of a second triumph, the place of his disaster. Many religious churchmen, with the purchase of their lives, begin their first apprenticeship in arms; whose loss christened this overthrow, *The white battle*.

The intent of this grave prelate was, questionless, worthy of a great and singular commendation, but the act was wholly inconsiderate, weak, and unadvised. It was not proper for his calling to undertake a military function, in which he had no experience; neither did it agree with his wisdom, or piety, to be an actor in blood, though the occasion were so great and weighty. Too much care and confidence, improperly expressed, doth many times overthrow and ruin the cause it seeks to strengthen and advantage. There ought to be, in all considerations of this nature, a mature deliberation, before we come to action, else we lose the glory of our aims, and commit all to the uncertain hazard of time and fortune. The cardinals are now returned out of Scotland, by whom the king truly understands, that the hopes of peace are desperate. Their leave taken, and losses fairly repaired, they return to Rome, acquainting his holiness with the success of their employment. The pope being truly informed, that the Scots were neither conformable to his will, or the general good, excommunicates both that usurping king and kingdom.

The king, nearly touched with the loss of Berwick, inflamed

inflamed with the insolency of his barbarous enemies, and grieved with so great a loss of his people, resolves no more to suffer, but to transport the war into the very bowels of Scotland. To this effect, with speed he hastens out his directions, and gives present order for the levying of men, arms, and money, to begin the war, and continue it. The royal command, and desire of revenge, gives wings to this resolution. An army is ready, and attends the king's pleasure, before he conceits his will truly understood, or bruited. Nothing is wanting but his own person, or a fit commander to lead them; he loseth no time, but appears at the head of his army, before his enemies had the least knowledge of this assembly. With a hopeful expectation he leads them on, and makes Berwick the rendezvous, that should make his number compleat and perfect. Before this strength that had the warranty of art and nature, he makes the first experiment of this expedition. The town, begirt, was not more confident of their own strength, than assured of a speedy supply or rescue. This gave the king a longer delay than he believed, and his enemies leisure to raise and enable their provisions. They saw it a work too full of danger and hazard, to venture the breach of the body of so great an army, that in worth and number so far exceeded. The memory of former passages and trials taught them, how to understand their present condition; this begets in them a resolution more solid and hopeful. They leave the road-way, and war rather by discretion than valour; which succeeds so fortunately, that they surprise all the English provisions, and enforce the king to a second return, more fortunate, yet much less honourable. It is true, he retreated, and brought back his army in safety; but he had quitted the siege, which he had vowed to continue, against the united power of Scotland, and lost wholly all that wealth and luggage he had carried with him.

This filled all men's mouths with a complaining grief, and made foreign nations think the English had lost their former lustre, and renowned valour. It was wondered, that an enemy, so weak and contemptible, should, three several times successively, bear away the garland from those, that had so often, and knew the way so well, to win and wear it.

But now begins a second fire of a higher nature, that made the kingdom a theatre stained with the noblest blood, that within her confines had or life or being. The king, discouraged with his former fortune, lays aside the thoughts of arms, and recalls into his wanton heart the bewitching vanities of his youth, that had formerly bred him such distemper. He was royally attended; but it was by those that made their tongues, rather the orators of a pleasing falshood, than a true sincerity. These were fit instruments for such an ear, that would not hear, unless the musick answered in an even correspondence. The infidelity of the servant is, in a true construction, the misery of the master; which is more or less dangerous, as is the weight or measure of his employment. It is in the election of a crown a principal consideration, to chuse such attendants whose

integrity may be the inducement, as well as the ability, else the imaginary help proves rather a danger than assistance. Neither is it safe or honourable, for the majesty of a king, to seem to depend solely on the wisdom, care, or fidelity of one particular servant. Multiplicity of able men is the glory and safety of a crown, which falls by degrees into confusion, when one man alone acts all parts, whence proceeds a world of error and confusion.

The king was not ignorant, that such a course would make such as were his but at second-hand, yet he resolves to make a new choice of one to supply the room of his lost beloved Gaveston. Though his diseased court was furnished with a large variety, yet his eye fixed on Hugh, the younger of the Spencers, who was always tractable and conformable to the king's will and pleasure. This man was in show smooth and humble, of an insinuating spirit, one that knew his master's ways, and was ever careful to observe them. He had applied himself wholly to Edward's will, and fed his wanton pleasures with the strains of their own affection. Heat of spirit, and height of blood, consult more with passion than reason, and a short deliberation may serve, where the subject was so pleasing, and to each side agreeable.

The king, to make his resolutions eminent, with more haste than advisement, makes him his lord chamberlain, and lets the world know, it was his love and will that thus advanced him. Scarcely is this new great officer warm in his unbefitting authority, but he exactly follows his predecessor-precedent to the life, making all things lawful that were agreeable to his master's will, or his fantastical humour.

The peers of the kingdom, that saw the sudden and hasty growth of this undeserving canker, resolve to lop or root it up, before it should overtop their lustre. Spencer, that in the precedent story of Gaveston, beheld the danger of his own condition, begins, in time, to provide and strengthen a party. His aged father, fitter for his beads than action, he makes a young courtier, and wins the king to give him power and assistance. He labours to remove from his master's ear all such as might endanger him, and supplies their places with such as were his creatures. Those that were too high for such a surprisal, by persuasion, money, or alliance, he seeks to engage, and make the parties of this his coming faction. The body of the court thus assured, his actions in the state went in an even correspondence. Those that held him at a distance, valuing their fidelity and honour before so base an advantage, saw themselves disgracefully cashiered, and others installed in their rooms, that had neither worth, birth, or merit. The factious entertainers of his proffered amity, not only enjoy their own, but are advanced higher, which made them but the instruments to act and further the corruptions of his will and wicked nature.

This foundation laid, they now seem to contemn all fear of danger, and, in that assurance, express their contempt and scorn against the nobility, who, they

knew, would never entertain their society or friendship. While thus the rule and manage of all the royal affairs, in their power, was daily more and more abused, the incensed barons met at Sherborough, where the earl of Lancaster, the prime agent, lays before them, in a short and grave discourse, the iniquity and danger that seemed eminently to threaten both them and the whole kingdom, if such a resolution were not taken, as might assure a speedy prevention. The foreknowledge of their sovereign's behaviour, which would observe no rule or proportion in his immodest affections, gave them small hope to prevail by persuasion or entreaty. They too well understood, that Spencer's pride was too great and haughty to go less without compulsion, and they must sink a key, or neither the kingdom or themselves (against so inveterate a hatred) could expect, in reason, safety, or assurance. Hertford, Mowbray, and Clifford soar a higher pitch, and, in plain terms affirm, that all other resolutions were vain and hopeless, it was only arms that must right the time and state so much disordered. Benningfield and Mortimer approve this resolution, and as soon give it life and action. They enter furiously on the possessions of their enemies, spoiling and wasting like professed enemies.

Such an outrage flies with a nimble wing to the ears of the owner, who as soon makes the king the sharer of his intelligence, and increaseth it to his own advantage. The king, sensible of so great an affront, and as tender of the one, as cruel to the other, publisheth, by proclamation, the sentence of his royal will and pleasure. The actors of this misdemeanor must appear and justify themselves, or presently forsake the kingdom.

The lords that saw their interest at stake, as they had begun, resolve to maintain the quarrel. New levies and preparations are daily made, to make good the succeeding issue. Yet the more to justify those arms, that in the best construction were deemed rebellious, they send to the king a fair and humble message; the tenor whereof lets him know, their intentions were fair and honest, and the arms, thus levied, were rather to defend, than offend his person; only they in all humility desire, he would be graciously pleased to remove and punish those vipers, which had too near a room in his royal heart, whereby they had overthrown and undone the peace and tranquillity of the kingdom.

The king that fears, is enforced to believe. He knew their informations were just, and he had no power to deny, or withstand them. He assures a reformation; to make it more real, he adjourns it to the ensuing parliament, which is immediately summoned to appear at London. The jealous lords, that too well knew the cunning and hatred of their malicious adversaries, appear like themselves, bravely attended with a crew of lusty yeomen well armed, which stiled this *The parliament of white bands*. The mayor, seeing such a confluence from all parts of the kingdom, so ill inclined and well appointed, with a careful providence reinforceth the city guards, and planteth a

strong watch throughout all the strengths and parts of his jurisdiction.

This great assembly being now met, the complaining barons find in both houses a ready belief, and as sudden a censure. A solemn declaration gives the king knowledge of their sentence, which commands both the Spencers, father and son, into perpetual exile. The king, as weak in his disability, as wilful in the least advantage, gives a sad and unwilling consent; which, being known, gives the Spencers no time of imparlance; their judgment is immediately put in execution, and they find more servants than they desire to attend them to Dover, where they are immediately shipped to go and seek a new fortune. The elder, whose snowy age, and more innocence, deserved pity, makes his tears witness his true sorrow, and his tongue unfold them. He taxeth his son's vanity and ambition, and his own weakness, that had so easily consented to his ruin. He laments his misfortune, that in the winter of his age had cast him from his inheritance, and had made him the sea-mark and scorn of a whole kingdom. He confesseth the folly, that led him (by indirect means) to the preservation of his high and ill-acquired greatness. He wisheth his carriage had been such, that, in this so sad change of fortune, he might have found either pity or assistance. But it is the inseparable companion of greatness that is gotten in the by-way, and not by a just desert or virtue. It labours to support itself more by cunning and falsehood, than by a sweet and winning temper, when it is of all others the most erroneous maxim, that believes, affections can be in a subordinate way gotten or assured. They are the proper functions of the soul, which move alone in their own course, without force, or the least impulsion. All other ways are but temporary provisions, that serve the present advantage, but he, that by a just desert wins the love and belief of his worth, hath laid a sure foundation, making his honour his own, and the succession hereditary and permanent, to his everlasting glory.

These imperious servants thus removed, the father, in obedience to his doom, betakes himself to a foreign quietness. The son, of a more turbulent and revengeful spirit, keeps still a sea-board in the skirts of the kingdom, and falling short in power, to requite the authors of his disgrace, he expresseth his malice to the whole nation. The merchants, free from all suspicion, in their voyages and returns, are pillaged and rifled, and he the principal actor.

Such a domestick piracy begets a general terror and exclamation, which fills the king's ears, and presseth (as it required) a speedy prevention or remedy. He knew the action was foul, but it was one of his own that had done it; and such a one that was too dearly valued, to be either persecuted or punished. He studies first to satisfy his own passion, before he right this injurious carriage against the subject. This makes him reject the wholesome admonition of friends, the validity of his laws, and those fearful apparitions that

that present him with the danger of so foul an enterprise, while with an example new, and full of assured hazard, he repeals the sentence of their exile. This act gave him too large a time of repentance, and may be a befitting instance to all ensuing posterity. The actions of a crown are exemplary, and should be clean, pure, and innocent; the stains of their errors die not with them, but are registered in the story of their lives, either with honour or infamy.

But to proceed in this historical relation: The Spencers thus recalled, and reinvested in their former favour, they express themselves in another kind, and now, by a strong hand, strive to crush, by degrees, all those of the adverse faction. Sir Bartholomew Baldsifer was the first that tasted their fury and injustice. His castle of Leedes in Kent, under a pretended and feigned title, is surprized and taken from him, without a due form, or any legal proceeding. Their return, and the abrogation of that law that banished them, was provocation enough, there needed not this second motive to inflame the hearts of the angry barons. But when the unjust oppression of the knight (their ally and confederate) was divulged, and came to their ears, they vow a bitter revenge, and make speed to put it in execution. They see the fruits of their dalliance, and long abused confidence, and waken out of that slumber that had fed him with the chimeras of so dull and cold a proceeding.

The king, who formerly had been so often surprized, in time arrives to provide a remedy: he knew his arms, and not his tongue, must plead the injustice of his actions, wherein, if he again failed, he feared another manner of proceeding. The Spencers, that evidently saw the eminency of their own dangers, make it their master-piece to crush the serpent in the head before it grew to perfection. They knew the height of their offences were beyond the hope of mercy, and there was no way left of assurance, but that, which they must wade through in blood, and make good, with the sword, their lives, or else be sure to lose them. An army is provided, and appears at Shrewsbury, almost before it was bruited. The first exploit seizeth the two Mortimers, that had begun again their former invasion of the Spencers. Their strength was great enough for such an incursion, but much too weak to withstand or encounter this royal army. This first hanfel, so fortunate, gives life to their adversaries, and imprisons them in the Tower, before their associates could be truly informed, or ready to relieve them.

There is now left no time to dispute; the barons must with their arms warrant their proceedings, or they must miscarry in the action. They had soon gathered a strength, with which they resolve to encounter the king at Burton. The knowledge of the great power that came against them, and their own weakness, wins them to a retreat, not more dangerous than dishonourable. But their reasons were just and weighty; the earl of Lancaster had sent Sir Robert

Holland to raise his tenants and friends, which he hoped would, in time, reinforce his army.

Valence, earl of Pembroke, that commands his master's forces, seeing the disorder of their going off, lays hold of the advantage, and chargeth them so hotly, that they break and betake themselves to their heels, with great losses and confusion. Holland, entrusted by the earl of Lancaster, having accordingly performed the work he was employed in, marching up to the rescue, is advertised of the state of their affairs, which makes him seek his own peace, and resign this supply wholly up, to be disposed at the king's will and pleasure. The supply, so unexpected, is graciously received, and there is a set resolution to employ it to the best advantage.

The despairing lords, with their adherents, with much ado recover Pomfret; there a second deliberation is taken, which held it the safest course to pass on, and to possess the castle of Donstanborough, which was deemed a strength tenable enough until they could reinforce their party, or work their own conditions. This resolution is presently attempted with more haste than fortune. Sir Andrew Harkely meets and encounters them at Burrowbridge, where Hertford, Clifford, and others, died honourably, in maintaining a brave defence, while Lancaster, Mowbray, and many of their adherents were taken, and with their heads paid the ransom of their errors. The Spencers, like two furious tigers that had seized their prey, give not their incensed master leave to deliberate on the weight of so sad a work; the lives of many brave subjects are taken away in an instant, and each part of the kingdom is stained with loss of that noble blood, that had been much more gloriously spent in a foreign war, than in these domestick and civil tumults.

Edward, who was apparently guilty of too many other vices, drowns their memory in this so cruel and bloody a tyranny. The wreaking blood of so many brave gentlemen, so unfortunately and untimely lost, doth cry for vengeance, and hurry on the destruction of the chief and principal actors. Mercy should precede the severity of justice, if not to all, yet to some, since they were not alike guilty. If Lancaster had been of so un noble a disposition, the Spencers had neither had time nor cause to rejoice in his ruin. How often had they by a full advantage had power of these their enemies, yet made it evident, their aims were not blood but reformation. And assuredly, in this their last act, their intents towards the crown were innocent in all other respects, than the desire of supporting it with more honour. As things fell afterwards out, it had been to the king a happiness if their arms had prevailed, for this victory was the principal and fundamental cause of his ensuing ruin. Fear, and the expectation of danger, kept both him and his favourites in a better temper, so long as there was so strong a bridle. Certainly, in the regimen of a kingdom, it is a wise and discreet consideration to maintain and uphold a divided faction, and to countenance them

them so, that the one may be still a counterpoise to the other; by this means the king shall be more truly served and informed.

The subject that is too far exalted, and hath no one to contradict or question him, considers not the justice, but the means to preserve him, by which the judgment of the king is taxed, and he is robbed of the hearts of his people. The greater the height, the stronger is the working to maintain it, which seldom goes alone, but is accompanied, for the most part, with those state actions of impiety and injustice, which draws with it so perpetual an envy and hatred, that it leads him headlong to a fatal and dishonourable conclusion. Though the fury of this enraged king had so fully acted this bloody tragedy, yet Mortimer is spared, rather out of forgetfulness than pity, whose life had been more available than all these, that with so great a speed had felt his rigour. But he is reserved for a second course, to teach the Spencers the same *legem talionis*, and Edward the plain song of his error. The kingdom seems now in better peace, and settled; the principal pillars of the commonwealth were taken away, and those which remained are utterly disheartened in the danger of so fresh an example.

This gains such a liberty to these triumphant sycophants, that they make the whole kingdom, as it were, the just fruits of an absolute conquest. The king approves and maintains their actions, giving them the regal power for their warranty. All kinds of insolent and unjust oppressions are now confidently practised, without contradiction or question. No exaction or unlawful action is left unattempted, while the grieved kingdom languisheth under the burden, yet durst not stir to redress it. The great ones suffer basely beyond their birth or honour, yet look faintly one upon another, nor daring to revenge their quarrel. The commons murmuring complain, yet find not a man that will give them heart or leading.

The watchful Spencers, that saw and knew the general hatred and infamy of their own conditions, lessened not their height, or fear the sequel. With a politick care they use their best means to prevent it. The king's humour, naturally vicious, they feed, with all the proper objects, that might please or more betray his senses. They strive to make him alike hateful to his subjects, that in the change of fortune they might together run one and the self-same hazard.

There is yet another piece of state to this great work as proper. Edward is but a man, and a creature in nothing more constant than his affections, yet these with age and time may alter; this gap must be stopped, that they may be more assured. Hugh, the younger of the Spencers, who had a searching brain, wise and active, believes this work had two several dependences, the one to keep him in continual fear, the other in a perpetual want. These, being marshalled with discretion, he knew would knit fast his master's love, and add to the opinion of his wisdom and fidelity; imposing a kind of necessary impulsion still to continue him. In his breast alone were locked

all the passages and mysteries of state, whereby he was most able to provide for the future inconveniences.

From this ground, with a kind of loose scorn, he continues the French correspondence, and secretly contriveth a continuance of the Scottish rebellion. He omits no act of contempt against the antient nobility, that they might in the sense of their disgrace be, or at least daily threaten some new combustion. The confluence of so many threatening dangers work the wished effect, and keep the king in perpetual fear and agitation. The ill success of his armies, and expeditions in their memory, help strongly to increase it: yet is not his faithful servant neglecting in the second and remaining part. He so orders his business, within doors and without, that the royal treasure of the crown is profusely wasted and spent without account or honour. The antient plate and jewels of the crown are in the Lombard, and their engagement drowned, before it had the warmth of a sure possession. The subject is racked with strange inventions, and new unheard of propositions for money, and many great loans required, beyond all proportion or order. Lastly, the royal demeanors are set at sale, and all things that might make money within the kingdom.

To supply these inconveniences, which are now grown to a greater height than the plotter of them intended: a new parliament is called at York, where the elder Spencer is advanced to the earldom of Winchester; and Harkely, another chip of the same block, is made earl of Carlisle. Baldock, a mean man in birth, worth, and ability, is made lord chancellor of England.

In this parliament, which was by fear and favour made to his hand, he makes known the greatness of his want and occasions; the justly aggrieved commons, entering into a deep consideration of the times, freely give the sixth penny of all the temporal goods throughout the whole kingdom.

When this act came to the general knowledge, it utterly estranged the hearts of the subjects, which plead an impossibility to perform it, in respect of those many former exactions. Yet after some light contestation it is levied, no man daring to make so much as a show of resistance.

If we may credit all the antient historians, who seem to agree in this relation, there were seen, at this time, many sights fearful and prodigious. Amongst them no one was so remarkable, as that which for six hours space shewed the glorious sun cloathed all in perfect blood, to the great admiration and amazement of all those that beheld it. Following times, that had recorded it in their memories by the sequel, believed it the fatal prediction of the ensuing miseries. Those, that more aptly censure the present view of a wonder, conceited, the just heavens shewed their incensed anger, for the noble blood of the earl of Lancaster, and his adherents, so cruelly shed, without compassion or mercy.

The Scots working on the condition of the times, so much dejected and amazed, seize the advantage.

They

They saw by the last parliamentary proceedings, that the king was so enabled, as the hope of any attempt, in England, was altogether hopeless. Yet they resolve to be doing somewhere within the king's dominions, or at least his jurisdiction. This draws them to assemble themselves, and to attempt a surprisal of the northern places in Ireland. As the action was vain, so the success proved as unfortunate; they are defeated, slain, overthrown, and return not with the twentieth part of their number.

The king, remembering those many indignities he had suffered, and resenting this their last attempt, with an implacable scorn and anger, resolves to let them speedily know that he meant to call them to an after-reckoning. Upon this he sends out his summons, to call his men of war together, and makes all provisions be prepared, for this so constantly resolved a journey. His former misfortunes had instructed him to undertake this design much more strongly and warily. And this so grave a consideration brought him together the remaining glory and strength of the greater part of his kingdom. With these he marched forward and invadeth the nearer parts of Scotland; but, whether it were the infidelity of those about him, the will and pleasure of Him that is the guider and director of human actions, or the unfortunate destiny of this unhappy king, he is enforced to return, without doing any act that is truly worthy his greatness or memory.

The wily Scots, that durst not set upon the face of his army, wait upon the rear, and, in a watched opportunity, surprize his stuff and treasure. This sends him home a third time a discontented man, and, whether with a just guilt, or to transfer his own fault upon others, the newly created earl of Carlisle is put to a shameful execution. The grounds against him were very probable, but not certain, and it was enough that he is believed, like Judas, for money to have sold his master. The principal motive, that may lead us to think he was deeply faulty, was the honour and gravity of his trial, which gave him, on a full hearing, so sincere and sharp a sentence.

Scarcely is the King settled, after his tedious journey, when comes a stranger news, that the French king had made a hostile attempt upon the frontier parts of Guyenne, which was seconded with a declaration, that he was no longer resolved to entertain the friendship or peace with England.

This feat had been cunningly before-hand wrought by the secret working of Spencer, yet he desired to have it still in agitation, and not in action. He wished his master thence might be possessed with the fear of war, and not feel it. The French were of another mind, they saw into the great disorders and misguidance of England, and thought it a fit time, either by war or policy, to unite so goodly a branch of their kingdom. It is true, they had matched a daughter of France to the crown of England, and had solemnly sworn a peace, but these they thought might be with ease dispensed with on so weighty a cause, and so fair an advantage. Edward seeing into the danger, and

taxing bitterly the infidelity of the French, begins to survey his own condition, whereby he might accordingly sort his resolution, either to entertain the war, or to seek peace upon some honourable, or at least reasonable conditions.

He in this passage finds himself more hated and feared than beloved; he saw his coffers empty, the Scottish war and surprisal had quite exhausted the sinews of his last parliamentary contribution. He feared the inclination of the subjects would refuse any further supply, or, in consenting, make it conditional, which he was unwilling to undergo or adventure.

Lastly, The misfortune, that waited on him ever since he was absolute, he feared, had estranged and dejected so the hearts of his soldiers, that they would hardly be drawn forth, or act any thing with their accustomed valour and resolution. In this distraction, he seeks not by the advice of a grave council to qualify or prevent it, this medicine he conceits is worse than the disease, but calls unto him Spencer, the cabinet of his heart; he alone is thought fit to communicate this deep secret, and to give the resolution. His father, Baldock, and the rest of that faction, by his persuasion and entreaty, are admitted to make the party greater, and the discourse more serious and likely. Before them is laid the condition of the king, the estate of the kingdom, their own danger, and the intentions of their foreign adversary. Many several ways are devised and advised, and in conclusion, no one is believed more sound and proper, than that the queen should personally mediate the atonement with her royal brother. This as it was cunningly laid, so had it a double use and reflection. The Spencers saw the subjects more inclinable to adore the rising sun, in which act they thought the queen's mediation and presence would be a dangerous instigator. They believed her absence could not work such and so great an assistance as might countervail the domestick danger. They knew the French light and inconstant, and those which, with a kind of natural fear, abhorred the English wars, out of the limits of their own kingdom. And in the worst constriction they conceived money, or a resignation of that part which was holden by the king in France, would beget a peace at their own will and pleasure. Yet these considerations were attended with some doubts, which delayed and put off the execution.

The queen, who had long hated the insolency of the Spencers, and pitying the languishing estate of the kingdom, resolves in her mind all the possible ways to reform them. Love and jealousy, two powerful motives, spurred her on to undertake it. She saw the king a stranger to her bed, and revelling in the embraces of his wanton minions, without so much as a glance or look on her deserving beauty. This contempt had begot in her impressions of a like, though not so wanton and licentious a nature. She wanting a fit subject for her affections to work on (her wedlock being thus estranged) had fixed her wandering eye upon the goodly shape and beauty of gallant Mortimer.

timer. He was not behind-hand in the reception and comely entertainment of so rich and desired a purchase. But his last act had lodged him in the Tower, which was a cage too strait to crown their desires with their full perfection, yet is there a sweet correspondence continued, letters and many loving messages bring their hearts together, though their bodies were divided.

By these is Mortimer informed of the resolution for the intended journey of his royal mistress, whom he vows to attend, or lose his life in the adventure. The queen, understanding the intentions of her servant, strives to advance her dispatch, and hasten it with all her best endeavours. But, where was so great an inconsistency, there could be no expectation, that this proposition should be more assured and permanent. New delays and doubts interpose, inasmuch, that the hopes of this journey were now grown cold and desperate.

The queen seeing herself deluded, and this opportunity stolen from her, by those whom she before so mortally hated, sets her own brains a working, to invent a speedy remedy. She was therein so fortunate, as to pretend a journey of devotion and pilgrimage to St. Thomas of Canterbury, which by her overseers was wholly unsuspected. Things thus prepared, by a faithful messenger she gives Mortimer the knowledge of her design, who prepares himself with a more dangerous stratagem to meet it. Her eldest son, her dearest comfort, and the chief spring that must set all these wheels a going, she leaves not behind, but makes him the companion of her travels.

The king's joy was great, that saw, by this occasion, he should gain a free liberty to enjoy his stolen pleasures, which were before so narrowly attended by the jealous eyes of his queen, that in this kind had been so often wronged.

The aspiring Spencers were well pleased, that to be assured would have given a free consent to her perpetual absence. A short time brings her to the end of so short a journey, where she makes her stay of the same measure. Winchelsey had the honour to have the last farewell of this pair of precious jewels. Thither comes Mortimer, having made a fortunate escape, and with the earl of Cane resolves to venture his life in the attendance and service of so brave a mistress. An exploit so weighty and dangerous gave no time of stay or ceremony. They immediately embark, and make a trial where they may find another climate more propitious and fortunate. The watery billows and the peaceful winds, as if they were consenting to their enterprise, entertain them with an aspect clear and quiet, sending them with a fresh and pleasing gale safe to their desired port of Bulloign.

The king and Spencers, being truly informed, are startled with the matter and manner of their escape. They knew the birds were too far flown to be caught or reclaimed; and did imagine the plot was too surely laid that had so prosperous a beginning. Now all the former resolutions were useless; new deliberations are required how this breach may be handsomely so-

dered, or the threatening danger prevented. All other ways are deemed short, that one of taking off the king of France, was believed most sure and easy. They knew the French strain to be giddy, light, and covetous, and applied themselves in the right key to fit these several humours.

The king, whose presaging soul misgave his welfare, grows sad and melancholy, calling to mind the injustice of his own actions, and the fair cause his wife had to seek her right and refuge. The neglect and breach of wedlock was so great an error, but so to condemn so sweet and great a queen was a fault, in his own thoughts, deserved a heavy censure. She had not only felt a particular share of her own grief, but suffered deeply in the sorrow of the whole kingdom. Those, which had erected their petty tyrannies over the subjects, were in like sort authorised by him that ought to have had an equal share of her affliction, more and more to abuse her.

The sad impression of these disorders, and the reeking blood of so many noble and brave subjects, so basely spilt, do seem to cry for vengeance. This, for a while, wrought deeply in his distressed thoughts, but a small intermission brings him back to his former temper. A customary habit of a depraved nature dulles the sense of the soul and conscience; so that, when our better angels summon us to repentance, the want of a lively true apprehension, leads us blindfold into a dangerous despairing hazard.

The French king having notice of his sister's arrival, with a wondrous plausible and seeming joy, doth entertain it with an honourable attendance, fitting more her estate, birth, and dignity, than her present miserable condition; she is waited on to Paris, where she is soon visited by the royal king, her brother. When she beheld the refuge of her hopes, she falls upon her knee, and, with a sweetly coming modesty, she thus begins her story.

The king, unwilling to suffer such an idolatry from her that had a father, brother, and husband so great and royal, takes her up in his arms, and then attends her motives.

Great sir (quoth she) behold in me, your most unfortunate sister, the true picture of a dejected greatness, and the essential substance of an unhappy wedlock. I have, with a suffering beyond the belief of my sex, overcome a world of bitter trials. Time lessens not, but adds to my afflictions; my burthen is grown too heavy for my long abused patience. Yet it is not I alone, but a whole kingdom, heretofore truly glorious, that are thus unjustly wronged. My blushing cheek may give you knowledge, I too much honour the cause of my affliction, to let my tongue discover it. Yet this in duty and modesty I may ingenuously confess; My royal husband is too far seduced, his ear is too open, his will too violent, and his heart too free, to those bewitching syrens, that make his errors their profit and glory. All hope of his return is lost, so long as they shall live, and remain his leaders. How many of his noblest and bravest subjects have attempted his freedom, and by an unjust and inglorious death miscarried? Alas! all expectations

expectations are vain and desperate; if I had not known the impossibility to disenchanted him, I had not in so mean and miserable a case stolen to you for succour. You have a fair way to make known to the world the truth of your own glory and goodness. Fortune leads you by the hand to an action not more just than honourable, if you would dispute it. Can there be a more precious motive to invite you, than the view of these unhappy ruins? See here two royal branches of the Flower-de-Luce withering, sullied, and depressed. Would you truly consider, how great and noble a work it is, to support those that are unworthily oppressed, heaven and earth must witness the true value of your worth and my petition. Let it not breed a jealousy or discouragement, that I appear before you, and seek your help with so poor a train and mean attendance. Besides the justice of my cause, I bring with me the griefs and hearts of a kingdom, that have both sworn and vowed to defend it. Nor may you with reason doubt their integrity, while you have my wretched self, and the heir apparent, to be your pawn and warrant. For God's sake, sir, by your own virtue and goodness I desire it, and in the challenge of that royal blood, whereof by the laws of God, men, and nature, I have so large a share and interest. Let not after-ages taint your memory with such an aspersion, That you are the first of all the kings of France, that denied to relieve a sister so deeply wronged and distressed.

She would have spoken more, but here the big swollen fountains of her watery eyes discharge their heavy burthen. Her tears, like orient pearls, bedew her lovely cheeks, while she with a silent rhetoric invites a noble pity. Her sad complaint now won a general remorse, and her liquid tears, a deep and strong compassion. Her brother vows revenge, and promiseth to make England and the world know she was his sister.

The lords and peers of France tender their ready help and assistance; the service is so hotly pursued, that the poor queen, with an abused confidence, believes she shall be speedily and strongly righted. It was not alone her error, it is a general disease. We easily credit that news we most desire and hope for.

The Spencers, whose watchful eyes were soon informed of these passages, too late condemn their own improvidence and folly, that gave the wronged queen so fit and fair an advantage. They fear not all the power of France, but suspect intestine danger, where they knew the hearts of all were aliened and estranged. They well enough understood the vanity of female passion, but suspect, that the rising son will be followed and admired, whilst their declining master would be left forsaken and dejected. These conceits work so deeply, that they conclude they must fall, if they could not stop the foreign danger. The English were cowed, there was in them no fear, unless the strangers strength gave them new life and spirit. In so weighty a cause there was no time left for delay or dalliance. They dispatch presently away their agents to the French court, laden with the treasure of the kingdom, and many glorious promises. They instruct them how to apply themselves to the time and present

necessity, and teach them the way to work and undermine the queen's proceedings.

These messengers arriving at Paris, find the French heat well qualified and cooled. This gave them more time and hope, to bring their master's will and their own employment to a speedy perfection. They set upon the pillars of the state, such as in their master's ear, or in his council, had most sway and pre-eminence; they give freely and promise more, till they have won a firm and fair assurance. No one had an interest, and was known to be a favourer of the adverse party, but his tongue is tied with a golden chain to a perpetual silence.

When thus this practice was ripe, the king is persuaded to the danger and peril of so great and weighty an action. His sister's reputation and intemperate carriage, though tenderly, is often touched. A woman's passion is believed too weak a reason to engage two so warlike nations in a war, wherein themselves had formerly so often suffered.

The king, for all his first great and high expressions, had much rather have to do with the English in their own kingdom than in France, yet was well enough content not to try their arms in either. Yet still he feeds his sorrowing sister with good words, pretending many vain excuses, which made her suspect and doubt his meaning. She arms herself with a noble patience, hopeful, at least, that she and her son might there remain in peace and safety.

By the intercourse of messages that had so often passed and repassed, the Spencers are assured, that their affairs in France went fairly on, by which they were well onward in their journey.

There could be yet no certain or assured confidence, until they had again gotten the queen and her son into possession. No promise or persuasion is left to win her to return, but her ears were stopped, she too well knew the sweet enticements of such alluring serpents. This project falling short, a solemn letter is framed from King Edward to the pope, and a messenger after their own hearts appointed to carry it. The contents were full of humility and bitterness, complaining to his holiness, that his wife had, without just cause, forsaken both him and his kingdom, carrying away his son, the stay of his age, without his leave or license; a traitor to him and his crown, who had publicly acted a rebellion, and was taken and imprisoned for it, had made an escape, and was now her sole companion; and though he was not hasty to report or credit, yet he had just cause to fear he was the abuser of his wedlock. The king of France, with whom he had sworn so solemn and firm a league, being summoned, had denied to restore her.

These goodly glosses and pretexts find a ready passage, and an easy belief where there was none to contradict or justify. If these aspersions had been, as they were pretended, just and true, the fact had been odious, and justly deserved a fair and speedy reformation. The greater cardinals, who were at that time most great and eminent, had tasted deeply of the king's

bounty, which gave the pope a daily instigation to pity and reform so great and gross an error. On which an admonition is presently sent out to the French king, that he cause immediately the queen of England to depart forth of his dominions.

Whilst this devise was in action, the English discontented barons send privately to the queen, informing her, that they were almost crushed to pieces with their suffering. They solicit her to hasten her return, and promise really to engage themselves and their estates in her quarrel. With a joyful heart (as it deserves) she entertains this loving proffer. And, the more to advance her declining affairs, she instantly acquaints her brother with the tender. He had then newly received his summons from the pope, which taking out of his pocket, he delivers her back, wishing her to peruse and read it. The amazed queen, when she beheld so sad a sentence, falls humbly on her knees, and desires, that his majesty would grant her but so much favour, that she might more truly inform his holiness, and justify herself by a fairer and noble trial. With tears she instanceth the malice of her adversaries, that had taken so strange a course, both to abuse and wrong her. Her brother, glad of such a protection to shadow his dishonourable and unnatural falsehood, lets her know the necessity of his obedience, and that he must not, for her sake, adventure the censure and interdiction of himself and a whole kingdom. He wisheth her to arm herself with patience, and to return and make a peace with her husband, in which act himself would use both the persuasion and strength of his best power and interest, letting her withal know, that she had but a short time to deliberate, for she must instantly leave his kingdom. Scarcely had he ended these his last unwelcome words, when away he flings, with a seeming discontented show of sorrow, rejoicing inwardly, that he had freed himself of the expence of her entertainment, and found so fair a colour to avoid the justice of her daily importunity.

The drooping queen, thus abandoned, with an amazed grief, relates this unkind sad passage to her faithful servants, Cane and Mortimer. Their valiant hearts make good the loss of their hopes: they accuse the injustice of time, and exclaim against the French unnatural baseness. Mortimer, whose inflamed passion flew a higher pitch, breaks out, and, with a bold freedom, would have fallen to a bitter expostulation. The queen, who knew the danger, and was loth to lose that little miserable freedom she had left, with sweet and mild persuasions reclaims him to a milder temper. She had a second doubt, lest in such a contestation she might be sent back against her will to her husband. This makes her temporise, and cunningly seem to provide for a voluntary return, which might prevent that danger. She, failing in the master, yet tastes a-new his servants, and leaves no means unattempted, to bring about and alter so hard and strict a censure. They, that were the first betrayers of her hopes, do now with a more confidence and constancy express it, and, with one voice, sing the same tune

with their master; declining misery, the touchstone of friendship, finds itself shunned, like some infectious fever. The sunshine of fortune hath as many professors as beams, but, if her glory be once eclipsed, they all, with a coward baseness, seek some other succour. This lesson, that is so frequent and familiar, should guide our election more by judgment than affection. They are not to be chosen or valued, that in the pretence of love, though it be for our proper good and service, will act any thing that is base and unworthy; the same, in the least change, will not be squeamish, for a poor advantage to confirm their former practice, though it be to our loss or destruction. Where virtue guides our choice, it begins with truth and honour, ending with a like resplendent glory. No worldly cross, nor height of affliction, lessens the worth and value of such a friend, who, like a goodly rock, in fury of the greatest storms, makes good his proper station. Mutual correspondency in affections ought to be pure and innocent; if private respects taint the sincerity of the intentions, it makes this traffick rather a commerce than friendship. Opinion of faith is a powerful motive, yet not weighty enough, unless it become as well with real ability, as appearance, the subject of our election.

But, to proceed, the queen, being in this distressed agony, finds an unexpected refuge. The gracious God of heaven, who never forsakes those which are his, sends her a comfort when her dying hopes were almost sunk and desperate.

Robert of Artois, a man as truly valiant as noble, was one of the first that in the French court had tendered the queen his service. He was a wise, grave, and steady, well resolved gentleman; his first devotion was not led by matter of form or compliment, but was truly grounded on a true compassion and honour. This brave friend, beholding with a noble eye, the vanity of his fellow-friends and courtiers, and looking into the misery of the queen's forsaken condition, sets up his rest to appear like himself, a friend in all her fortune, firm and constant. In this resolution he waits a fitting opportunity to let her see and know it. The time was favourable, he finds her in her melancholy chamber, confused in her restless thoughts, with many sad distractions. She, fancying the occasion of the coming of so great a person was great and weighty, with a silent and attentive ear expects his message.

Madam (quoth he) it is the most excellent part of wisdom, with an equal virtue, to entertain the different kinds of fortune. This world is but a mere composition of troubles, which seems greater or less, as is the quality of the heart that entertains them. I confess the justice of your grief, and truly share it, but tears and sorrow are not means to relieve or right you. The just heavens assist those that with an active and lively hope invoke their succour. The tenderness of your sex, and former free condition, is yet a stranger to these trials; time will let you know they are the familiar attendants of our frail structure of flesh and blood, when you will confess it too great a weakness to sink under the burthen of our afflictions. For your own good-

goodness (noble queen) erect and elevate your thus dejected spirits: behold in me the character of an unworthy, but true friend, that am resolved my life and state shall attend and run with you the self-same fortune. You may no longer make this unthankful climate, the place of your birth, the stage of your abiding; the way is paved with gold to your destruction. Wherefore, if my advice may sway, let speed prevent your danger. The confines of the sacred empire are near adjoining, where are many brave princes, who may happily afford you succour; at the worst, you may there enjoy a more assured peace and safety. Neither do I presume to direct this course, but lay it humbly before you, offering my faithful service to attend you, to what part soever of the universal world your resolution shall fix on, desiring you to be assured, my life, before my faith, shall perish; for I have vowed myself, and will continue your everlasting servant.

Infinitely was the queen rejoiced in this so grave and sincere an expression, she doubles a world of promises and thanks for this so free an offer, and with a secret and wary carriage she speedily provides to begin her thus resolved journey. Though here she saw a far less appearance of hope, when her dearest brother, and her native kingdom had forsaken her, yet she resolves the trial rather than to return, without a more assurance. She knew she had too far waded, and incensed her malicious adversaries to expect a reconciliation, and feared to be mewed up from all hope of future advantage. These considerations made her with a sad heart and weeping eyes forsake the fruitful limits of ingrateful France, and betake herself to her last but most uncertain refuge. The condition, that is truly miserable, finds few real friends, but never wants infidelity to increase its sorrow.

Stapleton, bishop of Exeter, who had fled to the queen, and made himself a sharer in this weighty action, forsakes her party. He seeing the French hopes vanished, and these remaining so poorly grounded, thought to work his peace by losing his faith, and, in this conceit, in haste returns for England. His intelligence reconciles and wins him favour, but it was purchased at too dear a rate, that stained the honour of so high a calling, and made him most unworthy of so divine and grave a profession.

By this treachery, the king and Spencers understand both the queen's resolution and weakness. They fear not the German motions, that were a dull sad nation, that seldom used to fight for nothing. Time hath at last brought our royal English pilgrims to the shrine of their devotion. The earl of Heinnault, a man truly noble and virtuous, understanding her arrival within the precincts of his jurisdiction, gives her a free and loving welcome. This bountiful honest earl esteems it his glory to entertain so princely guests like themselves, and to become the patron of their so weak condition. He had a brother that made his arms the honour of his profession, who thinks the estate of this forsaken queen, in justice, deserved a true relief and pity. He tenders her his service, and believes the oc-

casian happily offered, that might leave to ensuing times the memory of his virtue, worth, and valour.

So fair a morning puts the queen in hope, the evening would prove as fortunate: by all those winning graces of a distressed beauty, she strives to confirm, and more engage, this first and fair affection.

The earl, having knowledge of his brother's resolution, thought the attempt too full of hazard, and, with a grave and mild temper, commending the nobility and greatness of his spirit, adviseth him to quit the action; he lays before him the weakness of the foundation, the queen was in want of men and money, and had not such a correspondency in England, as might warrant her against her incensed husband, who was waited on by so warlike and valiant a nation. He, in like sort, acquaints him, how impossible a thing it was, for him to raise such an army, as might credit the cause, and countenance the beginning: true valour consisting not in daring impossibilities, but exposing itself where reason, judgment, and discretion were the leaders.

Sir John, with a quiet patience, hears his brother's admonitions, which he knew sprung from the freedom of an honest and a loving heart, but he imagined age had robbed his breast and head of all their noble vigour.

Sir (quoth he) If you and all the world forsake this noble lady, my single arm shall maintain her quarrel, since I had rather lose my life than my faith, so full and freely engaged. After ages shall not blot the glory of our house, so great and noble, with so inglorious a stain of baseness and infidelity: such precedents are seldom seen, and ought to be more tenderly regarded. A queen, and the heir apparent of so great a crown, pleading so just a pity, nor may, nor shall be forsaken. If, in the reason of state, you list not to be an actor, reserve yourself, and make not the king of England your enemy. Know, I have both arms and friends, I will pawn them all, rather than, in the least degree, falsify my word and promise.

These words, spoken with such a resolution, and fearless bravery, stopped all reply and contradiction. The queen, that had already both a French and Italian trick, had no less reason here to doubt it. She knew no means would be left unattempted from her domestick spies, to make her once more forsaken. This enforceth her with a more importunity to hasten and advance her enterprise. All the good offices, that might spur on the inflamed heart of her brave protector, she makes the hand-maids of her female wisdom. But, alas, they needed not her careful agent; they had quickly gotten together a voluntary troop of three hundred well-resolved gallants, that vow themselves to follow him, even into the mouth of the cannon. He stays not to increase his number with a multitude, but believes, if there were an answering correspondency in the English, with these, to over-run the kingdom. Arms, shipping, and all provisions necessary, attend their coming. They, with the glory of their hopes, lead the revived queen a ship-board. Now do they

expose themselves to the first trial of their fortune, aiming at Donge Port, to take their hoped possession. The heavens, that favoured their design, out of their present fear, preserve them beyond belief or expectation. Her adversaries had a fore-running knowledge of their intended place of landing, and had there provided to give them a hot and bitter welcome. The raging billows, and the blustering winds, or rather the divine Providence, after the second day's extremity, brings them a-land safe at Orwell, near Harwich. They were ignorant, being driven to and fro by the violence of the weather, what part of the kingdom they had light on; and were as much distressed with the unshipping of their men and baggage, as with the want of harbour and victuals. Three whole days in disorder and confusion, they make the bleak and yielding sands their habitation, perceiving the vanity of their rash and desperate attempt, which, in the least opposition or encounter, must have wrought their confusion. It was in vain to attend longer here, where they saw so small sign of better entertainment; this makes them march on with this little weather-beaten troop, to win and conquer a kingdom. St. Hammond's, an abbey of black monks, was honoured with the welcome of their long lost mistress; here she and her princely son had their first reception and entertainment.

The bruit of this novelty, like a Welch hubbub, had quickly overtaken the willing ears of the displeased commons; who, ever desirous of innovation, like bees, in swarms, do run to her assistance. The barons, so depressed, and unjustly grieved, with itching ears, attend the news of this advantage. When the tidings of their arrival came to their knowledge, with so liberal a relation, which made her army ten times greater than it was, they lose no time, for fear of some prevention.

Henry of Lancaster was the first, who was seconded by many others of the braver peers of the kingdom. By this means the queen and her adherent strangers lose the depth of that agitation, that till now had kept them doubtful.

The king, that till this time had slumbered out the prologue of this ensuing danger, secure in the belief of the Spencers strength and providence, in so general a revolt, awakens from his licentious pleasure, and beholds nothing but a grim and fearful face of sorrow. The council of his cabinet, accompanied with their own guilt, are affrighted in the sad apparitions of their approaching ruin. The time of prevention is lost, their abused confidence had only laboured to shut the gate, but not assured the family. The present necessity admits no long deliberation, this flame was too violent to be quenched, and such a course is to be taken as may rather assure them time to temporise, than with a strong hand to strive to repel it.

The city's guard is recommended to Stapleton, that had so unhappily, and with so little credit changed his master. The king and the Spencers forsaken, but yet strongly attended with the guilt of so many, and so foul errors, fly to Bristol, a town strong enough, and well provided. Arundel, and the elder Spencer, un-

dertake the defence of the city, while the king, and the others, make the castle their hope and refuge.

The queen being informed, that the king had forsaken his royal chamber, and had stolen a flight to Bristol, she soon apprehends, and lays hold of the advantage, addressing a fair but mandatory letter to the mayor, to keep the city, to the use of her, and her son, that was so like to be his sovereign. The inconstant citizens, that ever cleave to the stronger party, are easily persuaded and intreated. Stapleton, that foresaw and feared the danger, summons the mayor to surrender him the keys of the gates for his assurance. Chickwell, that was then lord mayor, incensed with the imperiousness and injustice of this demand, apprehends this inconsiderate bishop, and, without all respect to his place or dignity, makes his head the sacrifice to appease the angry commons. This act had too far engaged him to recoil, he must now wholly adhere to the queen's faction. Four of the gravest and most substantial burghers are sent, to let her truly understand their devotion. They are graciously and lovingly received, the mayor hath thanks for his late bloody act, which was stiled an excellent piece of justice.

This gap thus stopped, with her army she marcheth to the cage that kept those birds, whose wings she would be clipping. She knew, if she struck not while the iron was hot, the heat of a popular faction would quickly sink and lessen. All the way of her journey, she finds, according to heart's desire, a free and noble welcome. Her troops like snow-balls, in her motion more and more increasing. When she came before this great and goodly city, she saw it was a strength by art and nature, and did believe it furnished to outwear a siege of long continuance, which made both her and her adherents more jealous, and suspect the issue. Where the person of an anointed king was at stake, there could be no assurance. But smiling fortune, that had turned her wheel, resolves this doubt, and makes the action easy. The citizens, that knew not the laws of war or honour, will not expose their lives and goods to the mercy of the strangers, and the hazard of an unruly conquest. They had too much tasted the afflictions of the kingdom, to think the quarrel just, or to adventure their protection at so dear a hazard, for those that had been the cause and instrument of so much blood and trouble.

From this consideration, they send an humble message to the queen, and desire as well to capitulate for their commanders, as their own interest. All other conditions are despised and disdained; if they will have grace, they must purchase it with the resignation and delivering up their captains. This doom was esteemed heavy, they would have been glad, that she had had her will, but were themselves unwilling to be the actors. But the time no more imparlance admitted, neither could they have a delay or remedy. The queen, that had won so far upon their yielding hearts, knew their condition well enough, and would not give them respite, but calls upon their present answer.

This

This round and smart summons brings, with one and the same art, Arundel, Spencer, and the city, into her possession. This part of the prey thus gotten, no time is lost to call them to a reckoning. Sir Thomas Wadge, the Marshal of the army, recites a short calendar of their large offences, when, by a general consent, they are approved guilty, and without judge, or other jury, they are sentenced to be drawn and hanged, and their bodies to remain upon the gibbet. The rigour of this doom Spencer, the father, feels, that was ninety years old, and could not long have lived by the course of nature.

The castle-walls, and the eyes of the king, and his unhappy son, were witnesses of this sad spectacle and his disaster. This *præludium* gives them the sense of their ensuing story, which, with a world of melancholy thoughts, they study to prevent or alter. A despairing resolution at length wins them to a desperate hazard. While the queen was labouring to surprise their fortrefs, which was like too long to hold good, if some stratagem were not found to get it, there were no citizens to betray them, it needed not, themselves were soon the actors. They steal into a small bark, that rode within the harbour, hoping by this means to make an escape undiscovered; they find the merciless waves and winds alike cruel. Twice had they gained St. Vincent's rock, but, from that reach, were hurried back, with sudden gusts and tempests. The often going off, and return of this unguided pinnacle, begets a shrewd suspicion. At length she is surprized, and in her bulk is found that treasure that ends the war, and gave the word perfection.

The king is comforted with the smooth language of those which had the honour to take him, and believes the title of a king, father, and husband, would preserve his life, if not his sovereignty.

The queen having now made the victory perfect, no enemy, or other work remaining, resolves with herself to use it to her best advantage. Yet she gives her incensed passion pre-eminence, revenge must precede her desire and strong ambition. No sooner had Sir Henry Beaumont brought the imprisoned king and his dejected favourite to the army, but she dispatcheth away her husband, to Barkley castle, and Spencer is delivered over to the marshal, and immediately hath the like entertainment, only he hath somewhat a longer time, and a far more cruel sentence than his father. All things thus ordered, the queen removes to Hereford, and in all the places of her passage is welcomed with joyful acclamations. With a kind of insultant triumphing tyranny, far unworthy the nobility of her sex and virtue, she makes her poor condemned adversary, in a strange disguise, attend her progress. He was set upon a poor, lean, deformed jade, and clothed in a tabarce, the robe, in those days, due to the basest thieves and rascals, and so was led through all the market-towns and villages, with trumpets sounding before him, and all the spiteful disgraces and affronts that they could devise to cast upon him.

Certainly this man was infinitely tyrannical and vicious, deserving more than could be laid upon him, yet it had been much more to the queen's reputation and honour, if she had given him a fair and legal trial, by his peers, according to that ancient and laudable custom of England, wherein by his death he might have given both the law and his adversaries a full satisfaction. It is certainly, give it what other title you will, an argument of a wondrous base condition, to insult or to tyrannise over those poor ruins, which fortune hath thrown into our power. A noble pity is the argument of an honourable and sweet disposition, and the life of man is great enough to expiate all offences. To satisfy our passions, with the bitterest extremity of our power, may justly be stiled rather a savage and barbarous cruelty, than true and perfect justice. No question, it was a pleasing sight to all the wronged subjects, to see such a leprous monster so monstrously used. But when the heat of blood was past, and men had recollected their senses, it then appeared to be too great a blemish to a queen, a woman, and a victor. But whether she were now weary with imposing, or he with suffering, Hereford, on a lofty gibbet, of an extraordinary height, erected on purpose, gives him the end of all his torments. Which being performed, order is left behind for the execution of Arundel four days after, which is accordingly performed.

I could never yet read a fair and just cause, why this earl lost his life, unless it may be counted treason not to forsake his lord and master, to whom he had so solemnly sworn his faith and obedience. It certainly was no such capital fault, to accompany and seek to defend his sovereign, when he was by all others forsaken, that, by their vows and oaths, ought to have been as deeply engaged. If being taken with those that were so corrupt and wicked occasioned it, I see yet no reason, why he alone was executed, and those, that, in their knowledge, were his only instruments and creatures, were suffered to live, and be promoted. But we may not properly expect reason in women's actions, whose passions are their principal guide and mover.

Now she is come to London, and received with all the honour due to so great a queen and conquest; the people crowd to see her, and with applauding shouts extol her, that, in the least change of fortune, would be the first should cut her throat, or do her any other mischief.

A parliament is immediately called and assembled, in which the pack was before-hand easily laid, for Edward had lost the hearts and love of all his people; the errors and abuses of the kingdom are there, with too great a liberty against a sacred king yet living, laid open and discoursed. All men were of one mind, a present reformation must be had, which, in a true construction, was but a mere politick treason. The three estates presently assent to the deposition of the elder, and raising the younger Edward, to the sole regimen and guidance of the kingdom; not a peer, bishop,

bishop, knight, or burghers, speaks a word in defence of him that was their master; but divers are sent from both houses, to the yet king, to let him know their declaration. When they were come into his presence, Trussel, speaker in the lower house, in the name of the whole kingdom, resigned up all the homage due to him, and then pronounceth the sentence of his deprivation.

Edward, that long before had notice of these proceedings, arms himself to receive it with patience. He gives them back no answer, knowing a contestation or denial might hasten on his death, and a consent had made him guilty, by his own confession.

Thus did this unfortunate king, after he had, with perpetual agitation and trouble, governed this kingdom eighteen years, odd months and days, lose it by his own disorder and improvidence, accompanied with the treachery and falshood of his own subjects. And that which is most miraculous, an army of three or four hundred men entered his dominions, and took from him the rule and governance, without so much as a blow given, or the loss of one man, more than such as perished by the hand of justice. In a declining fortune, all things conspire a ruin, yet never was it seen, that so great a king fell with so little honour, and so great an infidelity. But what could be expected, when, to satisfy his own unjust passions, he had consented to the oppressions of his subjects, tyrannised over the nobility, abused his wedlock, and lost all fatherly care of the kingdom, and that issue that was to succeed him. Certainly it is no less honourable than proper, for the majesty and greatness of a king, to have that same free and full use of his affection and favour, that each particular man hath in his œconomic government; yet, as his calling is the greatest, such should be his care, to square them always out by those sacred rules of equity and justice; for if they once transcend to exceed, falling into an extremity, they are the predictions of a fatal and inevitable ruin. Let the favourite taste the king's bounty, and enjoy his ear, but let him not engross it wholly, or take upon him the sway and government of all the affairs of his master; this begets not more envy than multiplicity of error, whose effects do, for the most part, occasion a desperate convulsion, if not the destruction of that state where it hath his allowance and practice. As kings ought to limit their favours, so ought they to be curious in the election; for persons of baser or meaner quality, exalted, are followed at the heels with a perpetual murmur and hatred.

Neither is it safe or proper, that all the principal dignities, or strengths of a kingdom, should be committed to the fidelity of any one particular subject, though never so gracious or able. There must be then a kind of impulsive necessity still to continue his power, and approve his actions, else, having the keys in his hand, he may at all times open the gates to a foreign trouble, or a domestick mischief.

The number of servants, as it is the master's honour, so is the knowledge of their ability his glory. Where, by a discreet distribution, they find variety of employment, and are indifferently heard, both in advice and action, they more secure their master's safety and greatness. Kings, in their deliberations, should be swayed by the whole body of a council, and, in my opinion, should take it ill, to have any servant esteemed much wiser than his master. Their royal glory should be pure and transparent, suffering not the least eclipse, or shadow: be the advice of a single wit never so grave and weighty, let the act and honour be solely the king's, which adds more and more to the belief of his ability and greatness.

If once the royal heart be so given over to sensuality, that the befitting and necessary cares of a kingdom seem a burthen, and, by a letter of attorney, assigned over to the fidelity of another, he is then, by his own indiscretion, no more an absolute king, but at second-hand and by direction. It is the practice, and not the theoretic act of state that awes and assures the heart of the subject; this, being once doubtful or suspected, estrangeth the will of our obedience, and gives a belief of liberty to the actions of disorder and injustice.

Neither is the error and imbecillity of a crown more prejudicial to itself, than dangerous in the example. Majestick vanities and vices find a ready imitation and practice, so that it may be concluded, an ill king may endanger the virtue and goodness of a whole kingdom. Our nature is prone to the worse part, which we more readily are inclined to practise, with the condition of time, and so powerful and eminent a precedent.

Kings that are subject to a natural weakness, or grown to the practice of any other particular error, by corruption, should act their deeds of darkness, with such a reserved secrecy and caution, that there be not a suspicion to taint him; for, if it once win an open knowledge, besides the particular aspersion, it brings with it an ensuing supposed liberty of practice, both in court and state, by his example.

As these are most proper to the affections, so are there some as necessary instructions for kingly passions, which, of the two, are more violent and dangerous.

Though it a while delay the concluding part of the history, yet my pen must not leave them untouched. I must confess, if man could master and govern these rebellious monsters, he might justly merit rather the name of an angel than a mortal creature. But this, in a true perfection, is most impossible. It is yet, in divinity and all moral construction, the most absolute master-piece of this our pilgrimage, to dispose them so, that they wait on the operations of the soul, rather as obedient servants, than loose and uncontrouled vagabonds. A king, that is in these deficient, having so unlimited a power, and making his will his law, in short time loseth the honour of his calling, and makes himself a tyrant. Intemperate and heady actions be-
get

get but disorder and confusion, and if they end in blood without a warranty of apparent justice, or inevitable necessity, they cry to heaven for a deserved vengeance. The law hath advantages and punishments enough for those that lie at his mercy. Let not incensed haste betray the royalty of a crown, to make himself both judge and executioner. Kings are gods on earth, and ought in all their actions to direct the imitation after a divine nature, which inclines to mercy more than justice. Men's lives, once lost, cannot be redeemed; there ought therefore to be a tender consideration before they be taken, lest the injustice of the actor, in time, be brought to suffer in the same measure. As is the quality of the fact, so is the condition of his agent to be maturely deliberated, wherein there may be such dependencies, that it is for the crown more profitable, safe, and honourable, to save, or delay the execution of the law, than to advance or hasten it. Howsoever, it is the more innocent and excellent way, to offend in the better part, and rather to let the law, than once own virtue and goodness to be visibly deficient, and disesteemed. The actions of repentance are numbered with the register of our misdemeanours, where none appear more fearful than those, which an inconsiderate fury, or the violence of passion, hath acted with too much haste and cruelty. Let then the height of so great and excellent a calling be suited with as sweet a temper, neither too precipitate or slow, but with a steady and well-advised motion.

As these considerations are in the one part necessary, so ought there to be a correspondent worth and care in him that hath the happiness to enjoy in so great a measure his royal master's ear and favour. If the actions of the king be never so clear and innocent, yet he must favour or protect the error of so great a servant, which makes him an accessory, if not an actor, in the unjust oppression of his kingdom. It is not discretion, neither hath it any society, with the well-grounded rules of wisdom, for the subject to exalt or amplify the height of his own glory; it is, in the eye of all, too great a presuming insolence, and kings themselves will rather alter their affections, than to be outshined or dazzled in their own sphere or element.

He that hath made his master's love, and hath ascended the stairs of his preferment, should make the same virtue the stay of his advantage, framing his carriage to his equals and inferiors, with a like sweet and winning temper. If he swerve from this sacred rule, and arrive to win fear, or a vain adoration, let him know, the first is the companion of trust and safety, the other of a jealous diffidence, that must betray his life and honour.

But, to return to our history, which now removes Edward, the father, to Killingworth, where he remains under the keeping of the earl of Lancaster, while his unripe son is crowned king; and the queen, with Mortimer, take into their hands the whole sway, and administration of the kingdom. Their first act sends Baldock, the lord chancellor, to Newgate, a fit

cage for such a haggard, though far unworthy the eminency of his height and dignity.

Now do the recollected spirits of the kingdom begin to survey and examine the injustice of that act, that had disrobed and put down a king, their unquestionable sovereign, that had been so solemnly anointed, and so long enjoyed the regimen of the kingdom: they find the condition of their estate but little altered, and, according to the vanity of their hearts, are as ready to attempt a new innovation. Many suits are made to the king, and the protectors, to release him out of his imprisonment; but all prove vain and fruitless. The Black Friars were, in this request, more earnest; who, in their denial, sought to bring it to pass by force or surprisal. They make Donhead, one of their number, their captain; but he knew better the use of church-ornaments, than how to handle his weapons, or manage an army; he is intercepted, and sent to prison, where he dies, before he had so much as mustered his congregation.

The cloud dispersed, the queen believes it a fit time to take her leave of her assistant strangers, who mainly hasten their departure. She was unwilling they should be witnesses to the unnatural succeeding tragedy, which was too much for her own kingdom, and unfit for the stranger's climate, which was filled with the belief of her virtue and honour. She liberally and freely requites, to each particular, the minute of his pains and travel; but Sir John of Heinsault, and the better sort, are honoured with many rich jewels and gifts, besides continuing annuities, and annual revenues. They hold themselves nobly contented, and, taking a solemn leave, are honourably attended to Dover, leaving the kingdom with a merrier eye, than when they first beheld it.

Now is the earl of Lancaster, who, though he had least cause, was nobly disposed towards his old master, removed, and delivers over his charge by indenture, to Sir Morice Barkeley, and Sir John Mattrevers, who led him back to his first place of imprisonment, where, in the presence of his keepers, he one day, in a melancholy passion, doth thus discourse his sorrows:

Alas! Is my offence so great, that it deserves nor pity nor assistance? Is human piety and goodness so wholly lost, that neither in child, wife, servant, or subject, appears the least expression of love or duty? Admit my errors unexcusable, wherein I will not justify myself, nor accuse others: though it hath taken from me the glory of my former being, I am yet a father and a husband; these titles are without the jurisdiction of fortune. If I be so, where is the affection and duty that becomes the child, and wedlock? Sure, my misery hath not made me such a basilisk, or monster, that my sight should beget or fear or hatred; can they believe a danger in the visitation of a poor distressed captive? I know their hardened hearts are not so noble, and apt for compassion, that they need suspect themselves, or me, in so poor a courtesy. What then occasions this neglect or estrangement? Are they not content to enjoy all that was mine, as yet, by the laws of God, man, and nature, but they must despise and forsake my withered ruins?

Alas!

Alas! I know my poor children are innocent, both they, and my injurious queen, are betrayed by cunning, wicked Mortimer; whom, if I had paid with his just desert, when heaven and his own guilt had laid him at my mercy, I had not lived to endure this affliction, nor he to be the insulting instrument of my dishonour. But time, and this sad trial, hath taught me patience, and learned me how to know the height of my misfortunes, which (if my divining spirit err not) will not be long unseen and unrevenged. Am I unworthy to be seen? I am then unfit to live, and will receive it as a well-becoming pity, if my death may send me hence, from this so great a sorrow.

When he had thus ended, and, with a few manly tears, smothered in the depth of that heart-breaking sigh, that enforced his silence, he was, by one of his attendance, made this rough uncivil answer.

‘My lord, your wife and children are jealous, and fearful of your cruel furious nature, whereof both they and the kingdom have too true a knowledge to trust you: besides, they are informed, your resolution is fixed to do them mischief, if they approach your danger. This keeps your queen from you she once so truly loved.

My queen (quoth he) hath she that remaining title, while I, that made her so, am less than nothing? Alas, poor wretched woman! Hath she, nor could she find no other more tolerable excuse than this, so faint a pretended fear and danger? Is there a possibility in her suspicion? Or have I the means (if I were so resolved) to do it, that am here a poor forsaken man, as far from power as comfort? And, fellow, thou that takest so audacious and sawcy a liberty, to character thy sovereign's disposition, which thou art bound to honour, and not to question: know, Edward's heart is as free from thy base aspersion, as thine from truth or honesty.

When he had ended these words, he retires himself to his chamber, sad and melancholy, believing his case was hard and desperate, when so base a groom durst face to face affront him. The queen and Mortimer, revelling now in the height of their ambition and felicity, had yet a wary eye to the main, which they knew did principally rest on the safeguard and sure keeping of the deposed king. Though they had all the marks and essential parts of an absolute sovereignty, the name alone excepted, yet they had unquiet and troubled thoughts, in the fear and imagination of losing it. They saw their plausible incomes were dully continued, and there was a beginning murmur against the manner of their proceedings. They knew there was no constancy in the people, that would be as ready to take them off, as they were to bring them on, in any new stirring or innovation. The lords, that were their principal supporters, were content, but not satisfied, all things concurring to make them suspect their own condition.

Edward the father's faults were extenuated, his vices ascribed to those that had betrayed him, and his estate infinitely pitied, that had so dishonourable an usage, far short of what in justice appertained to the honour of his first calling. These reports made their ears tin-

gle, and incite them in time to think upon some befitting remedy. Many ways and devices are thought upon, but they are all subject to some manifest imperfection. On this, Mortimer falls to the matter roundly and tells the queen plainly, that there is no way left to make all sure, but absolutely to take away the cause, and to leave the party by Edward's death hopeless, that, by his life, sought to make a new combustion.

The queen, whose heart was yet innocent of so deep a transgression, was deeply and inwardly troubled with this unhappy proposition. She believed his sufferings were already greater than his faults, and was unwilling to stain the opinion of her worth and virtue, with so foul an act of injustice. She was assured it could not be so done, but it would be discovered; if the eyes of men could be blinded, yet, that all-knowing power of heaven would reveal and punish it. Such deep actions of crying sins are seldom long unrevenged, which made her most unwilling, that her consent should pass, or be assistant. To kill a king, her husband, that had once so dearly loved her, was more than an act of blood; nor could she expect, but that the son, grown up, would revenge the death of the father. *Therefore (quoth she) sweet Mortimer, let us resolve rather any other hazard, than this which is waited on with so great infamy and certain ruin.*

Mortimer replies, *Madam, who hath the benefit of time, and neglects the advantage, if he fall, is justly unworthy pity or compassion. Have you exposed yourself to all the bitter trials of fortune, suffering, so meanly, so many miseries; and having overcome them according to your desire, are you willing to return to your own condition, and former sorrow? If it be so, Mortimer is wretched, in sacrificing his devotion and heart to such a female weakness. In cases of extremity, a tenderness of conscience begets a certain danger, nor is it disproportionably so to continue a crown, that by blood was gotten and surprised; had Edward known I should have lived to see his ruin, my head had paid my ransom. The impressions of fear make his subject less in sense than apparition; think not me of so poor a brain, but I as well know how to work as move it; such actions are not to be done, but such a way as may prevent proof, if not suspicion. But why do I seek thus to charm your ears, if you be willing he shall live, let him; let the inclining people set him free, to call you to an account for his oppression; let him parallel his Spencer's death in your affliction; perhaps he will spare you for your brother's sake, who, he knows, so dearly loves you, and did so bravely witness it in your affliction; perhaps he will suffer you still to guide the crown, and your fair son to wear it. If you be pleased, you may abide the trial. Mortimer's resolved, since you neglect his judgment, you will as soon forget his service, which he will in time prevent, before it be debarred.*

With this, he flings away, as if he meant to give his words a real execution. The amazed queen pursues and overtakes him.

Stay, gentle Mortimer (quoth she) forgive my error, I am a woman, fitter to take advice than give it. Think not I prize thy love so little as to lose thee. If Edward must die, I will not seek to divert it; only I thus much beg, I
may

may not be partaker, or privy to the time, means, or manner.

Madam, leave that to me, who will, alone, both undertake the act and danger; all I require from you, is, but to seal a warrant to change his former keepers.

Sir Morris Barkley had been tampered withal, and was so far from consent, that he plainly declared he did abhor the action. This answer suddenly discharged him, and commits his master's guard to Sir Thomas Gourney, and his former partner, Mattrevers. They, having received both their warrant and prisoner, convey him to Cork-castle, the place in all the world he most hated. Some say, he was foretold, by certain magick spells, that this place was to him both fatal and ominous. But, whatsoever the cause was, he was, at his first arrival, deeply sad and passionate. His keepers, to repel this humour, and make him less suspicious, feed him with pleasant discourse, and better entertainment, while his misgiving spirit was heavy, sad, and melancholy.

The night before his death, he supped heartily, and went to bed betimes; scarcely were his heavy eyes locked up in silent slumber, when his forsworn traitorous murderers enter his chamber, and, finding him asleep, inhumanly and barbarously stifled him, before he could avoid or resist it. The writers differ mainly in the manner of his death, but all conclude him murdered; yet so, that the way, on search and view, could not be known or discovered. A small passage of time gave the most part of all these actors of his death an end fit for their deserts, and this so bloody an action. Their several relations and confessions occasion so many various reports, and different kinds of writing; the truth whereof is not much material, since all agree, he came to an unnatural and untimely death.

Thus fell that unhappy King Edward the Second, who was son and father to two of the most glorious kings that ever held the monarchy of the English nation. Main reasons are given, probable enough to instance the necessity of his fall, which, questionless, were the secondary means to work it. But his doom was registered by that inscrutable Providence of heaven, who, with the self-same sentence, punished both him, and Richard the Second, his great grandchild, who were guilty of the same offences. The example of these two so unfortunate kings, may be justly a leading precedent to all posterity.

Certainly, we have had other kings as faulty and vicious, that have overlived their errors, and died not by a violent hand, but by the ordinary and easy course of nature. The condition and quality of these was not, in themselves, more perilous and exorbitant, than hurtful and dangerous to the estate, peace, and tranquillity of the whole kingdom. If, by height of youth, height of fortune, or a corrupt natural inclination, the royal affections loosely fly at random; yet, if it extend no farther than the satisfaction of the proper appetite, it may obscure the glory, but not supplant the strength and welfare of a monarchy. But when it is, in itself, not only vicious and ill affected, but doth patrocine and

maintain it in others, not blushing in such a justification, it is a forerunning and presaging evidence, that betokens a fatal and unpitied ruin.

It is too much in a king, that hath so great a charge delivered to his care and custody, to be dissolute, or wantonly given; but when it falls into a second error, which makes more kings than one in the self-same kingdom, he opens the way to his own destruction. The subjects hearts, as they are obliged, so are they continued by the majesty and goodness of a king; if either of these prove prostitute, it unties the links of duty and allegiance, and hunts after change and innovation.

It is of so singular and great a consequence, that kings ought to be well advised, and sparingly to accumulate their honours and favours, wherein both the time, person, and occasion, ought to be both worthy and weighty; for the eye of the subject waits curiously on his actions, which finding them degenerating from his own greatness, and inclinable to their oppression, vary their integrity to a murmuring discontent, which is the harbinger to a revolt and mischief. Nor is it proper (if the sovereign's affections must dote) that the object of their weakness should sway the government of the kingdom. Such an intermixture begets confusion and error, and is attended by a perpetual envy and hatred.

Is it possible, but there must be a perpetual error and injustice, where all things are carried more by favour and affection, than law and reason? Or can the lesser fountains be clear, when the main spring that feeds them is tainted and polluted? Alas, common and familiar experience tells, that the action and principal use of a favourite, is to make good, by his strength and favour, those designs that are, in themselves, unjust, perverse, and insupportable.

A good cause, in the integrity of time, needs no protection but its own innocence; but where the sacred rules of justice are inverted, the sincerity of the law abused, the conscience of the judge corrupted or enforced, and all things made mercenary, or carried by indirect favour, what expectation can there be, but that kingdom, which is the theatre of so infamous a practice, should fall speedily into a fearful and desperate convulsion? Though the histories of these times are plentifully stored, and few commonwealths are free from the examples of this nature, yet I shall not need any other instance, than the story of this unfortunate prince, whose time presents a perfect mirror, wherein ensuing kings may see how full of danger and hazard it is, for one man's love, to sell the affections and peace of the whole kingdom.

Had Edward, in his own particular, been far worse than he was, he might have still subsisted; but when for his inglorious minions, Gaveston and Spencer, who successively engross him, he fell to those injurious and dissolute actions, that made all men, and the kingdom, pray to their insolent and imperious humours, he quickly found both heaven and earth resolved to work his ruin. Not only his own, but theirs, and those of their igno-

ble agents, were made his proper errors, which took so wholly from him the love and hearts of his subjects, that he found neither arms nor tongue to defend him. A more remarkable misery, I think, no time of ours produceth, that brings this king to destruction, without so much as any one kinsman, friend, or subject, that declared himself in his quarrel.

But he found the climacterick year of his reign, before he did expect it: and made that unhappy castle, which he ever hated, the witness of his cruel murder; where I must leave him, 'till he find a more honourable place of burial, and my weary pen a fortunate subject, that may invite it to some other new relation.

The French king conquered by the English; the king of France and his son brought prisoners into England (besides divers earls, lords, and above two thousand knights and esquires) by the victorious Edward the Black Prince, son to Edward the Third. Wherein is given an account of several great battles fought and wonderful victories obtained over the French, when they had six to one against the English, to the honour and renown of England's unparalleled valour, conduct, and resolution.

The LIFE and DEATH of EDWARD, surnamed THE BLACK PRINCE.

THIS Edward was the eldest son of that victorious prince, King Edward the Third: his mother was the fair Philippa, daughter to William earl of Hainault and Holland, who was delivered of this her first-born son at Woodstock, July 15, *Anno Christi* 1329, and in the third year of his father's reign. He was afterwards created prince of Wales, duke of Aquitaine and Cornwall, and earl of Chester. He was also earl of Kent, in right of his wife Joan, the most admired beauty of that age, daughter of Edmund earl of Kent, brother, by the father's side, to King Edward the Second.

King Edward was very solicitous in the education of this his son, and provided him choice tutors, to train him up both in arts and arms: and among others Walter Burley, a doctor of divinity, brought up in Merton college in Oxford, who wrote many excellent treatises in natural and moral philosophy, for his great fame in learning, had the honour to be one of the instructors of this hopeful prince.

When he was but fifteen years old, his father King Edward, passing over into France, with a great and gallant army, took this his son along with him, making him a soldier, before he was grown to be a man: but, it seems, he longed to try what metal his son was made of in the bud; and haply he was loth to omit any thing that might give countenance and credit to this battle, wherein two kingdoms were laid at the stake.

Anno Christi 1345, our King Edward was upon the sea in a fleet of above a thousand sail, and landed in Normandy: his land forces were about two thousand five hundred horse, and his foot thirty thousand, most of them archers. Making pitiful havock in Normandy, he marched up almost to the very walls of Paris.

Philip, the French king, had not slept all this while, but had raised and brought together one of the bravest armies that ever France had seen, consisting of about a hundred, or six score thousand fighting men.

King Edward, loaden and rich with spoils, seemed not unwilling to retreat. But they were now in the heart of their enemies country, between the two good rivers of Seyne and Soame: and it was judged meet by our king to seek a passage out of these Straits; and this enquiry was interpreted by the enemy to be a kind of flight, and King Edward was willing to nourish this conceit in them.

The river of Soame, between Abbeville and the sea, was at low water fordable, and gravelly ground, whereof our king was informed by a French prisoner, whom they had taken. But the French king, well acquainted with his own country, had set a guard upon that pass, of a thousand horse, and above six thousand foot, under the conduct of one Gundamar du Foy, a Norman lord of special note. King Edward, coming to this place, plunges into the ford, crying out, *He that loves me, let him follow me*, as resolving either to pass or die. These words, and such a precedent, so inflamed his army, that the passage was won, and du Foy defeated almost before he was fought with, the incomparable courage and resolution of the English appaling him, and carried back to King Philip fewer by two thousand than he carried with him, besides the terror which his retreat brought along with it: and, if the English were before unappaled, now much more they resolved to live and die with such a sovereign.

Now was king Edward near unto Cressy, in the county of Ponthieu, lying between the rivers of Soame and Anthy, a place which unquestionably belonged

to him, in the right of his mother, where he was careful to provide the best he could for his safety and defence. King Philip, being enraged for the late defeat, precipitates to the battle, wherein the great and just God intended to scourge the pride and sins of France, being the rather induced thereto, by his confidence in his numerous and gallant army, who were ready to tread upon one another's heels, till the view of the English colours and battle put them to a stand.

King Edward, having called upon God for his gracious aid and assistance, full of heroick assuredness, without the least perturbation, divided his army into three battalions. The first was disposed into the form of an hearse, where the archers stood in the front, and the men of arms stood in the bottom; and this was led by the young lion of Wales, our brave Prince Edward, to whose assistance the king joined some of his prime and most experienced captains; as Beauchamp, earl of Warwick; Godfrey of Harecourt; the lords, Thomas Holland, Richard Stafford, John Chandois, Robert Nevil, La'ware, Bouchier, Clifford, Cobham, &c. and many other knights and gentlemen, to the number of eight hundred men at arms, two thousand archers, and a thousand Welchmen. In the second, were the earls of Northampton and Arundel, the lords Ross, Willoughby, Bassett, St. Albine, &c. with eight hundred men at arms, and twelve hundred archers. In the third was the king himself, having about him seven hundred men at arms, and three thousand archers, with the residue of his nobles and people.

The battle thus ordered, our king mounted upon a white hobby, rode from rank to rank to view them, and with quickening words encouraged them, that bravely they should stand to, and fight for his right and honour. And he closed the battles at their backs, as if he meant to barricado up their way from flying, which he did by plashing and felling of trees, and placing his carriages there, and all his other impediments. He commanded all men also to dismount, and to leave their horses behind them, and thus all ways and means of flight being taken away, the necessity doubtless did double their courages.

The French king, Philip, had with him John of Luxembourg, king of Bohemia; the king of Majorca; the duke of Alanson, his brother; Charles de Blois, the king's nephew; Ralph, duke of Lorraine; the duke of Savoy; the earls of Flanders, Nevers, Sancerre, with many other dukes, earls, barons, and gentlemen bearing arms, and those not only French, but Almains, Dutch, and others. And, just the night before the battle, there came to the French army, Anne of Savoy, with a thousand men at arms, so that all things seemed to elate the pride of the French, and to fit them for destruction.

The French army was also divided into three battalions. The vanguard the king committed to his brother, the duke of Alanson, and the king of Bohemia; the rear to the duke of Savoy. And the main battle he led himself, being so impatient of all delays, that he would scarce permit time for a little counsel,

to consider what was fittest to be done. He caused also the auriflamb to be erected, which was an hallowed banner of red silk, whereof the French had a wonderful high conceit, as of a thing sent them from heaven, as the Ephesians thought of their Diana. The king of Bohemia, though he was short-sighted, hearing in what good array the English attended their coming, said plainly (contrary to the proud conceits of the French, who thought them in a posture of flight) *Here will the English end their days or conquer.* He advised also that the army should take some repast, and that the infantry, consisting of the Genoese, who were about fifteen thousand cross-bows, and sure men, should make the first front, and the cavalry to follow, which was done accordingly.

A little before the fight began, God, to shew that he was Lord of Hosts, and the only Giver of Victory, caused the black clouds to pour down upon them plenty of water, like so many funeral tears, enarching the air with a spacious rainbow; and discharged sundry peals of thunder. The sun also, which before had hid his face under a black dark cloud, now broke forth, shining full in the Frenchmen's faces, and on the backs of the English. At the same time also great flocks of ravens, and other baleful birds of prey, came flying over the French army.

The duke of Alanson, contrary to his order, took it ill, that the Genoese were set in the front, and therefore in fury caused them to change place; which changed that seat of the army, and wrought that discontent also in these Italians, as irritated them more against the French than against their enemies.

The sign of battle, being given by King Philip, was entertained with clamours and shouts, all things shewing the dread and horror of war; drums and trumpets sounding to a charge, banners flying in the air, and every where the glittering weapons threatening death and destruction. The French calamities began at the Genoese, who, under Carolo Grimaldi, and Antonio Doria, their colonels, being all of them cross-bow men, were to open a way by their arrows for the French horse; but this was the success of their service: their bow-strings being wet with the late rain, their bodies weary with a long march, their ranks (after the English had received their first volley upon their targets) opened with innumerable gaps, occasioned by the fall of their slain fellows, who were: overthrown by our home-drawn arrows, were at last most outrageously scattered, and trampled under foot by Charles, duke of Alanson (by command of King Philip himself) who, bringing up the horse with a full career, cried out, *On, on, let us make our way upon the bellies of these Genoese, who do but hinder us;* and instantly pricks on through the midst of them, followed by the dukes of Lorraine and Savoy, never staying till he came up to the English battalion, wherein our gallant prince commanded. This fiery young count (contrary to good discipline) had also otherwise disoblinded them, by disgraceful speeches even when they were ready to join battle.

These French gallants, being thus mingled amongst them, were very many of them overthrown and slain by the English arrows, which equally brought to destruction both French and Genoese, shooting thickest where the crowd and confusion was greatest. Some rascals also that followed the English army, as they saw opportunity, stepped in among them, and helped to cut their throats, sparing neither lord nor lozel.

The French men at arms, half out of breath with their post-haste, and terribly disordered by the perpetual storms of our whistling arrows, were now at handy strokes with the prince's battalion; neither was it long before the bright battle-axes, glittering swords, and lances, and such like other English weapons, had changed their hue, being covered over with human gore; which, having thirstily drank out of the enemies wounds, let drop in bloody tears to the ground.

The fight was sharp and fierce, whilst each strove for victory. But here may not be forgotten the high resolution and valour of the king of Bohemia, who (as only seeking an honourable grave for his old age) thrust himself into the first ranks of his own horsemen, and, with full career charging the English, was slain with his sword in hand, the troop of his faithful followers, with their slaughtered bodies, covering him even in death; this was soon seen by the fall of the Bohemian standard; whereupon his son Charles (who was lately elected emperor of Germany, whilst King Lewis was yet alive) wisely took care for his own safety, by a timely retreat, when he saw the case desperate.

Now was King Philip himself in person, with the full power of his army, come to the rescue of his brother and friends, who, while they had breath, were fighting hard for their hoped-for victory; but, finding the English valour far beyond what they expected, they were beaten to the earth in great numbers, so that the carnage was very great. Yet was not our brave prince without danger, though now the second battalion of the English for the preservation of their prince, rushing in among their enemies, fought most courageously.

Our King Edward all this while was standing upon a windmill-hill, with his helmet on, which never came off till all was ended, judiciously watching, beholding the whole field, to see how all things went, and ready to bring down his army, which stood about him like a black hovering in a cloud, when just necessity should require it. The prince, in the mean time, being hard put to it, having the whole power of France against him, some of the nobles, sensible of his danger, sent to the king, requesting his presence for the aid of his son in this necessity; the king asked the messenger, Whether his son was slain or hurt? And when they answered, No, but that he was like to be overpowered with the multitude of his enemies. "Well then, said the king, go back to them that sent you, and tell them, that, so long as my son is alive, they send no more to me, whatever happen; for I will that the honour of this day shall be his, if God

permit him to survive, and that he shall either win his spurs, or lose his life."

This message, though it carried not back men to assist, yet it inspired such new life and spirits into the English, that they fought like lions, as resolving either to conquer or die. On the other side, King Philip, whose kingdom lay at stake, performed the duty of a good general and gallant soldier, fighting so long in his own person, till his horse was killed under him, himself twice dismounted, and wounded both in the neck and thigh, and near being trodden to death, had not the lord John of Hainault, earl of Beaumont, rescued and remounted him; the French also about him, out of a loyal desire of his preservation, almost against his will, conveyed him out of the field, who rather seemed desirous to end his days in so noble company.

The king being departed out of the field, and the matter being divulged in both armies, it soon put a period to this bloody medley, wherein, as yet, none were taken to mercy, but all were put to the sword. The French king himself, with a small company, got to Bray in the night, and approaching the walls, and the guard asking who was there? He answered, *The fortune of France*. By his voice he was known, and thereupon received into the town, with the tears and lamentations of his people. The rest of his army sought to save themselves by flight, whom the English, warily fighting upon the defensive, and loth to hazard so glorious a victory, by breaking their ranks to pursue the enemy too far in the night, which was now come on, suffered them to be followed only by their own fears, contenting themselves to make good their ground, by standing still upon their guard, according to the rules of true martial discipline, knowing that there were so many of the enemy escaped, as might yet serve to overwhelm their weary army with their multitude.

Our King Edward, seeing the coast for the present cleared of all his enemies, came down from the hill with his intire battalion towards his victorious son, and, most affectionately embracing and kissing him, said, "Fair son, God send you good perseverance to such prosperous beginnings; you have acquitted yourself right nobly, and are well worthy to have a kingdom intrusted with your government for your valour." To which the most noble and magnanimous of princes replied with silence, most humbly falling on his knees at the feet of his triumphant father.

Immediately after this victory, our king marched with his army through France, and sat down before Calais. But, as the splendor of the sun darkens the stars, so did the presence of the father obscure the actions and virtues of the son, that I read no more of him till the year 1355. At which time our king was informed, that John, the now king of France, his father Philip being dead, had given the duchy of Aquitaine to Charles the dauphin; whereupon King Edward, being much incensed, conferred the same upon

upon his own son, the prince of Wales, commanding him to defend his right therein with the sword against his adversaries.

He was also appointed, by parliament, to go into Gascoigne with a thousand men at arms, two thousand archers, and a great number of Welchmen, who accompanied their prince. And in June following he set forward with three hundred sail of ships, attended with the earls of Warwick, Suffolk, Salisbury, and Oxford, and the lords Chandois, Audley, Beaufort, Lisle, with Sir Robert Knowles, Sir Francis Hall, and many others.

With these arriving in Aquitain, he betook himself to do things worthy of his name and courage. He did wonders in France; for, with his victorious army, he recovered multitudes of towns and prisoners: he entered Guienne, passed over Languedoc to Tholouse, Narbonne, and Bruges, without any encounter, sacks, spoils and destroys where he goes, and loaden with booties returns to Bourdeaux. In the mean time, the French king gathered all the power he possibly could, and the prince (the winter being spent) sets forth upon a new expedition.

He had in his army about eight thousand brave expert and well disciplined soldiers, and with them he advanced through Perigord and Limosin, into the bottom of France, even up to the very gates of Bruges in Berry, the terror of his name flying before, to his great advantage. Thus satisfied for the present, he wheeled about with purpose to return by Remorantine in Blaisois, which town he took, and so through the country of Tourain, Poictou, and Xantoigne, to his chief city of Bourdeaux. But John, king of France, having assembled a great and compleat army, followed close, and about the city of Poictiers overtook our invincible prince.

When the armies, with the odds of six to one against the English, drew near each other, two cardinals, sent from pope Clement, mediated, as they had done before, to take up the quarrel. But the French king, supposing that he had his enemy now at his mercy, would accept of no other conditions, but that the prince should deliver him four hostages, and, as vanquished, render up himself and his army to his discretion. The prince was content to restore unto him all the places which he had taken from him, but without prejudice to his honour, wherein, he said, he stood accountable to his father and his country. But the French king would abate nothing of his former demands, as being assured of the victory, as he supposed; and thereupon was ready instantly to set upon the prince, who, seeing himself reduced to this strait, took what advantage he could of the ground, and by his diligence got the benefit of certain vines, shrubs, and bushes, upon that part where he was like to be assaulted, whereby to pester and entangle the French horse, which he saw was ready to come furiously upon him.

The success answered his expectation; for the cavalry of his enemy, in their full career, were so en-

tangled and incumbered among the vines, that the prince's archers galled and annoyed them at their pleasure. For the French king, to give the honour of the day to his cavalry, made use of them only, without the help of his infantry; hence it was that, they being disordered, and put to rout, his whole army came to be utterly defeated. Here, if ever, the prince and his English gave full proof of their valour and undaunted courage, never giving over till they had wholly routed all the three French battalions, the least of which exceeded all the prince's numbers. The king himself, fighting valiantly, and Philip his youngest son, who by such his boldness and zeal defended his distressed father, as it purchased him the honourable surname of Hardy, were taken prisoners.

Those of the prince's side, whose valour and great deeds were most conspicuous, were the earls of Warwick, Suffolk, Salisbury, Oxford, and Stafford; the lords Chandois, Cobham, Spencer, Audley, Berkley, Bassett, &c. and of Gascoigne, subjects to the crown of England, the capital de Beuf, the lords Lumiere, Chaumont, with others of inferior title, but not of unequal valour; among others, James, lord Audley, won immortal renown at this bloody battle, in which he received many wounds, and was rewarded by the noble prince with a gift of five hundred marks, land in fee-simple in England, which he divided among his four esquires, who had stood by him in all the fury and brunt of the battle; hereupon the prince asked him, *If he accepted not of his gift?* He answered, *That these men had deserved it as well as himself, and needed it more.* With which reply the prince was so well pleased, that he gave five hundred marks more in the same kind. A rare example, where desert in the subject, and reward in the prince, strove which should be the greater. This lord Audley, having vowed to be foremost in the fight, made good his words accordingly.

It was the misfortune, or rather the glory of the French nobles in these disastrous times, that the loss fell ever heavily upon them; for, in this great overthrow and carnage, by their own confession, there fell fifty-two lords, and about seventeen hundred knights, esquires, and gentlemen, that bore coats of arms; among the knights were fifty-two bannerets. The chief among the slain were Peter of Bourbon, duke of Athens, the high constable of France; John de Clermont, marshal; Jeffery de Charmy, high chamberlain; the bishop of Chalons, the lords of Landas, of Pons, and of Chambly. Sir Reginald Camian, who that day carried the auriflamb, was slain also, and as many others as made up the former number; and of the common soldiers there died about six thousand. So wonderfully did the great God of battles fight for the English in those days.

There escaped from this bloody battle three of the French king's sons, for he brought them all with him, Charles, prince of Dauphin, Lewis, afterwards duke of Anjou, and John, duke of Berry; all of them great actors in the times following.

The

The French prisoners taken were John, king of France, and Philip his son, afterwards duke of Burgoyne; the archbishop of Sens; James of Bourbon, earl of Ponthieu; John of Artois, earl of Eu; Charles, his brother, earl of Longueville; Charles, earl of Vendosme; the earls Tankerville, Salbruch, Nassaw, Dampmartin, La Roche; the counts of Vaudemont, Estampes, and John de Ceintre, accounted the best knights of France, and many other great lords; and about two thousand knights, esquires, and gentlemen that bore coats of arms; and in this expedition the English took an hundred ensigns.

But here great contention arose between many, who should be the man that took King John prisoner. The prince wisely commanded them to forbear, till they came into England, where, the matter being heard, it was adjudged by King John's own testimony, that one Sir Denis Morbeck, of St. Omer's, had taken him prisoner; for which service the prince rewarded him with a thousand marks.

And now, though King John had the hard hap to fall into the hands of an enemy, yet he had the happiness to fall into the hands of a noble enemy. For Prince Edward, having conquered his person by force of battle, now strove to overcome his mind, by his humble deportment, expressing himself in a language so ponderous, humble, grave, and natural, and yet so stately, as none but the best soul, adorned with the best education, was able to have performed. And, the next day, causing the chaplains, and the other priests in the army, to celebrate divine service, he put off from himself the whole glory of victory, and most devoutly gave it unto God; after which, in the sight and hearing of the prisoners, he highly commended and heartily thanked his soldiers, with speeches full of life and affection, sealing his words to every one with bountiful large fees as his present means would permit. Mr. May, in his Edward the Third, sets forth this battle excellently in these words:

The first hot charge
The valiant lord, renowned Audley, gave;
Who, to perform a noble vow, in deeds
Almost the prowess of a man exceeds;
And, like the stroke of Jove's resistless thunder,
Shoots forth, and breaks the strongest ranks asunder.
Here, in the thickest throng of enemies,
Like Thracian Mars himself, Black Edward plies
Death's fatal task. Here noble Warwick gives
A furious onset; there brave Suffolk strives
T' outgo the foremost: emulation's fire
Is kindled now, and blazes high: desire
Of honour drowns all other passions there:
Not in the chiefs alone; each soldier
In that small army feels bright honour's flame,
And labours to maintain his proper fame.
Ne'er was a battle through all parts so fought,
Nor such high wonders by a handful wrought.
Bright victory, that soar'd above, beheld
How every English hand throughout the field

Was stain'd with blood, amaz'd to see the day,
And that so few should carry her away.

The fields no more their verdure can retain,
Enforced now to take their purple stain,
And be obscur'd with slaughter, while the wounds
Of France manure her own unhappy grounds;
Where, mixed with plebeian funerals,
Her greatest princes die: there Bourbon falls,
And marshal Clermont welters in his gore;
There noble Charney's beaten down, that bore
The standard royal that sad day: here dies
Athens great duke; there valiant Eustace lies,
Who, as a badge of highest honour, wore
A chaplet of bright pearls, that had before
(Won by King Edward, in a skirmish, near
To Calais he was taken prisoner)
As testimony of his prowess shew'd,
Been by that royal enemy bestow'd.

Great are the French battalia's, and, in room
Of those that fall, so oft fresh soldiers come.
So oft the bloody fight's renew'd, that now
The English weary with subduing grow,
And 'gin to faint, oppress'd with odds so great;
When, lo! to make the victory compleat,
Six hundred bowmen (whom to that intent,
Before the battle, the brave prince had sent
Abroad well mounted) now come thund'ring o'er
The field, and charge the French behind so sore,
As with confusion did distract them quite;
And now an execution, not a fight
Ensues. All routed, that great army flies,
A prey to their pursuing enemies.

What his dishearten'd battle, Orleans
Forakes the field; with him the heir of France,
Young Charles of Normandy, and thousands more,
Not overthrown, but frightened by the foe.
Nor are the English, tho' enow to gain
The day, enow in number to maintain
So great a chace; and not so well suffice
To follow, as subdue their enemies.
Nor yet (which more declar'd the conquest sent
From heaven alone, to strike astonishment
In over-weening mortals, and to shew,
Without that help, how little man can do)
Are all the English, conquerors in the field,
Enow to take so many French as yield;
Nor to receive the prisoners, that come:
Tho' some in fields are ransom'd, and sent home,
Yet more from thence are captive borne away,
Than are the hands that won so great a day, &c.

And now, though King John had the unhappiness to fall into the hands of an enemy, yet that which alleviated his affliction, was, that he fell into the hands of a noble enemy; for Prince Edward used him with such respect and observance, that he could not find much difference between his captivity and liberty. Mr. May gives us this narrative of it:

The

The chace together with the day was done,
And all return'd : in his pavilion
Brave Edward feasts his royal prisoner ;
At which, as noble did the prince appear,
As erst in battle ; and, by sweetness won
As great a conquest, as his sword had done.
No fair respect, or honour, that might cheer
That king's afflicted breast, was wanting there.
No reverence, nor humble courtesy,
That might preserve his state and dignity,
But Edward shew'd at full ; and, at the feast,
In person waited on his captive guest.

But what content, what object fit could fate
Present, to comfort such a changed state ?

For him,
Whose state the morning sun had seen so high,
This night beholds in sad captivity ;
His restless passions, rolling to and fro,
No calm admit : when thus his noble foe,
Prince Edward, spake : (Great king, for such you are
In my thoughts still, whate'er the chance of war
Hath lately wrought against you here) forgive
Your humble kinsman's service, if I strive
To ease your sorrow, and presume to do
What is too much for me, to counsel you.
Do not deject your princely thoughts, or think
The martial fame that you have gain'd, can sink
In one successless field ; or too much fear
Your nation's honour should be tainted here.
Men's strength and honours we most truly try,
Where fields are fought with most equality.
But God was pleas'd to make this day's success
The more miraculous, that we the less
Might challenge to ourselves, and humbly know,
That, in so great and strange an overthrow,
Some secret judgment of our God was wrought,
And that the sword of heaven, not England, fought, &c.

And, for yourself, great king, all history,
That shall hereafter to the world make known
Th' event of Poitiers battle, shall renown
Your personal prowess, which appear'd so high,
As justly seem'd to challenge victory,
Had not God's secret providence oppos'd.
But, though his will, great sir, hath thus dispos'd,
Your state remains ; your person and your fame
Shall, in my humble thoughts, be still the same :
And, till my father see your face, to shew,
How he respects your worth and state, to you,
As to himself, were he in person here,
In all observance Edward shall appear.

The noble king, a while amaz'd to see
Victorious youth so full of courtesy,
At last replies : Brave cousin, you have shown
Yourself a man built up for true renown ;
And, as in action of the wars, to be
This age's phoenix in humanity.
Why do you wrong me thus, as to enthrall
Me doubly ? Not insulting o'er my fall,
You rob me, cousin, of that sole renown,
Which I, though vanquish'd, might have made my own,

To bear adversity. I might have shew'd,
Had you been proud, a passive fortitude ;
And let the world, though I am fallen, see
What spirit I had in scorning misery.
But you have robb'd me of that honour now,
And I am bound in honour to allow
That noble theft, content (since such are you)
To be your captive, and your debtor too ;
And, since my stars ordain'd a king of France,
Arm'd with such odds, so great a puissance,
Must in a fatal field be lost, to raise
So great a trophy to another's praise,
I am best pleas'd it should advance thy story,
And John's dishonour be Prince Edward's glory.

After the battle, which was fought on the nineteenth day of September, *Anno Christi* 1357, Prince Edward led King John and the captive nobles prisoners to Bourdeaux, the archiepiscopal see and chief city of his dominions in France, where he retained them till the spring following ; but sent present news of this victory to his father, who thereupon took speedy order, by Simon, archbishop of Canterbury, that a thanksgiving should be celebrated all over England, for eight days together.

The prince, having sufficiently rested and refreshed his people, the May following set sail for England with his prisoners, and safely arrived at Plymouth, and was with great joy and acclamations received every where. At his coming to London, where, at that time, a magnificent citizen, Henry Picard (he who afterwards, at one time, so nobly feasted the four kings of England, France, Scotland, and Cyprus) was lord-mayor, who received him with all imaginable honour. And the multitude of people, that came to see the victorious prince, with the king of France, his son Philip, and the other prisoners, was so great, that they could hardly get to Westminster between three o'clock in the morning and twelve at noon. Great Edward, saving that he forgot not the majesty of a conqueror, and of a king of England, omitted no kind of noble courtesy towards the prisoners. King John and his son were lodged under a safeguard at the Savoy, which was then a goodly palace belonging unto Henry, duke of Lancaster ; and the other prisoners in other places.

Some time after, Prince Edward, by dispensation, was married to the countess of Kent, daughter to Edmund, brother to king Edward the Second, and his father invested him with the duchy of Aquitaine ; so that he was now prince of Wales, duke of Aquitaine, duke of Cornwall, and earl of Chester and Kent ; and, not long after, he, with his beloved wife, passed over into France, and kept his court at Bourdeaux.

The prince of Wales was now grown famous over all the Christian world ; and the man to whom all wronged princes seemed to appeal, and to fly for succour. For which end, there came at this time to his court James, king of Majorca, and Richard, king of Navarre, just when his beloved lady brought him a son,

son, for whom these two kings undertook at his baptism, giving him the name of Richard.

The companies of soldiers, most of whose captains were English, either by birth, or obedience, wanting employment, because the wars of Britain were quieted for the present, ranged tumultuously up and down France. But, about this time, Sir Bertram de Glequin (having paid his ransom) found employment for them, drawing the greatest part of that military pestilence into another coast: for, by the assistance of Peter, king of Arragon, and the power of Glequin, with his floating-bands, called *The Companions*; or *Adventurers*, Peter, king of Castile and Leon, a cruel tyrant, was driven out of his kingdom, his bastard brother, Henry, being chosen in his room, and crowned king of Spain, at Burgos.

This Peter was son to Alphonfus the Eleventh, king of Castile, and had to wife a French lady, called Blanch, daughter to Peter, duke of Bourbon, who was father also of Joan, the French king's wife. His tyrannical cruelties were so many and so foul, that the Spanish stories scarce suffer Nero, or Caligula, to go beyond him; for which, by his subjects he was deposed, and his brother Henry (as is said before) was substituted and crowned in his room.

Peter, thus driven out of his kingdom, by the aid of the French, applied himself to Prince Edward, craving his assistance for his restitution, making many and large promises to him upon the accomplishment thereof. And the prince, partly out of charity to succour a distressed prince, and partly out of policy to keep his soldiers in exercise, having first sent to his father, and gotten his leave, marched with a gallant army of thirty thousand men (burning with desire of renown) upon confidence of good pay for his men, and other commodities, when Peter should be re-established upon his throne.

He made his way through the famous Streights of Rouncevallux, in Navarre, by permission of the king thereof, who yet suffered himself to be taken prisoner, and carried into Castile, that he might not seem to cross the French king's designs, who favoured Henry, the usurper.

Our prince had in his company, besides most of all the principal captains of the English, two kings, Peter of Castile, whose the quarrel was, and the king of Majorca: as also John, duke of Lancaster, who, some while after Don Pedro's death, having married his eldest daughter, wrote himself king of Castile and Leon.

On the other side, King Henry, for the defence of his new kingdom, had amassed together a very great army, consisting partly of French, under Glequin, their famous captain, and of Castilians and others, both Christians and Saracens, to the number of about an hundred thousand: and, upon the borders of Castile, it came to a bloody battle, wherein the valiant prince of Wales obtained a very great victory, having slain many thousands of his enemies. Henry himself, fighting valiantly, was wounded in the groin, but yet

escaped. There were taken prisoners the earl of Dene, Bertram de Glequin, (who yet shortly after, by paying a great ransom, was set at liberty) the marshal Dandrehen, and many others. Neither was this victory less worth to Peter, than a kingdom; for our most noble prince left him not, till at Burgos he had set him upon his throne again.

But this unworthy king's fallshood and ingratitude were odious and monstrous. For the prince, notwithstanding his so great goodness extended to him, was forced to return to Bourdeaux, without money wherewith to pay his army; which was the cause of exceeding great mischiefs to himself, and the English dominions beyond the seas, as if God had been displeased with his succouring such a tyrant. The prince himself, though he came back with victory, yet he brought back with him such a craziness, and indisposition of body, that he was never thoroughly well after. And no marvel, considering the country, the season, and the action itself; and it may be more marvelled, that his soldiers came home so well, than that he came home so ill.

Being now returned, there was presently, to his indisposition of body, added discontentment of mind. For, not having money wherewith to pay his soldiers, he was forced to wink at that which he could not choose but see, and seeing to grieve at. For they preyed upon the country, for which the country murmured against him. And, now to stop this murmuring, his chancellor, the bishop of Rhodes, devised a new imposition of levying a frank for every chimney, and this to continue for five years, to pay the prince's debts.

But this imposition, though granted in parliament, made the murmuring to be increased. For, though some part of his dominions, as the Poictorians, the Zantoigns, and the Limosins, in a sort consented to it, yet the count of Armigniac, the count of Cominges, the viscount of Carmain, and divers others, so much distasted it, that they complained thereof to the king of France, as unto their supreme lord: pretending that the prince was to answer before King Charles, as before his superior lord, of whom, they said, he held by homage and fealty; whereas King Edward and his heirs, by the treaty at Bretagne, were absolutely freed from all manner of service for any of their dominions in France; King Charles did openly entertain this complaint, and hoping to regain, by surprize and policy, what the English had won by dint of sword, and true manhood, he proceeded to summon the prince of Wales to Paris, there to answer to such complaints as his subjects made against him.

Our stout prince returned for answer, 'That, if he must needs appear, he would bring threescore thousand men in arms to appear with him.' And now began the peace, between England and France, to be unsettled and wavering. For, while our King Edward rejoiced in the excellent virtues and actions of his sons and people, Charles the French king, warned by so many calamities as his dominions had sustained by the English in fair war, and withal earnestly

restly coveting to recover the honour of his nation, betook himself wholly to secret practices and designs: never adventuring his own person in the field, but executing all by his deputies and lieutenants, especially by the valour and service of Bertram de Glequin, constable of France, who, from a low estate, was raised to this height, for his prudent and magnanimous conduct in war. And our truly noble king, without suspicion of craft, reposing himself upon the rules of virtue and magnanimity, did not reap the stable effects of so great and important victories, nor of the peace so ceremoniously made, that, in the world's opinion, it could not be broken, without the manifest violation, upon one side, of all bonds both divine and human.

The prince of Wales by letters advised his father not to trust to any fair words, or overtures of further amity, made by the French, because, as he said, they entertained practices underhand in every place against him: but his counsel was not hearkened to, because he was judged to write thus out of a restless humour, delighting in war, though the event shewed that his words were true. For now King Charles, having by quick payments, and by one means or other, gotten home all the hostages which had been pledged for the performance of the articles of peace, set all his wits on work, to abuse the king of England's credulity. He courted him with loving letters and presents, while in the mean time his plots were ripened abroad, and he surprized the county of Ponthieu, our king's undeniable inheritance, before King Edward heard thereof.

King Edward hereupon calls a parliament, declares the breach, craves aid, and hath it granted: and then again claims the crown of France, and sent over his son John, duke of Lancaster, and Humphry de Bohun, earl of Hereford, with a great army to Calais, to invade France.

Among the states and towns made over to the English at the treaty of Bretagne, which had revolted to the French, was the city of Limosin: thither did the prince march, and sat down with his army before it: and, not long after, came unto him, out of England, his two brethren, the duke of Lancaster and the earl of Cambridge, with a fresh supply of valiant captains and soldiers. The city stood it out to the uttermost, and was at last taken by storm, where no mercy was shewed by the enraged soldiers, but the sword and fire laid all desolate: after this service, the prince's health failing him more and more, he left his brethren in Aquitaine to prosecute the wars, and himself, taking ship, came over to his father in England, his eldest son, Edward, being dead a little before at Bourdeaux, and brought over with him his wife and his other son Richard.

The prince having left France, his dominions were either taken away, or fell away faster than they were gotten; Gueschlin entered Poictou, took Montmorillon, Chauvigny, Lussack, and Mencontour. Soon after followed the country of Aunis, of Xantoigne,

and the rest of Poictou: then St. Maxent, Neel, Aulnay: then Benaon, Marant, Surgers, Fontency, and at last they came to Thouras, where the most part of the lords of Poictou, that held with the prince, were assembled. At this time the king, Prince Edward, the duke of Lancaster, and all the great lords of England set forward for their relief: but, being driven back by a tempest, and succour not coming, Thouras was yielded up upon composition. In fine, all Poictou was lost, and then Aquitaine, all, but only Bourdeaux and Bayonne. And not long after Prince Edward died, and with him the fortune of England. He was a prince so full of virtues as were scarce matchable by others. He died at Canterbury upon Trinity Sunday, June 8, in the forty-sixth year of his age, and the forty-ninth of his father's reign, and was buried in Christ's church there, *Anno Christi* 1376.

Among all the gallant men of that age, this our prince was so worthily the first, that,

Longe erit a primo quisque secundus erit.

He had a sumptuous monument erected for him, upon which this epitaph was engraven in brass in French; thus Englished:

' Here lieth the noble Prince Monsieur Edward, the eldest son of the thrice noble King Edward the Third, in former time, prince of Aquitaine, and of Wales, duke of Cornwall, and earl of Chester, who died on the feast of the Trinity, which was the eighth of June, in the year of grace 1376. To the soul of whom, God grant mercy. *Amen.*'

After which were added these verses in French, thus translated, according to the homely poetry of those times:

Who so thou art that passest by,
Where these corpse entombed lie:
Understand what I shall say,
As, at this time, speak I may.
Such as thou art, sometime was I:
Such as I am, such shalt thou be.
I little thought on th' hour of death,
So long as I enjoyed breath.
Great riches here I did possess,
Whereof I made great nobleness.
I had gold, silver, wardrobes, and
Great treasures, horses, houses, land.
But now a caitiff poor am I,
Deep in the ground, so here I lie:
My beauty great is all quite gone,
My flesh is wasted to the bone:
My house is narrow now, and throng;
Nothing but truth comes from my tongue.
And, if you should see me this day,
I do not think but ye would say,
That I had never been a man,
So much altered now I am.

For God's sake, pray to the heavenly King*,
That he my soul to heaven would bring.
All they that pray and make accord
For me unto my God and Lord;
God place them in his paradise,
Wherein no wretched caitiff lies.

The death of this prince, saith Daniel in his History of England, was a heavy loss to the state, being a prince of whom we never heard no ill, never received any other note but of goodness, and the noblest performance that magnanimity and wisdom could ever shew, insomuch as what praise could be given to virtue, is due to him.

The HISTORY of PERKIN WARBECK.

THE contentions between the houses of York and Lancaster are the subjects of many discourses, and therefore I will insist the less either upon genealogies, titles, usurpations, wars, factions, encounters, revenges, battles, and slaughters, or other accidental outrages, which, for ninety years, filled the wrinkles of the face of our commonwealth of England, with the blood and sweat of ten kings and princes of the race royal: sixty dukes and earls; a thousand lords and knights, and an hundred and fifty thousand soldiers and people. Only I must make a little continuance and abiding in the wretched and ragged house of envy and malice, governed and overseen by a woman, who was so opposite and adverse to the Lancastrian family, that, though King Henry the Seventh had obtained the crown by a strong hand, and, as we say, *divinitus prævinitus*; yea, debarred all titles, or fuming shadows of titles, by consummating that marriage with the Lady Elisabeth, eldest daughter of Edward the Fourth; she yet contrived all the ways of his overthrow, and, *invita fortuna*, entertained every occasion, which might add fuel to the fire of her inveterate hate, and bloodthirsty humour of revenge, as if she had been born like certain antipathies in nature, which cannot endure any neighbourhood or commixture; such as the yew and palm, the fig and vine, the strings of wolves and sheep, which makes me remember the story of Eteocles and Polynices, the sons of Oedipus, whose hate was so great in their lives, that, after death, the bones being burnt together, the flame of the sacrifice divided asunder.

This was Margaret duchess of Burgundy, sister of Edward the Fourth, and a sworn adversary to cast the red rose of England into the black pit of confusion, who, perceiving her first hopes frustrated and annihilated concerning the progression of Lambert's enterprises, studied night and day upon further and further instigations, yea, hovered over and over opportunity like a hawk for her prey, to torment and trouble the peace of England; embracing every strange and prestigious illusion, and not caring with what pullies of ridiculous

and impossible actions her malice and revenges were wound up, so they might be hurried down again upon the head of the king, whom she cursed on her knees, and hated, even beyond the tenderness of her sex, many of her own friends, for his sake. Therefore, to weary his patience a little more, she set up another puppet like the former, one Peter Warbeck, a Fleming, to act a part of wonder on the stage of dangerous innovation, and take upon him the title of Richard the Fourth prince of England, and white rose of the same: but before I play the midwife, or (if you will) physician to her, to deliver her womb of this monstrous birth of Peter Warbeck, whom she taught the cunning and audacious impudence of personating Richard duke of York, murdered with his brother in the tower, by Richard the Third, some eight years before; I think it not impertinent to our purpose in hand, to tell you what this Lambert was, and wherein he seemed cozened with the whorish smiles of an adulterate fortune by the only means and coadjutement of this duchess of Burgundy.

The first and second years of Henry the Seventh swelled to so great a height of joy, blessedness, and contentment from the rivulets of King Richard's slaughter, the corroboration of his estate, the amity of the nobles, the marriage with the eldest daughter of York, the birth of Prince Arthur, the league and amity of foreign princes, and the applause of all his subjects, that the divine Providence thought it meet to temper and allay the excess of the same with some mixtures of fear and displeasure, lest mortality might presume too far, and man triumph, that his own arm of flesh had contrived his establishment: so that the Lord Lovel, Humphrey and Thomas Strafford, with Sir Thomas Broughton, and divers others, attempted a dangerous rebellion, and drew into the field a great army against the king; whom to prevent, the duke of Bedford, with such forces as could be raised on a sudden, made haste to an encounter. But his fortune was so good, that, with a successful oratory, not striking a stroke, he

* See the ignorance and superstition of those times, and bless God for our clearer light.

prevailed to dissipate those threatening and thickening clouds of disturbance; for (after he had intimated the heinousness of their transgression, and nature of their offences, which were capital treasons, and withal inferred the king's great mercy, which was willing to pardon their rashness, and pitiful oversights; so they would desist, and retire peaceably into their countries) the whole company ceased, and quietly deposed their arms, whereupon the Lord Lovel fled, and the Staffords took sanctuary in a village called Culnham, two miles from Abington; but because the judges of the law alledged that the towns of refuge among the Jews were ordained for other purposes; and that Joab was killed holding by the horns of the altar, and the places of privileges in England were never meant to suborn traitors: Humphrey Stafford was taken by force from the town, and sent to the tower, from whence they brought him to tyburn, and there put him to execution: his younger brother Thomas was, notwithstanding, remitted as a man whom consanguinity and brotherhood had rather deceived, than wilfulness and malice against the king abused. O blessed wisdom! that can so temper justice with the consideration of men's frailties, and other malevolent circumstances, to keep her a while from contracting a brow of revenge upon every offender, and had rather draw some men to a sweet obedience from their penitency, and newness of life, than cut off others by the strong hand of execution: and thus in other cases of state it many times chanceth, that even accessaries are condemned, when the principals go free; yea, in the highest degree of treason, which is displaying of colours, and taking up arms against a prince, it is sometimes better taken in action than in consultation; yet is there no presuming on favour in any of these cases, nor taking hands with example to trace in the by-paths of any indirect courses.

But as mischiefs, according to Euripides, seldom come alone, and *unda undam sequitur*; so presently upon the neck of this followed a strange and wonderful trouble, through the insurrection of one Lambert Simnel, taking upon him the person of Edward-earl of Warwick, son of George duke of Clarence, newly come into the hands of the king, and committed to the tower. This Lambert was induced, or, if you will, seduced, to this enterprise, by the devilish impostures of Richard Simond a priest, who was so hasty in his accounts, and forward in his reckonings, that he presently concluded, that, if Lambert could be king, he should be an archbishop at least; *O manifesta phrenesis!* where, by the way, you may observe, that never enterprise was achieved to the dissipation of monarchies, and translation of kingdoms; never mischief set on foot, nor wickedness put on the wings of prevailing; but from the contrivance and coadjutement of a priest, and such men as professed the religion of those times, as in histories may appear: but, if you descend into Europe, and come lower amongst ourselves, I dare say, that, from the conquest to this hour, all exorbitant actions, dangerous attempts, terrible enforcements, ever heard of projects, and monstrous commotions, to the effusion

of Christian blood, and weakening the glory of our kingdom, have been achieved and furthered by the means of popish priests, and jesuits, and the damnable doctrines and instructions of their associates, mere hypocrites both in life and doctrine; yea, that monstrous terror of Christendom, the family of Ottoman, and religion of Mahomet, was blown so big, as you see it in the furnace of Sergius, a counterfeit monk, and now set on the throne of imperiousness through his supportation and assistance in composing the alcoran.

When this our priest, Richard Simond, or Versipellis Sinon, well perceived and understood the gentle condition and pregnancy of this Lambert, he wrought most cunningly upon him, and thought him a fit instrument to hammer out the devilish plots he projected; whereby, questionless, you may apprehend the cunning and malice of Satan, who can entangle men with such strange illusions, and all in the end to destroy them, and bring them to confusion: how else can any reasonable man apprehend, that a scholar and priest should be so infatuated as to make a silly fellow take upon him the person of a prince, laid long before in his grave, and murdered by the tyranny of an unnatural uncle? Yet did this novice go forward with these strange disguises, like a sealed dove flying into the hawk's seizure by her own wilfulness and blindness, and as if the poet should cry out,

Medæ faciunt ad scelus omne manus:

So was he led by the hands of this priest, who was now set upon nothing but wickedness, and at the last plunged into the sea of turmoils.

But the chief original of this disturbance arose from a certain fame, and report, that King Edward's children were not dead, but secretly conveyed into some other country, as Edward, surnamed the Outlaw, had in former times been into Hungary, and that Edward earl of Warwick should be shortly put to death: O simple men! and oh vain multitude! that are carried away with every wind, believe unconstant reports, rely on foolish prophecies, and run along with uncertain rumours; which makes me remember one of the foolishlest things that ever happened amongst us, of one Bolton, prior of St. Bartholomew's, about the fifteenth year of Henry the Eighth, who in a great rain, to prevent a prophecy, or rather his own atheistical fear, that the world, or if you will, the country should be drowned again, retired himself to a house made for the same purpose on the top of Harrow-hill, to the great amazement of the people, and his own eternal infamy, that being a clergyman believed in God no better, and understood the scriptures so weakly. But this was the blindness of those times, wherein men believed any thing was told them by a cozening priest, and durst report what they heard, threatening as they pleased, yet daring do nothing, because, when it came to their own carving, they knew not what to do, nor how to justify their own speeches, which in the best commonwealth, concerning rumour, is remediless, and concerning

cerning prophecies, with the best men, is unpreventable. For every man is afraid of the mischief, but never any anticipated the effect, or prevented the danger.

These lies, for I may now well say *fama malum*, although they were frivolous and vain, and out of all likelihood, either of verity, or to set up any frame of steadfastness; yet animated and encouraged this priest, to propose a time of Lambert's royalty, with his own exaltation, if he could be persuaded to assume the character of Edward the Fourth's child, and so to lay claim to the crown of England, whereunto he was confidently led, as it were by the arm of foreign friendship and home coadjutement, partly upon his own experience and knowledge of many wavering hearts in the kingdom, and partly upon a conference he had once with a Burgonian, who spared not to confess the hate of Lady Margaret, the duchess, against the king now reigning. Whereupon a philosophical meditation flattered him, that, where hatred and malice is once rooted in the heart of a woman, it will ever spring green, and never leave, till it have produced some fruit of vengeance, unless it be prevented by being digged up by the roots, and thrown into the fire; whereupon this poor priest was now brought into this foolish paradise, through his fantastical imagination, like him that had a brazen target carried over his head, for fear the sky should fall upon him; and so instructed his youth both diligently and effectually in Oxford, where he went to school, that he began to understand from what progeny he was extracted, with what titles he was to be saluted, and to how many families he was allied, all which he said was nothing, without some worthy actions of his own, to which purpose he very often remembered the poet:

Nam genus & proavos, & quæ non fecimus ipsi Vix ea nostro voco.—

He could also discourse of his mother's kindred as well as his father's, and tell the lamentable tragedies of both his grandfathers slain in the wars; especially, how the warlike duke of York was abused by Queen Margaret, and that his uncle Gloucester had fulfilled the prophecy imputed to George duke of Clarence. He had also so clerkly and craftily learned his lesson, that he could by name remember his kindred formerly dead, and capitulate his friends now living, and who would stand as supporters to his lawful and princely claim. To which he added a complete manner of princely behaviour, both in gesture, gate, countenance, elocution, and courage, which was many times adorned with such a natural gravity and temperature, that he wondered at his pregnancy and apprehension; yea, his very heart leaped for joy, to imagine that the people, hearing him in this so wonderful a justification, and lively setting-forth of himself, must needs believe these deceitful pretences, and allow of so well coloured a falsehood.

While all things were thus enacted in the diabolical consistory of this priest's brain, there was a rumour

vented abroad, as true as the rest, that Edward, the young earl of Warwick, was broke out of prison; whereupon our Sir Simond, even with child again to be delivered of some prodigy, began to reason of the danger of delay, and benefit of expedition, and so changed Lambert's name into Edward earl of Warwick, all things serving as well to this as the other: the joy whereof brought him into such an extasy, that he quite forgot the union of the houses, and how the king had married the eldest brother's daughter, which must needs be a bar to Warwick's claim, when wise men came to discuss the matter: but, resolved in the error of his allusion, he strongly conjectured, that any of the house of York were of sufficiency to pull down the strength of the Lancastrian family. Besides, he knew that *actio nulla laudata nisi peracta*, and therefore something must be done to set the people on work, though it were with throwing fire-brands of division and falsity amongst them, even to the dazzling of their eyes with smoke, and casting the sparks about their ears: whereupon, both craftily and audaciously, he put his business to the trial, and sailed with his pupil over into Ireland, where his grandfather and ancestors had gotten such love and respect, that even the name of Mortimer and York was sanctified and religious amongst them: for barbarous nations are strong observers of ceremonies and customs, and whatsoever hath taken root and impression amongst them will hardly be removed or extinguished; as it is too lamentably apparent at this hour, where the imposturing of priests hath got the upper hand of all religion and piety, and to swear by O Neal's hand is of more efficacy, than to call God and heaven to witness.

Here he smoothly made relation of his own and the prince's fortunes and escape to certain of the nobility, especially of Geraldine's, whom he knew every way transported against the present government, enlarging his discourse with his miraculous preservation, when, without law, or other enforcement, he should have been cruelly put to death by the usurper, and brought in question for never-heard-of treason; all which, by God's providence, and his assistance, was judiciously prevented; and he had, from a mere commiseration of a prince's estate, ventured himself in that manner, and to such a place, where he supposed true-hearted honour was resident, and care of religion and humanity maintained.

Whereupon, Thomas Geraldine, lord chancellor of the kingdom, defrauded by this illusion, under colour of succouring the distressed, and performing a work of charity, received him into his castle, and, adding all the ceremonies of reverence and honour to his very person, assured him of aid, comfort, and supportation. To this you must suppose was an answer ready, and such an one delivered with so smooth and attractive a demeanour, that, though he had not been such as he protested, yet he would have sworn him of high birth and extraordinary bringing-up; which caused him to assemble together all his affinity and friends, to whom he related the matter as it chanced, with intimation of the

the glory of the enterprise, and the good service to God and the church; for establishing a prince dejected in his throne, who was the true and only Plantagenet left to spring up into a spreading tree of royalty; and therefore he requested their loyalty and resolved courages to take his part, that the right heir of the crown might be restored to England, and themselves eternised to future memory for so meritorious a work. Little needed a spur, saith our proverb, to a forward horse; all that saw him believed it, and such as heard only the report, according to the poet,

Et errorem vocis, ut omen, amo,

clapped their hands for joy that they should be employed in an enterprise of such wonder and important greatness: whereupon, money, horses, armour, men, and all things else were promised, which might be advantageous to such a business. But, alas! Ireland was too weak, and of themselves, they did only discover their malice curbed yet with insufficiency, giving the king notice how their wills exceeded their power, and that they were ready to entertain every opportunity to do any mischief. Therefore they sent over into England, acquainting many discontented persons with the business; but most principally, as to the life of their actions, they submitted to Margaret duchess of Burgundy, sister of King Edward the Fourth, for her directions. This was a woman of a wonderful composition, so adorned with princely qualities and settled in majestical authority, as you shall hear hereafter, that she was admired of all Europe, and beloved in her own country: only, as stinking flies, lying secretly in boxes of sweet ointments, putrefy the same, an innate malice, and virulent hatred to the Lancastrian family, corrupted her other virtues, and, as it were, thrust up her princely endowments into a mere bog and pool of dirt and filthiness. For, although she knew the blood of York extinguished, and that the earl of Warwick was in King Henry's possession, as taken forth, together with the Lady Elizabeth, now his wife, out of the castle of Sherrington in Yorkshire, under the custody of Sir Robert Willoughby, yet, insatiate in her hate, and so consequently in her revenge,

Nam ingentes parturit ira minas,

she admitted of every motion of disturbance, and invented means of her own to set in combustion the whole state of England, under a hopeful pretence to see the king overthrown and supplanted.

Thus did she pile up together the fire of this disturbance, and countenanced the matter more with her greatness and power, than all the other accomplices besides; but if you ask me, how she continued in this authority, being a widow, amongst strangers, and enemy to so great a prince as the king of England? I will answer in a word, and measure out the chief and prin-

cipal cord that bound her royalty together: Charles duke of Bourgoigne, having married this Lady Margaret, daughter to Richard duke of York, and sister to Edward the Fourth, had yet no issue by her, but left one sole daughter behind him, named Mary, which he had by his first wife, the daughter of the duke of Bourbon: this was married to Maximilian, son to Frederick the emperor, by whom he had two princes, Philip and Margaret; which children, after the death of the Lady Mary their mother, this Lady Margaret, duchess-dowager, so intirely loved, so tenderly brought up, so motherly nourished, and so carefully preserved, that she was highly reputed of and esteemed for the same: to which when she added a politick ordering her affairs, both for the maintenance of their honour, and administration of justice in the commonwealth (so that I may say, with the ancient * poet, *Sapenumero jam per subtiliores sermones iui, & ad contentiones veni majores, quam conveniat genus fœmineum perscrutari, &c.* the whole body of the government willingly consented to be apparelled and adorned after her fashion; so that, like an absolute prince indeed, she proceeded in the government both for their benefit, and the illustration of her own greatness.

In this orb of reputation, thus moving herself, she still shined like a full planet, from whose influence could proceed nothing but sweet presages, till, stepping aside into a contrary motion of despite and rancour against the king, as an enemy to knowledge and her own conscience, she countenanced this ridiculous and yet unhappy conjuration, which by her means grew apace, like broad and stinking burs, unprofitable in themselves, and spoiling all the grass about them, until at last they were, by a politick hand of prevention, pulled up by the roots, and cast under foot into the dirt. For, when King Henry was certified of all these tumults and comminations, and knew the deepness and fulness of the channel, in which the tottered barque of this rebellion steered, he verily supposed the best point of wisdom was *principiis obviare*, and so attempted, with all care and vigilance, to turn the rage of those troubles another way, or else to prevent them from flowing over the banks of his inclosures: and, although the collusion and fraud of the invention vexed him more than the matter or substance of such a rebellion, yet he moderated his anger, and, with Janus, looked both ways, smiling with one face at the ridiculousness and deceit of the project, and marking warily with the other, all the means to reduce the confused chaos of the molestation to better order and uniformity, desiring only at God's hands to prevent effusion of blood, which must needs be spilled in any settled war and contracted army. Besides, in well-ordered battles the event was disputable, and many times punishments were ordained, as well to reduce good men *ad correctionem* and amendment, as to bring bad men to *ruinam* and destruction; and therefore, if it were possible, he would rebate the insolency by other means, and divert it from handy blows and bloody contentions; where-

* Euripidis Medea.

upon he called his council together at the Charterhouse, beside his royal manor of Richmond, and there consulted how to pacify this sudden tumult and conspiracy, without any further disturbance, or open defiance. This motion of the king's, so tempered with gravity, mercy, and commiseration, was so well accepted of the whole company, that they presently applauded his high wisdom and religious care, and put in practice whatsoever seemed convenient for their intended affairs.

They first began with a general pardon, published to all offenders, that were content to receive the same, and remain obedient to the majesty of England. For although, at this very instant, Sir Thomas Broughton, who had obscured the Lord Lovel, a great season, from the king, was in a manner ready to give him battle, with many friendly coadjutors, and a well settled army; yet did the king think it policy to desist from a forcible overrunning them; because, as desperate of life or pardon, considering their former treasons and abuses, they would hardly be reclaimed in their rages, but now fight for their lives and liberties. Again, in shewing exemplary justice upon them, once subject to accusation or condemnation, he must needs proceed against many, yea such, whose offences, in standing out, could admit of no pardon: and therefore, as I said, he gently proclaimed the same, which was much available to his purpose. For even those, which favoured the Lord Lovel most, began to stagger in their resolutions, when they perceived the king's benignity, and knew, with what lenity and commiseration, he was willing to proceed.

Secondly, They thought it necessary and pertinent to their peace, to shew the son of Clarence personally abroad in the city, and other publick places; whereby the rumour might be dashed out of countenance, and the purblind eyes of false opinion extinguished. For such an impression this feigned relation of his escape had made, that, though they beheld him present, yet durst some of them swear, it was but a device of the king's; whereby you may observe the danger and inconveniencies of idle reports, which if they be not strangled in the cradle, with Hercules's serpents, and smothered betimes, before they come to stronger growth and life, will viper like, after they have received warmth in one's bosom, fly in his face: nay, such is the nature of devices in a tottering commonwealth, that prohibitions, to restrain them, augment them the more, and they who would have spoken nothing but truth, left to their own liberty, being prohibited, divulge more than they meant.

Thirdly, It was determined, that Queen Elizabeth, wife to Edward the Fourth, should lose her lands, and be deposed from all manner of sway in the government, because she had voluntarily submitted herself and daughters to the hands of King Richard, whereby all former contracts and pretences of establishment might

have been frustrated, through the inconstancy of a woman; or as the state pretended, a private ambition, or covetousness to set any loom on work, to weave the web of her own pleasure and contentment, which although it was a heinous crime, and very dangerous to the present king's peace and tranquillity; yet, questionless, the doom and judgment seemed over rigorous: *durus fuit hic sermo*, and, if ever *summum jus* proved *summa injuria*, it was verified in this verdict. For, doubtless, they forgot the turbulency of those times, the rage of the tyrant, the fearfulness of many accidents, the seducings of a king, and the flattering promises of a whole commonwealth; wherein stronger judgments might have failed, than a woman's: but it should seem, that God hath a special hand in the punishment of sins, and disposing of kingdoms. For, without controversy, if she consented to the murdering of King Richard's wife, for her own ease and emolument; if she seemed an adversary to the good pretended to England, by uniting the families; or if she projected her own advancement in the present glory of the kingdom; forgetting the loss of her husband, the murder of her kindred, the slaughter of her children, the odiousness of the incest, and the curse of heaven upon crying sins: God would never suffer such horrible faults unrevenged, but, as you hear, inflicted her wavering and inconsiderate timorousness with this punishment: for she was presently confined to the abbey of Bermondsey in Southwark, and there deceased, after she had lived a while in some calamitous distress, and excruciation both of soul and body; such are all human instabilities, worldly chances, and the condition of princes themselves. Otherwise, she that, being a poor widow, had resisted the king's importunity, and by her chaste and modest behaviour attracted his good-will, to marry her; she, that founded a college in Cambridge, bearing her name, at this hour, of Queen's College, for the propagation of learning, and education of children and students: she, that had loved her husband, and the glory of England, endeavouring all things to the augmentation of the honour of them both: she, that seemed proud in works of charity, and to help forward the petitions of honest complainants, and distressed suitors: she, that kneeled on her knees, for Clarence's liberty, and importuned the king to remember his brother, by the example of Richard the First, who remitted his brother John, a far greater delinquent; had never fallen so low into the dangerous pit of a son-in-law's displeasure, and seen herself generally maligned through the kingdom; or else, as I said, the revealed things belong to us, the secret to God, who, questionless, blew the coals of this displeasure, to purge the contagion and infection of her heart, which was only known to himself.

Fourthly, Because they knew that reward and hope of gain might do much with corrupted persons, and irresolute men, as all rebels were, they proclaimed a gratuity of a thousand pounds sterling to any one, which would present the state with the body of this

counterfeit Lambert; to which they were the rather induced, because, not long before, the tyrant Richard the Third had prevailed with the like against the duke of Buckingham, whom his own servant Banister betrayed, in hope of recompence from the state; which is also a custom in Italy, where the heads of the banditti are valued at so many checkinos, or pieces of gold; and so the zaffi, or other desperate ruffiani, obtain many preys and booties.

Last of all, it was concluded to have forces in readiness, and an army prepared, whatsoever should chance, with all provision and furniture belonging to the setting forth of the same, and honour of such a kingdom, that neither security or presumption, one way, of their own greatness and establishment, might make them too confident of themselves, nor vilipending and slight regard of the contrary, another way, too negligent against their enemies.

When all things were thus befitted to the disposing and ordering their affairs, on a Sunday ensuing, Edward, the young earl of Warwick, was brought from the tower, through the publick streets of London, to the cathedral church of St. Paul's, where he remained all procession-time and high mass, having open conference with many of the nobility, especially such, who the king suspected might have been induced to the commotion, upon the full assurance of his escape. But, if he had asked them, why he was imprisoned, or what transgression the king could impute unto him, to detain him in durance in that manner, and after put him to death, being an infant innocent, without law or reason, I marvel what they would have answered, or how the council themselves would have satisfied a judicious questioner in that kind? Yet, by this occasion, the imaginations of divers were settled, and the better sort believed, that these Irish news were simulatory, and represented Ixion's boasting that he had lain with Juno, when it was but a cloud, as, by the monstrous birth of the Centaurs, did appear.

But it was not so with all: for, as it often happens in the stopping of a violent inundation of water, that it causeth it the more to rage and make a terrible noise, whereas, running in a deep channel, it would quietly go away: so it fell out, in the suppressing of these rumours, and men's hatred and malice; many were the more exasperated, and by this gentle and fair course to reduce them, thought all but tricks of policy to deceive them; proving, like certain kinds of burs and nettles, which, softly handle, sting the more violently, but, hardly crushed together, lose their force and energy. Of this sort was the earl of Lincoln, son to John de la Poole, duke of Suffolk; and Elizabeth, another sister to Edward the Fourth; who, much maligning the advancement of this earl of Richmond, far his inferior, as he supposed, took hold of this open rebellion, as a meet opportunity to beat out his own ends on such a pestilent anvil, and, therefore, determined to uphold, fortify, and support this Irish expe-

dition, and take part with his new cousin, who, as he made himself believe, was escaped, indeed, for all the pretty conveniences of the state. This earl of Lincoln, besides his blood, experience, and wisdom in great and important affairs, had a privacy of humour; which many men excepted against, as fantastical and precise; for he was so cautious in his words and singular in his phrases and actions, that he would neither swear nor tell a lie, by reason his communication was still seasoned with savoury parentheses and breakings off, or, if you will, aposiopesis; as, I will not confidently aver it, but it is so, and so, if men may be credited in their mortality; the number amounts to so many, if men fail not in their computations: I dare not justify it further than one may credit another, with such like. Yea, in his enterprises, he was both curious and Roman like for strictness of discipline, yet valiant enough: to conclude, in a word, had not the mantle of greatness over-covered his gesture and actions, the same garb and fashion in an inferior might have been thought ridiculous: but to our purpose in hand.

When he apprehended a kind of fear and jealousy in King Henry, through this false rumour, he determined with the same water that drove the mill to drown it, and, out of this fiction, to raise a matter of consequence; whereupon, he presently repaired to Sir Thomas Broughton, and others, who, like the thieves of Egypt, lying in the reeds by the river Nile, breaking out upon any hope of advantage upon the silly passengers, watched all occasions to be revenged on the king, and yet could render no just account of their discontentments, and, after divers consultations, concluded to sail into Flanders, to his aunt the duchess, being his mother's own sister, and so, without further delay, after the king had dissolved the parliament at London, put the same in practice, whither he was welcomed with all worthy and kind embraces. Not long after, Francis, Lord Lovel, repaired unto him well accompanied, where for the time secured, and assembling themselves with this position, that, *omnia efficit consilium, quod & ferrum hostile efficere potest*, lest the world should laugh them to scorn, for prosecuting idle and vain attempts, they resolve, that the earl of Lincoln and Lord Lovel should repair into Ireland, and add a better countenance to the business by their presence, in attending and honouring their new king, with all graceful ceremonies and marks of majesty: then, with the power of the Irishmen, to bring him into England, by which time the Dutch forces would be ready to join with them. Last of all, to give King Henry battle wheresoever; in which, if they prevailed, they might, at their pleasure, depose this counterfeit Lambert, and deliver the true earl of Warwick out of prison, in all which they proceeded accordingly, and with expedition.

But King Henry, supposing he had settled and appeased the minds and untable humours of his nobility, by the personal presence of Edward, earl of Warwick, began to be less moved and disturbed; yea, as it were, secure

secure and careless of any further malice, and dangerous attempts, against the estate and dignity, mistrusting nothing less, that any man to be so foolish and mad, as to believe that Lambert could be the earl; so that he conjectured nothing but the suppressing of those barbarous Irish, and the appeasing of that trouble, until he heard how the earl of Lincoln was fled out of the realm, until he heard how the Lord Lovel was confederate with him, until he heard how divers were united unto them, until he heard how the duchess of Burgoyne coadjuted the enterprise, until he heard they had raised a strong party, and resolved to give him battle; this somewhat moved him, and exasperated his displeasure: for, when he saw no other cataplasm could serve the turn, but that he must cauterise the sore, and sear and cut away the putrefied flesh of this corrupted and rebellious body, he determined, with strong hand and martial power, to do the same.

Whereupon, he commanded his musters to go forward, appointed the several captains a rendezvous where the whole army might meet, as occasion, and his adversaries, should excite him; and, lest others might pretend discontentments, wants, debts, devotion, pilgrimages, and such like, and so go out of the realm after the rest, he gave order to all lieutenants of shires, sheriffs, mayors, bailiffs, and officers, to search and watch the ports and havens, for the going out, and recourse of strangers, or passengers unlicensed and unlimited.

Thus, what he could not with the fox's, he was fain to compass with the lion's skin, and yet knowing, that *victoria est tota sita in bona consultatione*, he did not cast away the other; but, when he saw no counsel nor policy could either soften their obdurateness, nor divert their officious intents against him, he resolved, with an equal strength, to remove the blocks of his peace and quietness, cast thus in his way by flagitious contumacy and ridiculous innovation. But some fires are not so easily quenched, as raised or maintained; for though all his advices and good order comforted with success, yet were they not sufficient to stop the mouth, or hinder the passage of the present disturbance, with deputies or commissioners; therefore he set forward in person, supposing they would arrive from Flanders side, on some of those coasts, and so came to St. Edmondsbury, where he was certified, that the Lord Thomas, marquis of Dorset, was coming to him, to excuse and purge himself of those crimes enforced against him, or, at least, such oversights, in which he perfunctorily performed his duty, while he was in France. To him was sent the earl of Oxford, by way of anticipation, to intercept, at this time, his journey: for the king was too full of troubles and cogitations about the suppressing his enemies, and new raised tumults, and so could not attend his business. The earl had only commission to convey him to the tower, which, when some of the council supposed a hard doom, he answered them plainly, What need further words? If he be my friend, as I am confident thereof, he will be contented a while to suffer a little

reproach and rebuke for my sake; yea, peradventure, pleasure and contentment. If he be otherwise, it is a place of security, and would I had my adversaries as safe there, as they would have me in the like either dislike, or contention.

From thence the king went to Norwich, where he solemnised the feast of Christmas, and so departed to Walsingham, under pretence of devotion, as the superstition of those times required; for, according to that ancient poet, *ritus vero extra justitiam sunt, rejectantes cultus deorum*. It was an instinct of nature to confess a deity, and maintain the sacrifices and offerings to the same. Now, because the most part of the world knew not the true God, they invented several idols to represent their several deities, to whom they brought their prayers and oblations, nor durst they enterprise any business without offertories and devotion, that their true intents might be acceptable to the God which commanded them; yea, such as professed religion, and abused their knowledge, invented images and devices, to please the natural man, because, with the reason of the idolater, they would not kneel to the air in vain, which was, and is, the error of Christians, both of the Greek and Latin church. Now, because our lady was in these times the mediator of the papists, and the lady of Walsingham, the most famous shrine of our country, as that of Loretto is at this hour for Italy: the king went thither for the impetration of prosperity in his affairs, and overthrow and dissipation of his enemies; which finished, he returned to Cambridge, and so to London.

In the mean while, the firebrand and fuel of this contention, Lady Margaret, duchess of Burgundy, had blown the coals to such a heat, that there were two thousand Germans in a readiness, under the conduct of Martin Swart, a nobleman of Germany, and a martial man by profession, bold, expert, and daring, whom, after great rewards, and secret directions from a well-contracted oratory, she sent into Ireland, with all his company, where they arrived at Dublin, and were joyfully welcomed by the prince, and other lords the confederates, especially the earl of Lincoln, who well knew that no enterprise was to be entertained without men and money, and good beginnings were the drawers on of success in the end. Thus they made no more ado, but, in the pride and strength of their conspiracy, they proclaimed young Lambert king of England, with all the glorious titles, and glorious manner appropriate, as the time and country afforded, which ended, with other ceremonies and some circumstances; to set as upright their business as they could, they protracted no time, but, knowing the secret of expedition, which, as their case stood, must be their best friend, prepared for England, the army consisting as yet, principally, of high Germans, and a multitude of beggarly Irish, which, according to the Roman saying, were many men and few soldiers: for their best defences were flains and mantles, and here and there a slender dart, fitter for a May-game, and to move wonder, than to oppose against good defences, and well ordered

ordered troops. Of these the Lord Thomas Geraldine was captain, and, with these and the rest, they landed for a special purpose (or, if you will, to unite themselves with Sir Thomas Broughton, one of the chief commanders in this unhappy conspiracy) at the Pile of Foudray, within a little of Lancaster.

These affairs, so notorious, and so publick, could not have so secret a passage and contrivance, but the worthy and wise king must needs be made acquainted with the same; whereupon he dispatched certain horse and scout-masters, through the west parts of the realm, to attend the arrival of his enemies abroad; yea, peradventure, to overwatch the actions of his friends at home, as much troubled with the unconstancy of these, as disturbed with the rebellion of them. Presently after he raised a sufficient army over which the duke of Bedford, and earl of Oxford were principal commanders, whom he sent forward before him; then he came in person to Coventry, where the principal rendezvous was appointed, and where he first heard of the landing of his enemies. Within a while he could fill up a schedule with the chief traitors names, and the manner of their troops and proceedings. Last of all, he called a council, proposing only two principal matters unto them: First, Whether it were better to encounter with his enemies out of hand, as Achitophel persuaded Absalom to do against David, and so to dissipate them by main force and expedition, according to the poet:

Tolle moras; semper nocuit differre paratis.

Secondly, Or weary them out by delays, and detracting of time, as Quintus Fabius, surnamed after Maximus, did by Hannibal, and so sent him far enough from Rome into Brutia and Apuleia, whereupon he was eternised with

Unus homo nobis cunctando restituit rem.

The conclusion was, that, though many times great armies, whose fury at the first rushes could not be rebated, were at last spent with time, expectation, and many inconveniences; as want of pay, commotions, mutinies, incumbrances in a strange country, fear of foreign people, mortality, famine, and such like; yet, as the affairs of the kingdom stood, all speed, and an orderly festination, was to be put in practice, lest, like a ball of snow in a moist, cold, and misty country, which, by often rolling, groweth greater and greater, they might augment their numbers with their rage and madness, being so near the Scots, open enemies, and in the north parts, dissembling friends: Whereupon the king removed to Nottingham, and took a field near unto a wood, called Bowers, whither came unto him the Lord George Talbot, earl of Shrewsbury, the Lord Strange, Sir John Cheney, and many other commanders, with sufficient forces and furniture, to encounter better men than heavy Germans, and unarmed Irish; and so the king's army wonderfully increased, and had the fulness of his subjects obedience, to his

great satisfaction, and the comfort of all the rest. For a prince can in nothing be so well pleased as in the loyalty, love, and observation of the subject; nor the soldier so contented, as in the amity and full assurance of one another, especially being all of a nation and language, to understand the wants of such as would be supplied, and be relieved with the willingness of those which are ready to perform the same.

In this space, the earl of Lincoln entered Yorkshire, by easy journies; for, not over-wearying his princely nephew, unaccustomed to travel, and, after his precise manner, he both commanded, that no violence should be offered to any of the inhabitants, and commended all those which repaired unto him, using such humility and affable demeanour, that it won the hearts of many as yet unsettled unto him, and strengthened the love of such, as had already submitted themselves. Notwithstanding being much frustrated in his expectation of many coadjutors, and failing in that sufficiency, which he presumed upon, he began a little to entertain an ill companion to all noble designs, fear and mistrust; casting up an untoward reckoning of his proceedings in this manner: to retire back again were to meet death and destruction by a way which he looked not for: to go forward he was yet too weak, the king being so strong and inabled, which irresolution made the poet cry out:

Non satis est muris latebras quasiffe pavori?

And again,

—facilis sed vertere mentes

Terror erat, dubiamque fidem fortuna ferebat:

At last remembering, that *audaces fortuna juvat*, and the adventures of war are not always bound to numbers and multitude: for King Henry himself had, not two years before (with a small power) vanquished King Richard and his mighty army: he absolutely determined to try the fortune of a battle, and encounter with his adversaries, who not only expected the like, as being in the same forwardness and resolution, but determined to rouse them, in despite of any protraction, in what den or place soever they meant to obscure themselves; whereupon he marched from York to Newark upon Trent, presuming the king to be two or three day's journey from him, and so he was sure not to lose by the bargain. But, before he came thither, King Henry was in his bosom, as understanding his egress, regress, and progresses, which he undertook, and, when he came there, was ready to fly in his face; for he settled himself the night before the battle, approaching within three miles of the earl.

The valiant and over-hardy earl of Lincoln, nothing terrified at the matter, but rather

—duro admisit gaudia vultu,

And came forward a-pace; yet not in any over-daring manner, but, unstartled in his resolutions, retained his

accustomed gravity, and very near the king's army, at a village called Stoke, quartered his forces, and took the field, with resolution the next day to call fortune to the deciding of the controversy. The king likewise prepared himself, and, only acquainting the company with matters of necessity, in an equal and plain field divided the troops, and ranged the battalions.

To tell you of any signs, wonders, prodigies, prophecies, dreams, devices, fore-warnings, or portentous accidents, making sometimes a cause either good or bad, would spend time to lose time, and procure small thanks in the pains; for the superstitious and ignorant would be angry at the opposition and repugnancy; and the truly religious offended at the vanity and superfluity, as abhorring the participation of divine power to men, devils, or angels. To enlarge my discourse concerning military proceedings, of intrenchings, fortifications, encounters, divisions of squadrons, and setting forward the forces, would prevent me from a fitter and more opportune occasion hereafter. To discourse of the captains, the soldiers encouragements, the earl of Lincoln's orations, the king's forcible and gracious speech, the intimation of the imposture, and discovery of the treasons at large, were to prolong the history without further profit than a poor invention, which would, questionless, extenuate the worthiness of the business; therefore I desist from all extraneous and superfluous discourses, and apply myself to a more succinct enarration of the matter.

When the field was fully and orderly agreed upon, the precise earl, as if he would animate the king with a kind of precedency, set forth the vanguard of his army, and, with a manly courage, only animated the soldiers that day to remember his honour, the king's safety, and their own lives and liberties, and so gave a sign to the battle; whereat the Irish began their accustomed cry, or, if you will, *lullal lullo*, which neither affrighted nor troubled the English on the contrary side, but ministered occasion rather to laugh at. The Germans, perceiving the skirmishes and violent meetings of these warlike bodies, contrary to their usual keeping of their stands and close fights, set upon the king's vanguard; and, as they were approved and expert men in many encounters, so did they, for the time, in all things, as well as strength and policy, could excute, equalling and answering the English man to man, or battle to battle: and, for the generals, had the earl of Lincoln been as nimble and active, as he was vigilant, valiant, and wary, he might well have paralleled the best of his adversaries. But to decypher, and truly to speak of Martin Swart, I shall much disable his worthiness and merit: for he was heroic in spirit, strong in heart, and of great ability in body, expert, experienced, and failing in nothing but his fortune: for when the Irish being most of them, as I said, unarmed, were put by their light manner of skirmishing afar off, and charged with strong horses on the flanks, and as strong bodies of pikes in the front; to which you may add the cunning of the king's artillery, and violence of the arrows, which fell

down like hail upon these poor and naked souls; they knew no way of resisting or retiring, but were subject to a terrible encounter and slaughter. And, although they held out a while, as long as an equal met manhood protracted the victory, yet were they so pressed and oppressed, that they quickly yielded, and shrunk under the strokes of a mightier arm. Again: The king's forward, being full of company, and well furnished, continually supplied with wings and archers, and wonderfully encouraged with the high deserving of the commanders, at last broke the body of the Germans, and scattered their company with a lamentable discomfiture: yet I must needs say, they were first more terrified to see the Irish killed so confusedly, than exanimated with their own disasters. What should I report? It is with staggering troops and dispersed companies, as with a man falling down a pair of stairs, who never leaves tumbling till he come to the bottom: so these yielded to the fortune of a defeat without recovery, and only met honour in the way to a glorious death; therefore I will stand the less on descriptions: for never was a victory so soon gotten, nor a business more quickly ended; many being slain, many taken prisoners, many hurt, and few or none escaped: the chiefest reason is, because the Lord Lovel, the earl of Lincoln, and other commanders, desperate of mercy, or reconciliation, and wondering at the valiant German's manhood and exploits, joined with him in a new adventure, and cried aloud, 'We will die with thee, noble heart, for thou art worthy to live with kings and die with princes; yea, to be buried in the fields of everlasting renown:' and so they were as good as their words; for, after men and manhood had acted their parts on this bloody stage of fury and slaughter, they were all found dead in the field; that is to say, the Lord Martin Swart, or, if you will, Sward the earl of Lincoln, the Lord Geraldine, the Lord Lovel, Sir Thomas Broughton, with the most part of the commanders, and five thousand soldiers.

The report was, that the Lord Lovel took his horse, and would have fled over Trent; but, not able to recover the highness of the banks, he was drowned in the river: some also maintain, that the king, out of the generosity of his spirit, commanded that none should kill or hurt the earl of Lincoln, that, being brought unto him he might discover the secrets of this mischief, and the viperous brood of false-hearted subjects: but the soldiers would not permit it, lest the saving of his life might, by detection, endanger divers others, as good as himself, and so killed him by way of anticipation.

After this victory, the king would needs solemnise a thanksgiving to God in the open field, as well to avoid ingratitude, as to give good example: and when it was urged, he might better defer it till he came to some religious place, or house of devotion; he more religiously assured them, that God was every where, and neither the place, nor the manner, graced the sacrifice, but the intentiveness of the heart, and true meaning of the soul, which he had learned of the poet, and so alledged these verses out of Lucan:

Estaque

*Estque Dei sedes, ubi terra, & pontus, & aer,
Et cælum, & virtus: superos quid quærimus ultra,
Jupiter est, quodcunque vides, quodcunque moveris?*

This the bishops present durst neither deny, nor would willingly approve, for fear of any diminution in their settled ceremonies and glorious cathedrals: but at this time the king's ardency prevailed, and he kneeled down on the bare ground in the open fields, and rendered thanks and praises to God: afterwards, he gave order for the funerals of the dead, shedding tears himself, in commiseration of so many worthy men slain for such an unjustifiable business; the people yet unmoved, and the soldiers not so much as daunted, though they saw the bleeding carcases and wounded bodies, according to the saying:

*Exemploque carens, & nulli cognitus ævo
Luctus erat, mortem populos deslere potentis.*

Then he proceeded to the casting up a new account of mercy and forgiveness, proclaiming pardon to all, that would penitently admit of the same, and, to his eternal fame, not only gave Lambert and the priest their lives, but commanded, that no man should abuse them, with contumely and reproach, as perceiving the one, for his years, incapable of the apprehension of treason, or flagitious circumstances concerning the same; the other (for his orders and profession) to be a privileged person; yet, most heroically and wisely, he told him, that he, which rolleth a stone up a hill, may, peradventure, have it fall upon his own head; and he, that looketh too high in a dangerous intrenched ground, may fall into the ditch. Notwithstanding, for his penance, he was committed to perpetual imprisonment; but Lambert admitted into the palace, and, from place to place, came at last to be one of his majesty's falconers. Last of all, he looked joyfully on his own company, and, in remuneration of their loyalty and noble services, spread the mantle of honour over divers, and imparted several rewards to the rest, according to their places of eminency.

This battle was fought on a Saturday, the sixteenth of June, 1489, and in the end of the second year of Henry the Seventh. And thus was all this high enterprize of Lady Margaret, represented to a ball blown out of a box of soap and water, which, when it comes to a swelling fulness, at last bursts in pieces of itself; of which when she was advertised, and had cause sufficient of exclamation and repining against her misfortune, and disastrous prevention of her malice; yet was she so far from relaxation or pacifying her hate, that it rather exasperated the same, and made her more forward to contrive more hellish projects, as we shall see by and by; so that I may well exclaim:

*O rabiosa mulier!
Quàm sit manifesta phrenesis!*

Yea, she set up such a loom out of her pestilent invention, that a man would think it impossible for a woman

to contrive, or prosecute, but that the old poet hath so long ago told us:

*Præterea nos sumus mulieres,
Ad bona quidem ineptissimæ,
Malorum verò omnium effectrices sapientissimæ.*
Eurip. Medea.

Yet, for the time, she deplored the miscarrying of the matter, but was not ashamed to confess, that she cared not, by what means King Henry might be debased.

After this great mischief, like a piece of ordnance overcharged, was thus broken in the fulness, and that with little trouble, tumult, and expences, compared to many other wars: the king, as you heard, returned thanks to the decider of all controversies; and presently sent word to London, of his prosperity and adventure, seeming sorry for nothing, but the death of the earl of Lincoln, assuring the duke of Bedford and earl of Shrewsbury, that he delighted in his humours, and had a determination to have saved his life; adding yet this by the way, that he was amazed at nothing more, than the audaciousness of the man, that durst (so meanly accompanied) set upon such a great and puissant an army. Therefore it must needs be, that he presumed on further supplies, or some breakings out among themselves. But seeing it hath pleased God, that we have not only escaped this threatening storm of commotion and disturbance, but also, choaked with the dust of their own dissension, the interior divisions and conspiracies of the kingdom: let us, my lords, I pray you, be somewhat considerate, touching tumultuous and discontented persons, that they may be orderly satisfied in their honest demands, and discreetly prevented from the unlawful conventicles, or associated assemblies of unquietness, and murmuring against our government, under colour of hunting, fairs, markets, horse-races, weddings, and such like. Let us also have a care of our ports, harbours, and havens, to prevent wanderers and travellers, who, from the excuses of devotion to visit Rome, and curiosity to explore foreign countries, do many times deceive our trust with indirect and preposterous business.

In this triumphant prosperity he returned to London, and was as well welcomed by the people, as contented in himself, and so ran forward in the race of all mundane felicity and majestic happiness. But neither his own wisdom, the vigilance of the officers, the fidelity of his nobles, the policy of his counsellors, the loyalty of his subjects, nor the whole regard of the commonwealth, could turn the frame of heaven about, nor prevent his destiny, concerning following mischiefs:

Nam fato prudentia minor:

That is to say, could put a scarlet cloth over the sting of that serpent envy, to pull it out of the heart, no not out of the mouth, no not out of the hands of the dukes of Burgundy: but she must be tampering with the edge tools of devillish spite, and beating on the anvil

anvil of malicious calumnation, or, if you will, conspiracy, hoping, at one time or other, to hammer out such a work of disturbance, that neither the king should be able to quench the flames, nor the subject daring to disable the enterprize. Whereupon, to prevent all claims, exceptions, and means of distrust, some four years after, she set up another idol of defiance, personating Richard Plantagenet, second son to King Edward the Fourth and duke of York, supposed to be murdered with his brother Prince Edward in the tower, who, as it were, resuscitated from death to life, or rather reserved by miracle, must be at last a scourge to the usurping house of Lancaster, which, as it began with the blood of that innocent Richard the Second, must now be revenged with the destruction of the conqueror himself. Nor was this barely alledged to her friends and followers, but adorned with certain illustrations of example and precept. First, concerning the wonder and deliverance of the prince, she alledged the example of Joash, kept from the rage of Athaliah, and after advanced to the throne of Judah. Then, for the business of the war and revenge, she proclaimed herself another Thomyris, who overcame the Persians, and, in recompence of her son's death, cut off the head of Cyrus, and slew two hundred thousand of his people: nor seemed this mischief simply to be acted on the stage of fiction, like an historical tragedy, or ridiculous innovation: but a work of pestilent contriving and settled resolution, from the policy of many circumstances, and prevention of former inconveniences. For she not only stood on a guard of circumspection, reforming all such errors as had passed in Lambert's disaster, but took a time according to the poet:

Ingemiscæ mulieres ad inveniendum fraudes,

When the king was walking in the fields of renown and victory, before the city of Bulloigne in France, and had newly returned to Calais, not with an intent to leave the war, but with commiseration of his people, and to preserve them from a certain destruction in assailing the town, without further assurance of spoils, renown, or enlarging his territories.

Here he understood first of this project, so that he was compelled to make peace with France, for fear of this strange eruption at home, which he well perceived, upon further enlargement of her proceedings, would resemble a smith's forge, which sprinkled with a little water, must needs recover a greater heat; but either scattered abroad, or extinguished, could not further prejudice, which was not to be done by two armies at once, both in France and England, without hurrying, as it were, the kingdom to extremities; he was the sooner, as I said, induced to contrive his business from a treatise of pacification with the French king, not once mentioning any domestick suspicion or insurrection: nay, he kept this rumour close from his own subjects, and, when he certified the mayor of London of all his affairs, he only mentioned, that his army in

France was dissolved upon an honourable composition, and receiving eight hundred thousand ducates to defray the expences of his journey: and so with a kind of applause and satisfaction of all sorts, he returned into England to attend the proceedings of such enemies, as this devilish woman the duchess would animate and support against him. All which happened in the beginning of the seventh year of his reign, presently after the birth of Henry his second son created duke of York.

For all this wonderful haste, which the duchess of Burgundy made to King Henry's destruction, you must consider that he never gave occasion unto her of displeasure, or affront: but the malice (viper like, who, being full of poison, must needs spurt it abroad, or burst in pieces with the venom) sprang from herself, because he was of the house of Lancaster, and adverse lineage to her family, according to that authentick saying,

*Mulier enim aliàs quidem metus plena,
Ignava autem ad pugnam, ferrumque aspicere:
Quando verò in matrimonio injuria affecta fuerit,
Non est aliorum mens truculentior,——*

which caused her to devise and invent how to cast a scorpion in his bosom, or infect the whole realm with a discord most violent and pestiferous: and, because she would intermingle reason with her enforcement, she made the death of the earl of Lincoln, a man every way answering Henry of Richmond, (as she termed the king) the motive to her revenge, and desire to infect the whole kingdom: not caring what became of him, so she might satiate her rancorous hate, and set up some of her own faction to give her joys the fulness of hope in prevailing.

Thus like a dog she returns to her vomit, or as a spider, who, perceiving her call broken and torn in pieces, still spinneth a new web, she inventeth far fetched devices and (as we say) rather than sit out will play a small game; nay, be contented with poor acates, though she know the devil provides the fauce: but it should seem her venomous stomach is prepared for corrupter and fuller banquets, and she means to spread a cloth of insatiate gluttony, to feed on the several dishes of envy, hatred, malice, spight, vexation, deceit, wickedness, and devilish invention; whereupon she casts her eyes towards a young man, not fully sixteen, of visage beautiful, of countenance majestic, of wit subtil and crafty: in education pregnant, in languages skilful: of behaviour extraordinary, and of manners audacious, called Peter Warbeck, a Fleming, and yet in scorn nicknamed both by his countrymen, and English, Perkin, according to the Dutch phrase, who character cowardly and timorous younglings in that manner. His lineage and bringing up he shall shew you hereafter, in his publick confession. His actions and proceedings, till then, or if you will fatal ruin, I will undertake, and (as far as my ability may extend, or the dangerous business in hand require) deli-

delineate unto you: desiring all estates whatsoever to behold the attributes of God in this history, as his power, wisdom, providence, justice, mercy, and what else belongeth to the humbling of mortal men, or pulling on their knees the proud: first presumption and security: but especially confounding the inventions of men, and policies of Satan, as laughing all to scorn, that submit not to his greatness and unmatched power, according to our Lucan, lib. ii.

*Famque iræ patuere deūm, manifestaue belli
Signa dedit mundus: legesque & fœdera rerum
Præscia monstrifero vertit natura tumultu,
Indixitque nefas:*

First, a mighty prince was not only terrified with an idol and puppet, as it were, made of straw and painted cloth: but threatened to be shouldered aside, out of his firmness and throne of majesty: secondly, when the wheel was turned about, God derided the Devil, and brought this mountain of pride down with a vengeance, seeing the noble king's innocency, patience, and humility: thirdly, he taught all abominable and diabolical practices a new lesson, condemning both the actors and contrivers, as frenetical, and foolish: fourthly, he instructed the best of men, to consider they were but men subject to the inconveniences of life, mutability of the world, counterchangeableness of times, and inconstancy of people: last of all, to make us know that all actions grounded on irreligious foundations, and wicked conventions, must needs fail in the end; for, rather than punishments shall not follow sins, God will scourge one wicked man with another, as you saw how all the monarchies of the earth were dissolved, and the kingdoms of the Gentiles brought to ruin and desolation. But now to our story.

After the duchess of Burgundy had fastened on this anchor-hold for her revenges, she caused the young man to travel into many countries to learn as many languages, whereby he was so perfect in the English, that she rejoiced to think in what a well manured ground she had sowed the seeds of her hopes; by which occasion, the baseness of his stock and birth was so obscured, that few or none discovered the same, or durst detect the secrecy: thus she kept him a certain space privily with herself, and used such diligence and instruction concerning the house of York, the affairs of England, and the lineage, descent, and order of her family, that, by that time he came to repeat his lesson, she verily believed he was the same she had supposedly contrived, and he quite forgot that ever his first original came out of the dunghill: for, without any difficulty, or sign of subordination (such a forcible impression hath the hope of honour and preferment, according to that common saying, *Honores mutant mores*) he kept such a princely countenance, and counterfeited a majestic royalty, that all others firmly approved he was extracted out of the blood of Plantagenet, and observed him accordingly: she again grew proud of nothing so much as the wonderment of her

own handywork, and that, out of so little a cloud, she should raise such a tempest of trouble and distraction: but our Ovid indoctrined her,

Flumina magna vides parvis de fontibus orta,

and she knew she was a woman fit to be such a work-mistress.

Whereupon, taking an opportunity of the king's wars in France, she sent for her youngling out of Portugal, and privily conveyed him into Ireland, with sure and forcible instructions how to inveigle and incite this rustical people to admit of him, who, besides their natural inclination to rebellion and disorder, would now be glad of this new occasion and business, to revenge the slaughter of their countrymen: and although it might seem to reasonable men, and understanding apprehensions, that the unhappy proceedings of Lambert, and his counterfeit associate, the priest I mean, might have been a sufficient warning unto them for ever being taken again in the net of such abuses, or intangled with the snare of collusion; yet did he so demean himself, that he made these doubts the very ground of his acceptance: for, once again, insinuating with the houses of the Geraldines and Butlers, he plaid the orator with them, and, as we say, *captare benevolentiam*, thus persuaded them to give credit and affiance to his false and wonderful demonstrations, as though he had been the very son of King Edward indeed.

' MY worthy lords, and gracious friends, said he, ' for the generality of my business, I hope you are ' not unacquainted with many instances of distressed ' princes, flying to one another for refuge and succour, when an overbearing hand of a more mighty ' enemy hath suppressed them, of cunning insinuation ' spread abroad a mantle of more forcible reasons to ' admit of his title in prevailing, rather than to look ' after the weakened estate of his wronged and abused ' competitor; for so Jeroboam and Hadad the Edomite were entertained in the court of Pharaoh, ' merely from charitable commiseration against Solomon, who had yet formerly married a daughter of ' Pharaoh; and, amongst ourselves, the sons of that ' valiant Edmund Ironside fled from Canutus into ' Hungary, and were there protected; yea, advanced ' in marriage, for the further and better recovering ' their inheritances: but what need I go further, than ' the usurper now reigning, who, in spite of my father, and uncle of Gloucester, was entertained by the ' duke of Bretagne, and the French king, and, as it ' were, secured from all treasons and corruption, or, ' if you will, policy of searchers, to bring him to ' destruction; wherein, questionless, those princes, as ' they obtained a perpetual renown for so noble and ' glorious a charity, so did they repute nothing so ' meritorious, as the extension of favour, and a helping hand to the perfecting such a work from princely ' compassion: therefore, I will say the less, in this ' point,

point, unto you, because you have ever been faithful to my progenitors, and willing to be counted a nation for the defence of virtue, and repulsing of injuries. As for the ill success of Lambert in personating my cousin, the earl of Warwick, and setting a foot that title, whereby you may be terrified in future prosecutions: alas! I confess it was for my sake, and a mere device to found the ford of the troublesome streams of those times and proceedings; wherein, if my uncle of Lincoln had any way thrived, you must be assured, though they would not hazard my person so young, yet it was only to make way to my fortunes: for small recompence should have stopped his mouth, and, *ut major lux exstinguit minorem*, my presence quickly have turned the stream, and, with the sun, exhaled the strength of his meteor. This trick my grandfather put upon the state, when he was governor amongst you, by Jack Cade of Kent, who proclaimed himself Mortimer, to see how the people affected the title, or could remember the genealogy in the truth of his precedency, as marrying the daughter of Lionel duke of Clarence, third son of our great Edward the Third of England, and heroes of his time; so that I hope this shall be no bar or interception, either to my interest, or your good-will, considering I am now come in person to offer up myself a sacrifice, if need be, for you all, and promise you, by the secrets of my birthright, to make you a glorious and free nation under me, if I prevail by your means.

These words were uttered so audaciously, and yet with simulatory majesty, that they conceived every thing in his behalf, and not once disputed on the craft or cunning conveyance of the business, but exalted and applauded him with all reverence and due honour, combining themselves with affectionate obedience to his aid and assistance; wherein, that they might be the better induced just at the same instant, as if honour made haste to welcome him, according to our poet:

Nunc festinatos nimium sibi sensit honores.

And fortune determined to smile on them all. Charles, the French king, in some displeasure with King Henry of England, sent for Perkin out of Ireland, with resolution to make him the royal head of an army against England; which, although it much animated the Irish to believe the former seduction, yet, it was but a device of the French king's to divert the war, which the king of England pretended, out of France, and so to force him back again to look home to his own affairs. Howsoever, this our counterfeit was not a little revived with such a message, and supposed himself exalted to heaven, in being thus called to the familiarity and acquaintance of kings and princes; so that, coming into France accordingly, he was royally accepted, and after a princely manner entertained, having a guard assigned him, whereof the lord of

Congresshall was governor. Hither also repaired unto him, especially while he lay in Paris, Sir George Nevil the bastard, Sir John Tailer, Rowland Robinson, and a hundred English rebels: but, alas! all these were but smocking illusions; for, on a sudden,

*Ingemuit rector, sensitque deorum
Esse dolos, & fata suæ contraria menti.*

And, when a peace was to be determined and concluded between England and France, the French king quickly dismissed the young man and all his associates, under colour of excuse, that he durst no longer protect him against his new confederate, and brother of England; but some others attending upon him yielded a more forcible reason for his departure, that he himself suspected how King Charles would deliver him into the hands of the king of England, and therefore he beguiled the lord Congresshall, and fled from Paris by night. But, howsoever this may be disputed, and whether he departed without the king's consent, or no, he was, questionless, deceived in his expectation, and, in a manner, desperate of success; so that, loth to remain amongst such distrustful enemies, he quietly returned to his most assured friend, the lady Margaret of Flanders, the master-builder of this work.

The duchess, before he came, thought every hour from his departure a whole year, till his return: for to hear how he proceeded, was a quiet to her thoughts; and to know how fortune would deal with him, a joy to her heart; but to see him, a very ravishment: yet, when she understood how he was abjected and repudiated in the French court, it could not choose but be a great agony and amazement unto her. Notwithstanding, to prevent all suspicion, she seemed at his arrival no less revived, than a mother is glad for the return of her long absent son, or a person condemned, for a pardon and restoration of his life and dignity: at his first approach she received him with large embraces, and hanging over his neck, seeming to shed tears of joy and comfort for his escape from many dangers and adventures: O dissembling and deceivable hypocrisy! that ever a woman should be the author of such devilish devices and hellish projects, and yet over-daub her mischievous imaginations with the sugared shows of love, and regard of pity towards a prince in distress; but this made Hippolytus long ago cry out,

*O Jupiter! quodnam adulterinum hominibus malum
Mulieres, ad solis lucem habitare fecisti, &c.*

Eurip. Hippolytus Coronatus.

And this she had learned of her own physicians, who, in administering of bitter pills, had shewed her to roll them over in some candied powder; and this we have taught ourselves out of God's own mouth, who, in several places of Scripture, hath published wherein a bad woman doth exceed all the creatures of the world.

After

After this extasy was past, she proceeded with a cunning desire to have him relate his first miraculous preservation, his after-travels and exploration of countries, next his entertainment in Ireland and France; and, finally, his resolution to go forward in his noble and necessary intendment for his inheritance, and recovery of the crown of England; wherein he proceeded so effectually, and orderly, without stammering or stuttering, that the whole company verily believed it; and such as were not present, the rather, induced by the report of others, sorrowing for nothing but that they heard him not *viva voce*, and endeavouring what they could to present their personal obedience unto him: whereupon, when she perceived how every thing conformed to her own wishes, she assigned him a guard of fifty persons in murray and blue, and honoured him with a cloth of estate, and denomination of the *white rose* and prince of England.

From thence forward the nobility of Flanders, and divers of England, with all obsequious diligence attended him, and, from a reverend estimation of his ancestors, performed all the good offices which belonged to the exornation of his majesty, and extension of their own loves and duties; so that, in a word, this Sinon's horse entered the broken walls of Troy, and feigned invention, shadowed with the pretence of verity and truth, prevailed with their credulity, that they adhibited the more faith and undoubted trust unto it, supposing verily he had been preserved by the will and providence of God, and so committed to the trust and custody of some faithful friend, either by King Edward, or his mother when she was in sanctuary; relying also on this impossibility, that any tyrant would so rebel against God, as infringe the orders of holy church, and take him *per force* from thence, as yet the story manifesteth was to be done even by the cardinal himself.

By this time the fame of this juggled miracle was not only blown over Flanders and the territories adjacent, but so rumoured in England, by reason the present government suppressed all publick reports, libels, and writings, that in the very whispering,

Nam fraudibus eventum dederat fortuna,

It was more forcible than if it had been published by licence and authority. Thus have I seen a fire smothered, and inclosed in some secret place, never to be quiet, till it were vented out; and, when it came to eruption, made the more forcible and outrageous noise. For it was here received as an infallible truth, and not only believed of the better sort, but entertained of the common people; who, being more liberal of audacious behaviour, and less fearful to offend God, began to confirm it with oaths as a matter of truth, which others barely affirmed as a report of uncertainty.

Thus began trouble upon trouble; and, as the spring putteth forth the buds and blossoms, like the messenger of summer and pleasant times to ensue, so did this fantastical fable, thus divulged, prognosticate follow-

ing calamity and consequent desolation: for, after it was known with what honour he had been entertained in Flanders, and revered in other places of Europe, there began sedition on every side in England, and no man was sure of his friend, the times grew to such distraction. Some, that were fled to sanctuaries, for great and heinous offences perpetrated, discharged themselves, and went beyond the seas unto him: some, that had confined themselves to privileged places, for debts and accounts, began to shew themselves under his support and combination, then being safest, when the state is unsafest: some, even of the better sort, through rashness and temerity, because they would be counted factious and stirring, drew apace unto him: some, out of the nature of inconstancy, or rather impression of melancholy, never to be removed from the opinion they have once entertained, believed verily, that this Perkin was the undoubted son of Edward the Fourth: some, through simplicity and easiness of apprehension, without examining the probability and likelihood of the matter, yielded to any thing which was told them: some temporisers, to curry favour in the change of princes, persuaded and solicited others to their opinions, that so, bringing many coadjutors, they might not only be reputed of strength and reputation in their countries, but the better welcomed and entertained with the prevailer: some, through indignation and envy, murmuring at their slender advancement, or grudging they were not more condignly rewarded for their former pains and adventures in his majesty's business, resorted to this new prince, in hope of better acceptation: and some, over-wearied with ease and placability of idleness, grieving to see the world stand at a stay, with desire of change ran headlong into this fury, madness, and seditious conspiracy:

O tempora! O mores! O flagitiosa voluntas!

But, for all this rumour of this twice-born Duke Richard of York, and that England was divided and drawn into parts-taking and several factions, so that the minds of men were vexed either with the hope of gain or preferment, or fear of loss and confusion; yet were the king and his council not much disturbed or affrighted, more than their marvel and modest anger at so many persons, seeming in their right wits, to be seduced either in the contriving such a manifest and notorious lye, or assenting and preparing themselves to countenance the same, without fear of God or men, not once forecasting the dangerous penalty of treasons, contempts, conspiracies, and practices against their natural prince, and so sufficient a governor. For it was not only a pernicious fable and fiction, strange and marvellous, but prodigious and unnatural, to resuscitate a man from the dead, and with impudent asseveration to set it forth, and palliate it with the vesture and garment of a professed verity. But, in such cases, be kings never so wise, nor matters so trivial and unlikely, there is no sitting still, nor giving way.

way to the business; especially, there is no rebating an enemy with proclamations, writings, and prohibitions, who cometh forward with the clamours of war, and well-settled preparation of offence. Therefore his majesty thought it the best course to look about him, and, both by force and policy, to prevent the mischief impending and threatened; for he perceived how already the fire of rebellion had taken hold of some of the principal houses of England, who, he knew, had underhand already sent messengers unto Lady Margaret, to understand when Richard duke of York would come conveniently into England, that they might be ready to help and succour him, even at his first arrival.

This business increased to a fulness and ripeness, about the eighth year of his majesty's reign; inasmuch that the confederates (by common assent and agreement) posted over Sir Robert Clifford, knight, and William Barley into Flanders, to be the better assured of all particulars; who were not only gladly accepted, and lovingly welcomed of the dukes, with full intimation of the truth, and wonderful delivery of the strangeness of the story,

Nec gravidæ lachrymas continuere genæ,

but brought to the sight and sweet entertainment of Perkin, who played the counterfeit so exactly, that his words resembled forcible incantations, according to that of the poet:

*Una per æthereos exit vox illa recessus,
Verbaque ad invitum præfert cogentia numen.*

Lucan, lib. vi.

For all men praised his virtues and qualities, with a resolved belief of his princeliness; and Sir Robert Clifford swore directly, that he was extracted of the blood royal, and the very son of King Edward the Fourth: whereupon he wrote letters of confidence and credit to his associates in England. That, as the queen of Sheba told Solomon, she did not believe the half of that which was reported, till she had seen it with her eyes; so he could not be persuaded to so much as rumour had presented, till he had overviewed him in person: but, when these letters were received in England, the conspirators caused them to be openly published and divulged in many places, with full credence. That it was true, and not feigned, which was spoken by the duke of York, and therefore they need not be afraid to be drawn to such a commotion and parts taking; all yet was carried so orderly and covertly, that the king (more than uncertain suspicion) could not as yet detect any person of name or quality, which troubled him so much the more.

But, when he perceived indeed, that this misty vapour was not quite vanished, nor the impression put out of the mad brain of the common people, and understood how Sir Robert Clifford was privily fled into Flanders, he resolved on a conspiracy against him; and thought it expedient, both for the safeguard

of himself and his realm, whose reciprocal good or hurt were dependent one upon another, to provide some remedy for the repressing of this abusing fraud and deceit, and suppressing the insolency, if it should extend to force and rebellion. Wherefore he dispersed several companies, both of horse and foot, to defend the sea-coasts, that no man might pass or repass unapprehended, who had not licence or safe-conduct for his journey, business, and affairs: then he sent down the lieutenants and justices into their several countries, to detain the people in obedience, and muster the forces of the same, as occasion should serve; which order observed, he underhand authorised wise and discreet spies into all the cities of the low countries, to discover of what province, progeny, parentage, and estate this misnamed Richard was descended and propagated, promising princely rewards to such persons as could relate the truth, and, as a man may say, enucleate the secret. Besides, he wrote loving letters to certain trusty friends concerning the same; who, to do their prince and country service, dispersed themselves into several towns and cities, both of France and Burgundy, where they were certified and assured, by the testimony of many honest persons (amongst whom, some of special wit and behaviour repaired to the town of Tournay) that this feigned duke was of mean parentage, and truly named Peter Warbeck; which was principally confirmed by one Nathaniel Osbeck of his own kindred, who, as it should seem, in hope of reward, took upon him more than the rest, and exprobrated him, for so counterfeiting, with this taunt out of the poet:

*Sed male dissimulas, quis enim celaverit ignem
Lumine qui semper proditur ipse suo?*

Paris Helenæ.

And, alas! however he is now transhaped into a princely garb and fashion, we of Peter named him Perkin, for his effeminateness and childishness.

With this news and man, the inquisitors returned into England, and made a true report unto his majesty of all they knew and heard, both concerning the assumed presumption and impudence of the counterfeit, as also the proceedings and purposes of all the conspirators; which was seconded by the faithful letters of especial persons, who had larger commission to make their continuance the longer out of England: when the king was thus satisfied, and, as he supposed, to all seeming reasonable understanding, had openly and apparently manifested it, he resolved to have it further published and declared, by open proclamations, and sound of trumpet, both in the realms of England and Ireland, and in the courts of foreign princes; for which purpose he sent over divers ambassadors to many countries, especially to Philip archduke of Burgoigne, and his counsellors, as a place which nearest concerned him. This embassy was the charge and commission of Sir Edward Poinings, a most valiant gentleman, and William Warham, doctor of the laws, a man of great

great modesty, learning, and gravity. The general points of their commission had large fields to walk in, but the principal matters to be enforced had these limitations:

FIRST, to declare, that the young man, resident amongst them, with the Lady Margaret, was descended of a base and obscure parentage, having falsely and untruly usurped the name of Richard duke of York, who long before was murdered in the Tower, with his brother the prince, by the commandment of King Richard, their uncle, as many men living can testify.

Secondly, That, from the probability of the matter, and enforcement of reason, there was no likelihood that King Richard, dispossessing the prince both of his life and kingdom, would leave the other brother still to affright him, and trouble him in his government.

Thirdly, That Queen Elizabeth, their mother, was therefore attainted in parliament, for surrendering her daughters into the tyrant's custody, and committing them into his hands, who, she knew, had already murdered their brethren.

Fourthly, To desire the archduke, and the principal lords of his council, not to give any credit to such illusions, nor suffer themselves to be any more blinded or seduced with impostures, or shadowing appearances of truth.

Last of all, To remember how King Henry had (some few years since) succoured and relieved Maximilian, their principal lord, almost oppressed and overcome with the foreign hostility of the French king, and intestine rebellion of his own subjects; and therefore it must be unprincipally, and a point of great ingratitude, either directly or indirectly, to abet or maintain any traitor or traitorous practices against him, or the peace and tranquillity of his kingdom.

With these instructions the ambassadors sailed into Flanders, and were gently received and honourably welcomed by the archduke and his council, as appeared by the solemnity of their audience, and quick dispatch of their business; wherein Dr. William Warham, in a well-penned oration, declared the king's mind, as before you heard, and, by the way, touched the malice of Lady Margaret, saying with the poet,

— *Tantæne animis cælestibus iræ?*

And under a kind of reprehension, rebuked her treacherous disposition against a prince of so great worth and deserving, that never wronged her, nor entertained a prejudicial motive, to afflict either her or her's, with any malignant injury; wherein she only might be compared to a weak breath, which, spitting against a forcible wind, had it returned back again into her face; adding withal, somewhat vehemently, that, in her old age, contrary to the nature

of all births, she had brought forth two such detestable monsters, that is to say, Lambert before disputed upon, and now this Peter, that the like was never heard of. And whereas, in the conception of children, women were commonly delivered in eight or nine months as nature did require, she could not be released in eight or nine years; nay, the youngest was fifteen years old, before her pains were passed, and they justified to be shewn openly; and this was not sufficient neither, but they must be at least extracted of princes, and able to give kings battle in the open field; whereupon he might well conclude with that ancient poet,

*Sed res excellens est, contra reptiles bestias
Remedia mortalibus deorum præbuisse aliquem,
Quæ viperas & ignem superant:*

*Sed nullus contra mulierem remedia invenit adhuc
Malam; hujusmodi fumus hominibus malum.*

Eurip. Andromache.

This oration, so effectually delivered, and in the publick assembly, audaciously maintained, did not so much trouble and vex the duchess, as affright and dishearten poor Perkin, who, in a manner, exanimated, lest his fraud and pestilential enterprizes should not only be discovered, but discouraged, began to be somewhat appalled, and, by a fearful countenance, seemed to discountenance both his honour and the action, had not the duchess taken the cause in hand with a more undaunted courage, and, like a true virago, raised her spirits to a higher pitch of revenge, thus resuscitating her darling, and answering the doctor:

MY lords ambassadors of England, for the dignity of princeliness commandeth no less, and awful regard of majesty combineth me to such observation: besides, I am no way offended with your persons, but your message, wherein I know the orator hath much transcended his bounds, but speaking for his fee, and doing another man's errand, he is the more pardonable, and therefore, as near as I can remember, I will answer succinctly to every point delivered.

First, Whereas you impeach the miraculous and wonderful preservation of this prince, in which yet my credit and knowledge of the truth shall be of sufficiency to answer all other objections and intercedings, I cannot blame you, nor him that set you on work; for he well knows that sons are to be preferred before daughters, and, ashamed of the treachery of his ancestors, he would put off the blame by a trick of policy, in laying as great faults on the shoulders of his adversary; I mean my brother Richard, whose tyranny and obdurate heart, hath only wrought this relenting in me, that say and do what England can, I will be now the protectrix of this every way distressed prince; and so, to conclude this point, assure your king,

Permanet in voto mens mea firma suo.

L

Secondly,

Secondly, Whereas you infer the improbability and unlikelihood of saving the prince, being in a tyrant's custody, and determining to murder the king himself, I answer in a word, I am of your mind, if ever he had come into his hands: but it is well known, that the cardinal himself was deceived, and the child conveyed away, in spite of the malevolent practices of so cruel an homicide. Yet say it had not been so, I hope eldest brother's daughters are preferred before a younger brother's claim; and he had five princesses, besides my nephew Warwick to wrestle withal, before he could go out of the lists, with his own triumphs. Therefore it was not the fear of him that did accelerate his murder, as you suppose; but his resolution to be king, in spite of heaven and hell.

Thirdly, Concerning the dispossessing of the Queen, their mother, by your parliament, I am ashamed of your asseveration, that ever man, and such a man, whom (as you say) the heavens protected, should be attainted of inhumanity, to think a woman might not be affrighted with a tyrant, when he himself ran into every corner from his reaches. But say there had been a fault perpetrated (through the timidity of her sex, and tenderness of her widowhood) would any man marry the daughter, and hate or distress the poor mother? In whose behalf I may well say with Ariadne to Theseus,

— *Si non ego causa salutis:*
Non tamen est, cur tu sis mihi causa necis?
 Ovid. Epist.

And therefore, if there were no more than to revenge her quarrel, I will be an enemy to Lancaster, while I live, and am no further moved with your unreasonable oratory, than afraid of his menaces.

Fourthly, Whereas you would insinuate with our nobles, and trusty friends, to desist from my allegiance, and assisting my nephew in his lawful claim: you think belike we are as perfidious as yourselves, that seem glad of treason and turmoils upon the very found of innovation; yea, the least advantage or disadvantage will cause you to leave your prince in the midst of his enemies.

Fifthly, Concerning your exprobration of Maximilian for ingratitude, and not coadjuting your king in his petty revenges upon France: first, his great designs are not to be compared to your trivial business, and, having matters of high consequence elsewhere, he could not leave them to attend your weaker importunities: secondly, he well knew it was but a folly to assist you in any business of France; for as fast as you got it one way, you would lose it another, so that you cannot now shew any town or fort, either of King Edward's conquests, or Henry the Fifth's enterprises, except Calais, which lying so near you, you cannot, for shame, but defend. And thirdly, In my conscience, he took pity on you, knowing you had a war at home to attend, and so were not able to prosecute both encounters at once: go back, there-

fore, and tell your politick Prince, that, whereas words are but women's weapons to his imagination, we determine to arm ourselves, and this prince, by God's assistance, and my power, shall bid him defiance in his own kingdom with spear and shield, and make an equal combat the decider of both their titles.

Last of all, Concerning your invective against women: alas! I smile at your scholarship, and am ashamed at your poor discretion in adapting some poetical invention out of fury or spite, to your present purposes, when both the same man, and all others, of the same condition, are as forward to commend as dispraise us: for, to answer your worn-out and thread-bare tragedian, hark what our divine Petrarch affirmeth:

Hujus mens terrenarum nescia curarum: cœlestibus desideris ardet: in cujus aspectu si quid unquam veri est divini specimen decoris effulget: cujus mores consummata honestatis exemplar sunt: cujus nec vox, nec oculorum vigor mortale aliquid: nec incessus hominem representat.

De Contemptu Mundi, Dial. iii.

With which words she arose, and carried away Perkin with such state and majesty, that Sir Edward Poinings, though he were every way invincible for his courage, and a known man for wonderful and several exploits, yet seemed amazed at her heroical speech, and delicate manner of obstinacy.

Notwithstanding, the ambassadors and council of state often met, and, after long debating the matter, somewhat to pacify the king of England for many reciprocal gratuities and benefits received, they concluded, that the archduke should neither aid nor assist Perkin, nor his accomplices, in any cause or quarrel whatsoever, against the majesty of England: only, if the duchess continued in her obdurateness, and would not desist from her feminine rages, and terrible prosecutions, they were not to oppose against her, nor was it in their power to let or withstand it: for she was an absolute governor in her own territories, and the signories and lands, assigned for her dowry, were of sufficiency to support her enterprises without their contradiction or restraint.

When this answer was given, they returned again into England with a true relation of all occurrences as they chanced, and circumstances impending: whereupon, King Henry, both politick and charitable (for, of all other things he desired, if it were possible, to avoid effusion of blood, and hazardous danger of battle, supposing that was the last remedy of curing diseased commonwealths, as surgeons do to festered sores) contrived another work, which, although it was branded by some with the character of traitorous intelligences, yet it served his turn for the present, and so divers were appointed to discover the secrets of the contrary, by feigned dissimulation. Of these were two sorts, one to feign themselves Yorkists, and so learn out what they could prejudicial to King Henry; another, to tamper with Sir Robert Clifford and William

ham Burley, for their return to the obedience of the king; and, concerning the plot itself, he reputed it justifiable, as authorised by all authors, ages, and commonwealths, who set down in their politick discourses, that

— *Fraus est concessa repellere fraudem,
Armaque in armatos sumere jura sinunt.*

Ovid. de Arte Armandi, lib. iii.

These cunning informers so demeaned themselves, and employed their time with such sedulity and care, that they persuaded, though with much ado, Sir Robert Clifford to desist from this foolish and dangerous collusion, which had neither sure ground nor foundation to stay itself upon; but Mr. Burley could not be diverted at this instant, till within two years after, almost tired out with expectation after Perkin Warbeck's fortunes and success, he returned of himself to the king, and had pardon both for life and liberty. The others likewise proceeded so effectually, that they had sure notice of especial persons confederated, and adjured to this blind and foolish project, of which they presently informed the king, who, by that means, could not only personally name his home enemies, but, to prevent the worst, did as personally attach the most principal; that is to say, Sir John Ratcliffe, the Lord Fitzwalter, Sir Simon Mountford, Sir Thomas Thwaites, William Dawbney, Robert Clifford, Thomas Cressenor, and Thomas Astwood: with these, were divers religious persons imprisoned, as William Rochford, doctor of divinity, and Thomas Paines, both Dominican friars; Dr. William Sutton, William Worsley, dean of Paul's; Robert Laiborn, and Richard Lesley, with divers others unapprehended, of whom some took sanctuary, and others fled into Flanders to Perkin: but, of those whose liberties were constrained, Sir Simon Mountford, Sir Robert Ratcliffe, and William Dawbney were beheaded as powerful, factious, and chief authors of the conspiracy; the rest were pardoned, especially the priests, who were, in those times, for their order's sake, sequestered from publick executions, what offences soever they perpetrated, which made them so forward in all facinorous actions; and others so superstitious, as to believe any thing they either projected or attempted; from which hypocritical and deceivable manner of life, all poets and philosophers themselves have had both general and particular invectives against priests, augurs, soothsayers, figure-casters, and religious persons, both for their profane lives and seducing vanities; so that Euripides, amongst many other places, concludes in his Iphigenia,

Vatidicūm omne genus ambitiosum malum est.

And all the kingdoms and times of the world have smarted through the pride, covetousness, and malicious wickedness of priests and friars; and lastly, Jesuits, as I said before. Put to our story.

Although the Lord Fitzwalter was pardoned his life for the present; yet, coming after to Calais, he

was beheaded for attempting to escape, by corrupting his keepers, and so to go to Perkin: whereby this strange and intricate work so busied his majesty, that he would often compare it to the conquering of Hydra, a beast so privileged by nature, that, as one head was struck off, seven others grew in the place. For his turmoils, both at home and abroad, increased; and he seemed as much tormented with the suspicion of bosom friends, as affrightings of foreign enemies, which so exasperated him, that, as he supposed, to prevent the worst, considering Maximilian, king of the Romans, had trifled with him in his wars against France, and that lady Margaret, with the Flemings, had supported Perkin Warbeck against him, he, in a kind of revenge, banished all Low-countrymen, and their commodities, out of the realm, with restraining the merchants from having access into any of their cities: but, alas! this was to no purpose, and, in truth, rather a custom of anger, than secret of policy; as if a man, because his finger torments him, should cut off his hand to ease himself; for they did the like by us, whereby, the mart being kept at Calais, and no vent elsewhere for our merchandise, many poor house-keepers complained for want of work, many rich men murmured, and were compelled to lessen their families, and abate their retinue; many merchants felt the loss, and the tradesman cried outright, because the Esterlings brought all manner of manual work, ready made, into the land, and took from them both their labour and customers, whereby a riot was made upon them at the Stilyard, and the mayor of London, with the principal officers, had much ado to appease the tumult; and this was the ninth year's disturbance.

The king, thus turmoiled every way, repaired, for divers reasons, to the Tower of London, whither shortly after came Sir Robert Clifford unto him, partly trusting to the king's promise, partly mistrusting his own company, and Perkin's weakness: but the chiefest policy of his residence in the Tower, was, to secure himself, and lay hold of all others suspected, or accused in this conspiracy, who, thither resorting to the council, might with ease, and without any tumult, be committed to prison, as it presently fell out: for after the king had admitted Sir Robert, and insinuated with him in excellent positions of divinity and morality, by way of deception, urging the love and favour of his prince in his true obedience and reconciliation, he not only related the manner of Perkin's proceedings, but on his knees, with tears in his eyes, discovered the matter to be weak and impossible, if it had not factious supportation from some of powerful houses of England, and very near his majesty's person, whereof, though many were punished, and the rest dissipated and divided, yet Sir William Stanley remained unsuspected, and his heart trembled to accuse him: but, when the king heard Sir William Stanley named, he started back amazed, and, in a manner, confounded, so that Sir Robert was afraid he had done him more harm in the relation, than good in the detection.

At last he burst out, What, my bosom friend? My counsellor?

counsellor? My chamberlain? Then I see there is no trust in men, nor, as the Psalmist says, confidence in princes: for, as we shall not want instruments to go forward with what enterprize we please, as David had his Joab; so shall we not lack enemies, let them be never so careful and desirous to favour the least deser- ver; but I will cry out, *Heu cadit in quemquam tantum scelus!* and with the kingly prophet exclaim, It was not mine enemies abroad, but my compa- nions, and such as eat at my table betrayed me: What, Sir William Stanley! He had the government of my chamber, the charge and comptrolment of all that are next my person, the love and favour of our court, and the very keys of our treasury: he made me a conqueror in the field, and, by his hand, I scourged tyranny out of his throne, therefore it is impossible, and I cannot believe it: but, when a se- cond reply brought him to the sight of fairer particu- lars, and that he saw the smoke, though it was but a smother, come from some fire, he quickly recollected his spirits, and, with these verses of Euripides, set him- self down at the table of prevention and reposefulness:

*Ex amicis autem alios quidem non certos video amicos
Qui vero sunt rectè, impotentes sunt ut juvent:
Talis res est hominibus ipsa infelicitas,
Quà nullus unquam (quicumque vel mediocriter amicus
mibi)*

*Assequatur amicorum examen certissimum, —
Eurip. Herefurens.*

The same night, upon better consideration, the lord chamberlain was restrained from his liberty within the Square Tower, and confined to his own chamber for a season; but, when the crime was openly proved, and the council had, as it were, with a charming hand of Hecate, turned his inside outward, and found all his excuses to consist in distinctions, and his reasons of defence manifest stipulations of the matter, he grew out of all patience, and knew not what to say or do: for one way, like a noble prince commiserating his subjects, he feared lest his brother, Lord Robert Stanley, the life of his first royalty, as a man may say, should take it grievously. Another way, he mis- doubted, lest, in remitting the fault, some others might abuse his lenity and mercy, and be the bolder to run forward in the dangerous courses of further treasons: at last, by the advice of his council, and general vogue of the court, severity, considering the peril of those days, took place, and mercy was put back; so that, after a solemn arraignment, he had judgment to die, and accordingly was brought, on the sixteenth of Fe- bruary, to Tower-hill, and had his head struck off.

The principal point of his indictment consisted in this, that Sir William Stanley swore and affirmed, that he would never fight nor bear armour against the young man Peter Warbeck, if he knew of a truth that he was the undoubted son of Edward the Fourth, whereupon arose a conjectural proof, that he bare no good-will to King Henry. Again, the principal mo- tive of his distasting and murmuring at the king, was

for being denied the earldom of Chester, when his brother, Lord Thomas, was invested with the sword of Derby: yet the king, besides many rewards and other great offices, made him his chief chamberlain: What should I say? It should seem ambition had blinded his eyes, and perverted his judgment. For he still thought on the benefits which the king re- ceived from the love and service of his family, never remembering the compensation and gratuities returned back again to himself; supposing that his vessel of oil should still be filled to the brim, or else he harped on a Machivilian position: thankfulness is a burthen, but revenge is sweet and reckoned as gain. But it should seem, that, in possessing King Richard's trea- sure at the conquest of Bosworth Field, which King Henry frankly bestowed upon him, and the command over the people in the country, he grew proud and elated, and so vilipended the king; or, from a con- tinual melancholy, reverberating dislike and hate upon his staggering conceits, he more and more overbur- thened his heart with rage and spight, which, as you have heard unpurged, vented out those words of dis- loyalty to the loss of his life; or in a word, according to that of our old tragedian:

*Animorum Jupiter vindex est nimis superborum,
Eurip. Heraclidæ.*

The searcher of hearts was weary of his humours and ingratitude, and so took the king's cause in hand, and upon good inforcement thrust him into the house of destruction. Otherwise he could not choose but re- member how, not twenty years before, the law had interpreted the profuse and lavish speeches of a grocer, named Walker, dwelling at the sign of the Crown, in Cheap-side, who bad his son learn a-pace and he would make him heir of the Crown, meaning his house he dwelt in, for which he was adjudged to die: nor forget the story of Burdet the esquire, within whose park King Edward hunting, a white tame hart was killed by chance, which he had brought up by hand; which when Burdet heard of, he wished the horns in his belly that had moved the king to come first thither; for which he was drawn, hanged, and quartered. Thus you see there is no jesting with princes, nor distasting them in troublesome times, nor presuming in such cases on their clemency: for our Ovid tells us:

*Non ideo debet pelago se credere, si qua
Audet in exiguo ludere cymba lacu.*

After this, many rumours and libels, yea defama- tory speeches, both concerning the landing of the new duke of York, proclaimed already, in Ireland, Ri- chard the Fourth: and the king's present fear and pro- ceedings were spread abroad, which compelled as strange prohibitions, yea punishments and revenges, according to the example of that judgment that hanged Collingbroke for a rhyme against the usurper:

The

*The rat, the cat, and Lovel the dog,
Rules all England under a hog:*

So that he was farther forced to have many politick searches through the whole realm for such offenders, and as many strong guards and watches for the defence of the whole kingdom; by which, when he perceived the care, vigilancy, and good-will of the subject, he entertained a greater fulness of contentment, and shewed a better alacrity of spirit than his former griefs would admit: then he advanced Giles Lord Dawnley, a man of wisdom, experience, and fidelity, to be the chamberlain of his house, and have the guard of his person. Afterwards he took order with the city and merchants of the same, and had their faithful oath and protestation to look to it, and all the places of their traffick abroad, concerning such things as might be offensive and prejudicial to the kingdom. The next thing, he took care for, was the manning the Cinque-ports, and fortifying divers havens, with a strict commanding the lieutenants and justices of each shire to repair into their countries, by which good order observed he grew somewhat secure and bolder, to shew himself in publick assemblies undaunted, or any way discomfited.

But this was yet far from the fulness of his establishment, as long as Ireland remained corrupted, and swelled again in every place, with the overblown reports and rumours of Perkin's royalty, to which each traitorous ear lay open, and abused heart went quite away with the novelty. Whereupon he resolved on the necessity of purging and cleansing the same, and determined to perform it by new officers and honest surveyors: so he sent thither, with powerful authority, Henry Dean, late abbot of Langton, to be his chancellor, and Sir Edward Poinings, with a sufficient preparation to be lord-general of his army. These had a large commission, under his deputy the earl of Kildare, to suppress all innovations, and spare no offenders: for it was such a time, that mercy and favour would rather embolden men to abuses, than justice offend with extremity. Besides, the majesty of kings was not to be controuled, either in their favour or revenges; but they would simply command, and have the subject honestly to obey, with which instructions and the doctrine of probity out of our ancient author,

*Probi enim viri officium est, & Justitiæ inservire,
Et maleficos punire ubique semper:*

They arrived in Ireland, and disposed of themselves accordingly.

Now, because the country was already infected with a superstitious credulity of the preservation of one of the sons of Edward the Fourth, and that the barbarous Irish, once believing a thing, would never be diverted by reason or persuasion, they proceeded the more cautiously and circumspectly in their business: first, assembling the nobility and better sort before the

new chancellor, who, with all attractive demeanour and elocution, persuaded them not only to persist in obedience to the king, and loyalty to the government, but to aid and assist his majesty's forces under Sir Edward Poinings, with their power, strength, and ability; especially against such rebels, as rather through factious malice and wilful revolts, than blindness of error or folly, had adhered unto Perkin, or any of his associates, in which they knew there was reason and sufficiency of inforcement: for, amongst themselves, the petty lords would endure no competition of sovereignty, and their law-tenets established him, that for his heroick actions deserved to be honoured, and by his worthy endeavours obtained the jurisdiction and inheritance: so that their own priests could tell them, *Ex parvis magna comparantur*; and if it were so in petty governments, What was it in mighty monarchies, and with regardable kings? Amongst whom,

*Nulla fides regni sociis, omnisque potestas:
Impatiens consortis erat: —*

Therefore, to avoid the imputation of treason, and the fearfulness of revenge, from a prince's incensed indignation, he advised them to a tenacity and strong continuance in their loyalty.

To this their answer was, as soldiers in a camp after a mutiny, sad looks and small repentance: fair words, but little performance. For they all promised assurance of faith, but no man determined the due performance: only the better sort, or, if you will, such as dwelled within the English pale, or had been ennobled, or inabled by the prince to live in richer form and eminence than others; answered directly, they would acknowledge no king but Henry, nor supreme lord, but such as should be extracted from the union of the marriage between the two roses; and to this they were the rather emboldened, because the earl of Kildare, being deputy, seemed to maintain their submission, and justify their intents; so that Sir Edward Poinings had little to say at that time, more than he hoped in the confidence of their promises, and relied on their worthy integrity: yet I dare swear, if he had been examined on his conscience, and brought to the bar of discovery for his thoughts, he would have cried out with the poet:

*At paucos, quibus hæc rabies auctoribus arsit,
Non Cæsar, sed Pœna tenet: &c. —*

Whereupon he prepared all his forces against the wild Irish, to whom, as he was informed; divers of the rest had fled for succour. I could here enlarge this discourse with a topographical description of the country, and conditions of the people, because I have personally overlooked their actions, and been a passenger, even from one side of the country to the other: but the times are full of the experience of many men, and divers explorations have discovered the unswept corners of this savage and superstitious people, whom
never

never man shall see civil, or once affecting the handsomeness and wealth of the other parts of Europe, till either it grow more populous, or the king be as willing, as he is able to extirpate, as it were, by the roots, the bards, rhimers, harpers and priests, that hang upon them, and stick close unto them, as some deformed wen in a straight growing tree, or, if you will, venomous canker, which will, in time, either eat out root and rind, or, for the time, disfigure and disproportion the proudest comeliness of the best cedars in the forest. But to our story:

Sir Edward Poinings, according to his commission, marched into the North: but, alas, he neither found France to travel in, nor Frenchmen to fight withal: here were no glorious towns to load the soldiers home with spoils, nor pleasant vineyards to refresh them with wine: here were no plentiful markets to supply the salary of the army, if they wanted or stood in need: here were no cities of refuge, nor places of garrison to retire unto, in the times of danger and extremity of weather: here were no musters ordered, nor lieutenants of shires to raise new armies: here was no supplement either of men or provisions, especially of Irish against Irish; nor any one promise kept according to his expectation: here were, in plain terms, bogs and woods to lie in, fogs and mists to trouble you, grafs and fern to welcome your horses, and corrupt and putrefy your bodies: here was killing of kine, and eating fresh beef, to breed diseases: here was oats without bread, and fire without wood: here were smoaking cabins, and nasty holes: here were bogs on the tops of mountains, and few passages, but over marshes, or through strange places: here was retiring into fastnesses and glins, and no fighting but when they pleased themselves: here was ground enough to bury your people in, being dead, but no place to please them, while they were alive: here you might spend what you brought with you but be assured there was no hope of relief; here was room for all your losses, but scarce a castle to reserve your spoils and treasure. To conclude: here was all glory and virtue buried in obscurity and oblivion, and not so much as a glimmering of hope, that, how valiantly soever a man demeaned himself, it should be registered and remembered; which makes me consider what that worthy politician writes of the Swevians and Helvetians in those days, and apply them to these times and people:

*Helvetii, Usipetesque, atque effera corda Suevi,
Quis unumpræda studium, ac durare sub ipsis,
Corpora fluminibus, teloque assuescere dextram:
Non urbis, non cura domus, agrivè colendi,
Venatu ducunt vitam, atque è lacte liquente.
Et quod Marte spoliato ex hoste pararint:
Bella placent, fususque hostili è corpore sanguis.*

Whereupon the worthy general, with his other captains, began to complain, but knew no way of redress: his men died, the soldiers were slain, the army

decayed, the Irish insulted, the auxiliaries failed, and not a man, which promised assistance, came in to help him; so that he was enraged at the perfidiousness, and compelled to retire to Dublin, all exasperated to spight, by which he aimed at the highest in his displeasure, laying the fault and blame of his preposterous proceedings on Gerald earl of Kildare, his majesty's principal deputy; who, remembering his own greatness, could not confine it within a little circuit of patience, but answered this our captain somewhat like himself, that he was as loyal to the king as he, as serviceable as he, as loving to his country and crown of England as he, and so defied him to his face; which added only fuel to the former fire, so that the undaunted soldier apprehended and attached him of high treason, which seemed an unsufferable piece of business; and, had it not been within Dublin, or some principal place under the English command, an Herculean and intricate labour. But thus is this great earl under arrest, and, without any more ado, carried into England, to answer the matter.

But, when he came before the king and council, to be examined of treason and matters laid to his charge, either his innocency was a Perseus's shield against this Gorgon's head of calumnation, or his wit and delicate judgment brought him out of the labyrinth of those troubles, or the times afforded not such severity and proceedings, or the king had other matters to think upon; or, indeed, it was no policy to rub these new sores with rude hands, according to the rule:

Horrent admotas vulnera cruda manus:

For he was quietly dismissed, thanked, rewarded, and of deputy made lieutenant, and so sent back again, upon the engaging of his honour to withstand the landing of Perkin, if ever he came into Ireland.

By this occasion, the king was without fear of battle, and determined his progress about Midsummer to visit his mother, lying at Latham in Lancashire, still wife to the earl of Derby; but, as he was preparing his journey, news came of Perkin's landing in England, which a while diverted him, and forced his retardance from his first determination: for, in truth, when the duchess of Burgundy had notice of all the king's proceedings, both in England and Ireland, and that the principal offenders were condemned and executed, and confederates dissipated and overwatched, she found too late her own slackness, and the first misfortune of the king of France's retractions from assisting the prince; for, whether I name Peter, or Perkin, or Warbeck, or Prince, or Richard duke of York, or Richard the Fourth, all is one man, and all had one end: and questionless, if, at his first repairing into Ireland, he had made for England, while that rumour had possessed the people, and the looking after novelty busied them with strange and impossible hope; while every one stood amazed to gaze after wonders; while the

the conspiracy was in growth, and had divers factious nobles to form it to a larger birth; while the soldiers desired to be doing, and men grew weary of ease and quietness, the business might have plunged the kingdom, and success took a flight with strong wings indeed; whereby you may perceive the sweetness and benefit of expedition in all dangerous business, and resemble unjustifiable actions to thievish bargains, which either must be made away in the dark, or hastened a-pace in the proudest market-place, according to the saying:

— *Præceptis facit omne timendum*
Victor, & in nulla non creditur esse carina.

Lucan. lib. ix.

Notwithstanding, our great duchess remained undaunted, and, in a manner of scorn to depend upon others promises, she ventured on her own power, and determined to put him under the wings of fortune, let her overshadow him as she pleased; so, gathering her forces together, and furnishing her ships with a sufficient company, and some valiant captains, she sent him to sea, and only prayed to the wrathful Nemesis, as author of her revenge, for success and thriving in so glorious an attempt. Here were of all nations, and conditions of men, bankrupts, sanctuary-men, thieves, robbers, vagabonds, and divers others; who, affecting liberty, rapine, and spoil, desisted from honest labour to be the servants of dishonest rebellion. His fortune (as we now profanely abuse that term) drove him on the coast of Kent before Deal-castle; where, being becalmed, he cast anchor, sending divers on shore to certify the inhabitants of his arrival, preparation, purposes, and well-furnished armies, and to put them in mind of their ancient liberties, privileges, and undaunted courages, which have given battles to kings, and made their own peace with conquerors. But, alas! this oratory flew like a shaft without a head, and they had learned other lessons of stability and loyalty, as finding the sweetness of peace, and happiness of government: notwithstanding, they called a council, and I believe, if they had been fully resolved, that he was the true prince indeed, they would have entertained the motion; for some of their fingers itched to be doing; but, suspicious of his original and former weakness, and wisely apprehending how shame and revenge dogged treason and rebellion at the heels, they concluded to continue firm and faithful to the state; and so, with a kind of policy to allure them to land, they sent divers to Perkin, with flattering hopes of their assistance, while they were indeed mustering of forces to surprise them, as fast as they should land: which when Perkin perceived, he imagined, that all could not be well, or conforing to his expectation; for, in this point, his wit and experience served him to understand thus much, That common people and multitudes, stirred to sedition, use no solid counsels, or settled discourses, but come flocking with their fulness and forwardness to assist their friends, and to follow

their pretences, according to Euripides's description of a confused company and rebellious army:

— *In infinito enim exercitu*
Incoercita turba, nauticaque licentia
Violentior igne: malus vero, qui mali nihil agit.
Hecuba.

Whereupon he durst not land himself, and was sorry so many of his company were on shore; but, seeing there was no remedy, he sent others, if need were, to relieve them, or bring them back again to his ships.

When the Kentishmen beheld such a rabble of strangers and dissolute persons, and wisely foresaw, that there was no man of honour or eminence to give credit to the attempt, they presently conjectured, that they came rather to spoil and forage the coasts, than to relieve a distressed prince in his right; and so, running the right way indeed, stood firmly for their country, and set upon them as they were straggling up and down in the villages, forcing the better sort and better armed back again to their boats, and surprising such, as could not maintain the quarrel, and had presumed too far from the main battle, of whom they took an hundred-and-sixty prisoners, yea, the principal captains themselves, while they laboured to persuade the retreat, and to gather them together after some martial form of resistance, viz. Mountford, Corbet, Whight, Bets, Quintine, or Geuge; who were all brought to Sir John Peachy, high-sheriff, and so railed in ropes, like horses drawing in a cart, sent up to London, and there executed in divers places adjoining to the city; whereby Perkin had matter of disconsolation for the time, and time enough to sail back again into Flanders, to entertain better advice and more company.

The king, as you heard, understanding of this attempt, left his progress and came to London, where assured of this good success, he sent Sir Richard Guilford into Kent to thank the sheriff and the people, for their loyalty, obedience, and valiant circumspection, which had so quickly dissipated his enemies, and quieted the country; giving present order to his navy to scour the narrow seas, to the province to keep the coasts, to the watches to fire the beacons, to the captains to prepare their soldiers, and to all sorts to attend their several charges, according to the ancient and laudable custom of the kingdom.

When Perkin and his captains were arrived in Flanders, and found, how their former delays had been a great obstacle and hindrance to their proceedings, they resolved to remedy the same in their following courses, and by the contrary celerity and speediness to wipe away the blots of their weakness, and faint proceedings, as if they had learned of our poet:

Sic agitur censura, & sic exempla parantur,
Cum Juxta, alios quod monet, ipse facit:
Ovid. Fast. lib. vii

Notwithstanding, because they were now resolved, that the

the king, taking notice of this onset and attempt, would fortify the castles, and be in a readiness with well prepared forces: they determined to sail into Ireland, there to augment their company, and corroborate their pretences, which accordingly was effected, and the entertainment yielded him a little comfort and satisfaction. But, because he well knew the Irish are weak and unarmed, and so unable to prevail against the strength of England, and still out of countenance, and quickly daunted, when they were drawn from their bogs, and woods, to solid battles and strong charges, contrary to their slight skirmishes, and running encounters, they thought it more meet and expedient to pass into Scotland, *Gens semper invisa Britannis*, and there make trial of a new friendship, casting up a forward account of their happiness, in this manner: first, they were assured of the natural and general hatred between the nations, which, upon very small occasions and probable opportunity, would burst out into flames of spight. Next, they projected, that the nature of the business would allure them to his assistance, upon hope of vain-glory, and a reputation of so charitable a work, as to help a prince in distress. Thirdly, they relied on this hope, that, if no other cause would be inducive to this supportation, yet the desire of spoil would quickly incite them to war against so plentiful a country. Fourthly, they persuaded themselves, that the Scots had a good opinion of the house of York, ever since the cruelty of the Lord Clifford against Rutland, for which they utterly abandoned Henry the Sixth and the Queen. And, last of all, they concluded to promise them the surrendering of Berwick, and to enlarge their territories, if he prevailed by their assistance, which was a sure motive to draw them into any action whatsoever: whereupon he departed from Cork and landed on the west of Scotland, from whence he prepared himself to go to the king with some solemnity, wherein his instructions prevailed with his fortune, because for the most part the mass of people are guided by shows and ceremonies, rather than matter of substance and truth; and so he travelled to Edinburgh, whose citizens, unaccustomed to such glorious shows, began already to commiserate his fortune and distress: yea, the king himself assembled his lords and courtiers, as their manner then was, to entertain him and give him audience; which when Perkin perceived to fall out to his good liking and heart's desire, he thus framed his speech unto him, or, if you will, reduced his instructions to a manner of attracting oratory:

Most mighty and renowned king:

Judicis officium est ut res, ita tempora rerum quærere

and therefore I come not to you altogether like a cast-away or bankrupt, to recover my estate by a cozening agreement with my creditors for a trifle, when there may be sufficient to pay the principal: nor like a runaway from a hard-hearted master: or, if you will, to

take my liberty the better, to cast off the yoke of honest and civil obedience, where there is a duty and necessity of service imposed: but, as a stranger subject to shipwreck, and the hazardous endurances of a tempest, I am forced to your refuge, as much induced with your princely delight in deeds of charity and hospitality, as my own wants or recovery: I might add your famous actions, renown, and heroick commiseration of a disesteemed prince, but *Pudor est ulterius loqui*: and although I may confess myself to resemble the man in the Gospel that fell amongst thieves, whom divers looking upon passed by without relief: yet, at last, he found one Samaritan to pay the cost and defray the charges of the surgery; so have I done a worthy aunt, friend, and noble kinswoman to acknowledge her afflicted nephew, who hath helped me accordingly: so that I make no question, that, from the example of a woman, your princely commiseration and powerful coadjutement shall open their larger embraces, considering that you above all other princes have been made acquainted with the distractions of our family, and from time to time know how the house of York hath been dilacerated and torn in pieces by the cruel hand of tyrants and home-bred wolves, which whether it were the permission of God, or the secrets of his divine justice, I will not now dispute upon: only, I must be bold to say, that, when my father obtained the crown, and revenged his father's wrongs and death, there were signs of God's favour and assistance in the fair issue prepared, and sweet fruit of such a flourishing tree, namely, two sons and five daughters, who were simply committed to the tutelage and protectorship of an unnatural uncle, who proved a tyrant and destroyer of our blood and progeny; so that I may well cry out as Ariadne to Theseus:

Mitius inveni, quam te, genus omne ferarum.

Notwithstanding, most mighty king, however my princely brother miscarried, as swallowed up in the jaws of cruelty and slaughter, it should seem the murderers were affrighted at what they had done already, and desisted from a full prosecution of the tyrant's command, or, confounded with compunction of spirit, spared me, and secretly conveyed me out of the hands of such an homicide and blood-sucker (for so I hope without offence I may rightly term him) and although by this means and the supportation of high-born Buckingham he obtained the diadem: yet did God follow him with the swiftest pace of wrath and anger, and at last, I must needs say, scourged him with rods of vengeance indeed; for he presently lost his son, and his friend and coadjutor lost himself. What afterwards chanced unto me, as my strange deliverance, my bringing up in Tournay, under certain supposed parents of honest reputation, my travels into foreign countries, my adventures abroad, my endurances at home, with such like; it would be too tedious to relate, and therefore I desist to put you now to further wonder and amazement at the same, because

cause I have them as it were registered in a schedule, which at your princely pleasure you may overlook, with the duchess and council's of Burgundy's hands, to confirm the same: so that I confess, when the king of France sent me out of Ireland, I was in a manner secure of my estate, and thought upon no farther assurance, than his gracious apprehension of my undoubted claim. But it should seem, most gracious king, that you are reserved for the glory of this business, and everlasting memory of so remarkable an action, wherein I submit myself, ships, and people, to your guidance and direction: oh do not then annihilate my confidence, nor reject my demands. For, next to the high controul of men's actions, I have put myself under the shadow of your supportation, and altogether rely on the unity of your willingness and power, to bear me through the difficulties of this passage.

When he had made an end and given them cause of some amazement, at his years and tenderness of experience, to deliver yet his mind so freely, and with some illustration of words and readiness of gesture, the king without any further scruple or diffidence cheered him, telling him plainly he would assist him, and whatever he was, or intended to be, he should not repent him of his coming thither, and so concluding with a speech of Medea to Jason:

Hinc amor, hinc timor est, ipsum timor auget amorem.

He gave order for his entertainment accordingly, whereby he had time with his wearied people to repose himself, and the king occasion to think of many matters: yet, rather for custom than to be diverted from his resolutions, he called his council, and disputed the matter with them; they again, (as it happened to Rehoboam, and shall be with all the princes in the world) grew to contradiction, and divided themselves; some standing for their country, some for their private affection, some to please the prince, and some to enjoy a good opinion of policy and wisdom. The graver sort and of greatest experience disannulled all the former intimation of the prince, with the impossibility of the business, as if he were but a bare assumer of titles indeed. The quiet sort, and such as had smarted with the dissensions between England and Scotland, disclaimed any further war; and were weary with that which had passed. The younger sort apprehended it, as a worthy enterprise, and, though it had but colour of commiseration, yet, considering he was befriended from the emperor, king of the Romans, and the whole state of the Low Countries, it could not choose but help them with many friends. There was another sort, who, confessing the poverty of their country, concluded that by this means, by foraging, spoiling and getting good booties in England, much wealth might enrich them without loss or hindrance of their own, and so cared not how the war began, nor how long it continued. The last sort consisted of such, who, because they would have their

credit enlarged from an opinion of statesmen, and high reaching capacities, argued, as we say, on both sides, *pro & contra*, and from a kind of enthymema raised profit and emolument to the kingdom out of their sophistry: that, if the duke were assisted and prevailed, Scotland was sure to confirm their own conditions: if he were countenanced, though not prevailing, the king of England would accord to any offers or demands, rather than king James should take part with his adversary and so strange a competitor.

Whereupon it was resolved, that, without further diffidence, or drawing the duchess of Burgundy's business in question, the king should entertain the prince, who presently honoured him accordingly, and caused him to be proclaimed the duke of York, shewing him all the favours the country could afford; and affording him such entertainment, as, they imagined, was both befitting his person and condition: he again, as if that *spes bona dat vires*, cheered himself, and assumed a new kind of behaviour, both tempered with gravity, and yet commended for cheerful and well becoming: so that, by the way of solace and invitation to pleasure and delight, he hawked and hunted; yea, the ladies of the country graced the court, and came with all conveniency, and befitting their estates, to the city. For understanding so great a prince, in possibility to be one of the mightiest kings of Europe, not full eighteen years of age, young, wise, and in the complete strength of beauty, was resident amongst them; they conceived matters beyond the moon, and thought themselves happy, if he would fancy or fasten upon any of them. What should I say, although with the poet:

Tarda solet magnis rebus inesse fides.

Ovid. Epist. Helena Paridi.

Yet here was no mistrust, nor any way given to fear and displeasure, but, as the time, business, and place afforded, shows, masks, and sundry devices invited him to his contentment, and the present overcoming all pensiveness: so, he courted with some, danced with others, jested with the rest, and was acceptable to all, till, at last, the king giving way to the motion, he fancied the lady Catharine Gordon, daughter to Alexander, earl of Huntley, nigh kinswoman to the crown; and, because she should not think him barren of education, nor heart-bound to his ambitious designs, he took an opportunity, thus to discover his love unto her, and good opinion of her:

Lady, said he, and the first of ladies, that ever usurped my liberty, or taught my tongue to pronounce the accent of affection or liking; if I proceed not so passionate, as your sex expects, or you may imagine is the custom of courtiers, I pray you impute it to the multiplicity of my business, and greatness of my affairs; besides, it is not seemly with princes to betray their high spirits, into the hands of deceit and over-working fancy; yea, foppishness either of words, or
gesture:

gesture: yet, concerning your person, I can say with Paris to Helena:

*Si tu venisses pariter certamen in illud,
In dubium veneris palma futura fuit.*

And touching my good-will, if I live, I will make you as great in the world, as myself, and desire no more, but that you keep you within the limits of love and obedience, that our children may be our own, and the commonwealth rejoice, they be not mocked or deceived with extraneous inheritors. What I am, you now see, and there is no boasting in distress; what I may be, I must put it to the trial, and submit to the divine providence: if you dare now adventure on the adversity, I swear to make you partaker of the prosperity; yea, lay my crown at your feet, that you shall play with me, as Apame did with Darius, to command, and I obey: take me now then into your embraces, and I will adore and reverence your virtues, as you commiserate my misfortunes: O! give me leave to say no more, lest I be transported to indecencies; be now conformable, and let me be the servant of your desires, and you shall be hereafter the mistress of my performances. If I prevail, let this kiss seal up the contract, and this kiss be a witness to the indentures, and this kiss, because one witness is not sufficient, consummate the assurance; and so with a kind of reverence, and fashionable gesture, after he had kissed her thrice, he took her in both his hands cross-wise, and gazed upon her, with a kind of putting her from him and pulling her to him, and so again and again re-kissed her, and set her in her place with a pretty manner of enforcement.

The young lady pleased, as well with the compliment of his behaviour, as the matter in hand, which was the hope of one of the greatest diadems in the world, whether as lovers, who, in a sympathy of liking, applauding anything from their Amorous's, seemed pleased with the very accent of his voice, and variety of the courtship; or, unaccustomed to such wooers, she remained glad of the opportunity; or, taught before-hand what to do, she resolved to cast away all peevishness and nicety; or, indeed, ravished with the thing proposed, she was loth to be silent, considering she was pleased, and could not be displeased, considering he had begun so kindly with her; and therefore answered him with a pretty blushing modesty, to this effect:

My lord, If I should act a true woman's part, I might play the hypocrite, in standing a-loof off from what I most desire, and cry out with Ariadne against Theseus:

Non ego sum titulis furripienda tuis.

Whereupon some resemble us to lapwings, that make a great ejulation farthest from their nests; but I mean not to deal so with you, but come as near as I can

in my answer to that which consorteth with reason and probability: if I were then absolutely at my own disposing, I would thank you more than I do, and think you, for your gentleness and fair demeanour, worthy of any creature, or thing you could desire. As for your disclaiming deceitful words and flattering oratory concerning our beauty, comeliness, virtues, and such like baits, to draw us into the net of self-love and amazement: I like it the better, and wish, that all women were of my mind, to marry upon fair and reasonable conditions, and not be hurried away sometimes to their overthrows, with the violence of passion and affection, which is the best excuse they can make for their folly, yea, many times, simplicity. But you see I am the father's daughter, and the king's cousin, so that I will, in no sort, prefer my own will before their directions, and disposing of me: if then it pleaseth them to hazard me, or, as you please, to bestow me in this sort, I shall be proud to call you mine, and glad, if you vouchsafe to esteem me yours: lay then your foundation on them, and you shall see the frame of the building erected to your own liking; for, believe it, such wards as myself may well be resembled to delicate plants in rich grounds, which either grow too rank, and out of order, for want of pruning and looking to, or thrive not in their situation, for lack of refreshing and manuring; all which is reformed by the discretion of a skilful gardener, and advised overseer: therefore, noble sir, repair, I say, to the master of the family, leave is light, and know their pleasures, for your admission into this nursery; and then shall I be glad to be a flower of your own choice, whether it be for profit, pleasure, or exornation.

What needs more words? The marriage was consummated, and poor Perkin transported in his own contemplation for joy, that, if he proceeded no further, his fortune had conducted him to such a harbour, kissing the ground which he trod upon, and swearing the very place was the seat of his genius:

Ipse locus misero ferre volebat opem.

But when he more and more perceived, that the Scots, like a piece of wax, were rolled together by his warming hand, and fashioned to what form he pleased, he then made no question to hammer out his designs, on the anvil of prevailing, to their everlasting glory, and his establishment; yet herein he went beyond himself, and deceived both them, and himself, by warranting powerful aids in his assistance, from all the parts of the realm, as soon as he should set footing in England. Notwithstanding, they prepared all things for an invasion, and every man was ready to please the king, and pleasure the prince; yea they were so forward, that, in hope of gain, spoil, victory, renown, and revenge, they cared not whether the duke's title were good or no; and so with a well appointed army, and sufficient forces, they marched towards the confines and borders of the North. But the king out of discretion,

discretion, loth to make more haste, than good speed, and understanding policy, conjecturing that the English, by reason of Perkin's being in Scotland, might always have an army in readiness, or raise sudden troops, to lie in ambuscade, in the borders, by way of prevention, sent forth divers stradiots and scout-masters, to discover the country, and the behaviour of the English; who returned with full assurance of the coast's clearness, and, for any thing they saw, they might make both incursions and excursions, at their pleasure; which, although it, in some cases, made the king the rather to wonder, as if England was secure from any idle project, or indeed scorned Perkin's title and claim; yet, because it was generally accepted for good news, he would not be a contrary amongst so many; but made the more haste, and so, with fire and sword, as if he did *arma virumque canere*, entered Northumberland, proclaiming the title of the duke of York, by the name of Richard the Fourth, and promising both pardon and preferment to all such, as would submit themselves to the yoke of his obedience; the denial whereof was accompanied with such spoil, cruelty, and insulting, that never, before or since, did they ever triumph over us, or proved so tyrannous; so that I may well cry out, as the poet doth against Scylla:

*Intrepidus tanti sedit securus ab alto
Spectator sceleris: miseri tot millia vulgi
Non piguit jussisse mori, congesta recepit
Omnia Tyrrhenus Scyllana cadavera gurgis.*
Lucan. Lib. ii.

Wherein, doubtless, they had gone forward, but that they perceived no aid or succour to come from any parts of England to restore this titular duke. Besides, the soldiers, full of spoil and blood, would go no further, till they had sent their presents to their wives and children, or returned themselves to gratify one another, after such a victory; but, in truth, the king, foreseeing it would be revenged, determined rather to retire with this assured victory, than to tarry the nuncupative duke's unsure and uncertain proceedings, and so retreated into Scotland again.

Some remember, that, at this time, though it was but a very simple policy, Perkin used a certain kind of ridiculous mercy and foolish compassion towards the English people, as though that rather moved the Scots to the retreat, than any thing else: whereupon, lest his cozening and illusion should be discovered, by reason so few resorted unto him, he thus complained to the Scottish king, and, as it were, exclaimed of himself: O! wretch and hard-hearted man that I am, thus remorseless, to forage my native country, and purchase my inheritance with such effusion of blood, cruelty, and slaughter. For now I see, before this business can be brought to any good pass, houses must be fired, countries depopulated, women ravished, virgins deflowered, infants slain, the aged murdered, the goods rifled, and the whole kingdom subject to devastation, which, to my grief of soul, I must needs de-

plore. Therefore, great king, I request you from henceforth, do not afflict my people, nor deform my country, in such a lamentable and remorseless manner: for, doubtless, I shall never endure it with a peaceable soul and conscience, and had, in a manner, rather lose my part and interest therein, than purchase it with such loss and excruciation of mind, especially effusion of blood and barbarous inforcement.

Surely, replied the king of Scots half angry, and more than half mistrusting his dissembling, yea, fully resolved on his weakness and pusillanimity:

——— *Fletus quid fundis inanes?
Nec te sponte tua sceleri parare fateris?
Usque adeo ne times, quem tu facis ipse timendum?*
Lucan. Lib. iii.

Methinks your care is rather ridiculous than superfluous, to be thus dolent for another man's possessions: yea, I see not, but your claim is so remote and disannulled, that it must be an Herculean labour to settle you in any of their cities and petty provinces. But, for calling England your land and realm, and the inhabitants your people and subjects, it is as wonderful to me, as displeasing to yourself, that, in all this time, neither gentleman, nor man of worth, hath extended a daring hand, or, if you will, commiserable arm of assistance towards you; nay, though the war was begun in your name, for your sake, and within your realm, of which, you say, you are the undoubted heir, and invited to the same by your own people and faction.

Alas! replied the prince, I confess as much as you say; but, if it will please you to acknowledge the truth, the falling back of the king of France, yea, when I was in speed of my journey, the failing of many promises to my aunt the duchess of Burgundy, and the defect and protraction of my business, by the loss of an hundred lords and knights, some in their liberties, some in their lives, some from their own good motives and intents, and all, from their true hearts and endeavours, by the king's forces, and vigilant eye over them, hath not only deceived my expectation, but, in a manner, perverted my fortune. Besides, you know with what difficulty the nature of adversity, and men in distress, attain unto any credit and estimation; so that we and you both have had woeful experience of many great princes deposed from their thrones, and left friendless, succourless, and quite destitute of relief in the hands of their enemies; and, therefore, as mischief and misery are of my old acquaintance, so am I not now unprepared to entertain the same, but must submit to the calamity, and attend the appointment of the highest God, concerning my lowest dejection, and so I conclude with an ancient saying of Euripides:

——— *Turbam enim recipere me puduit,
Ut oculis viderent hunc meum turpem habitum,
Occultans præ pudore meum infortunium; quando enim vir
Habuerit*
M 2

*Habuerit male magnus, in ineptias
Cedit deteriores, eo qui fuit dudum infelix.*

Eurip. Helena.

Although this came roundly off, and savoured somewhat better than the former; yet the king replied not at all, but was content with his first reproof, being more fearful every day than other, that this intricate business would be a work of wonder, and to fashion the lump of such deformity, to any handsome or substantial proportion, must be dangerous and prejudicial for ever to the Scottish crown.

After the nobles had been thus startled in Northumberland with the clamours of the people, and saw the inhabitants fly every way from the fury of the Scots, they fortified their holds, mustered their forces, followed the enemies, and certified the king of all this enterprise and invasion, who, not a little abashed at the same, as more fearing the natural subject's starting out of the sphere of his allegiance, than any foreign comet in the greatest radiance and presages, presently took order for the repressing of each tumult and insurrection; but, assured of the Scots retreat, and that they were returned loaden with spoils and great riches, he resolved upon another course, having, in the mean while, so great occasion of displeasure against Scotland, that all men, either to please themselves, or animate the king in his willing revenges, cried out, To arms, to arms! And this was the eleventh year's work.

The twelfth year began with a parliament, both for the settling the uncertain affairs of the kingdom, and the obtaining a subsidy, or other disbursements of money, for the furnishing an army into Scotland; to which all the nobility and gentry opened willingly their coffers, and cheerfully their hearts, exclaiming against their immanity, and proclaiming their loyalty and endeavours, to prosecute them with all revenge, that durst so affright the kingdom, and affront the peace and tranquillity of the commonwealth. Of this army was Giles, Lord Dawbney, the king's chamberlain, made lieutenant-general, a man of no less wit than experience, of no less experience than hardiness, of no less hardiness than moderation and government. But see the changes of human life, and the mischiefs to which the best of men and greatest princes are subject, as if the poet were again to cry out:

Heu non est quicquam fidum, neque certa felicitas.

As he was marching forward with his forces, a strange innovation called him back again. For (as if fortune only meant to play the wanton with Perkin on the one side, and bring him, as we say, into a fool's paradise, and misfortune on the other side) to try the king's patience, a new rebellion in the West had like to have been as a heavy burden on his shoulders, and set in combustion the whole commonwealth. For, when the parliament was dissolved, and commissioners were speedily sent to gather in the money, this *excandescens populus*, to whom such taxes and impositions were a

kind of drawing blood from their very life veins, began to rebel, especially the Cornishmen, inhabiting the remotest parts of the kingdom westward, who not only complained of their own penury and wants, as living in a barren and sterile soil, overcome with labour, watches, and toils in the minerals, and getting a poor maintenance out of the caverns of the earth, with fearful endurances; but threatened the officers, denying the taxes, and began temerarily to speak of the king himself; yea, when there seemed by the justices, and others in authority, a dam to be cast up against this fearful inundation, they desisted from womanish exclamations, lamentings, and ejulations, and fell, inconsiderately, to malicious calumnation, threatening the council, and naming Thomas Moreton, archbishop of Canterbury, and Sir Reinold Brey, as principal directors and feters forward of these impositions against them; saying plainly, It was a shame, that a small incursion of the Scots, which was not only customary, but as soon extinguished as kindled, should raise such exactions, and excite the kingdom to unsufferable tumults, with a general war, and tumultuous hurly-burly; to which things, when the commissioners would have gently answered, and honestly maintained the king's purposes and prerogatives, Thomas Flamock, a gentleman learned in the laws, and Michael Joseph, a blacksmith, took upon them the defence of the commons, threatening, without further reasoning the matter, both the receivers, and all such, whom they employed as inferior officers under them.

By which occasion, according to that saying, *Res vehemens multitudo, improbos cum habuerit praefectos*: they became a monstrous head to these unruly bodies, exhorting the people to arm themselves, and not be afraid to follow them in this quarrel; for they intended neither hurt to any creature, nor spoil to any place, but merely a reformation of the disorder, and correction of such persons, as were the authors of their grief and vexation; and, when any seemed to impugn and reprove these seditious and unreasonable courses, affirming plainly, that, from all examples and times, treasons and commotions have ended with lamentable effusion of blood, both of the authors themselves, and many innocent made accessaries, through constraint and wicked instigation, they were called base dastards, cowards, fools, and lovers of ease and arrogance, more than renown, and their country's honour and liberty; so that, what with shame of taunt and rebukes, and what with fear of the loss of their lives and goods, they united themselves to this outrageous company, and made up a strong party well armed, and too well instructed; for the captains not only praised and extolled the hardiness of the people, but rewarded such as assisted and relieved the soldiers, whereby, after a general muster of forty thousand men, they came to Taunton, where they slew the provost of Perin, principal commissioner for the subsidy in those parts, and from thence to Wells, intending to go forward to London, where the king was resident, and such counsellors as they maligned.

O rabies.

O rabies inaudita! O wretched and abused people! that think of nothing but present rages, nor once admit of any providence, to consider of following punishments, whatever sudden events contrive, but, in their disobedience against God, their prince and country, resemble a violent sea, a burning torrent, a tempestuous wind, all which (with extremity and impetuous force) spoil the trees, over-run and swallow up the lower ground, consume all things, and, in the end, leave the mischief to the wringing of hands, crying of the people, and deprecations of the better sort, who impute such vengeance to the power and justice of God, that punisheth sins, and will not suffer disobedience and horrible villainies unrewarded: for never rebellion prevailed in their greatest forwardness, nor ended without unsufferable damages wrought by their unruliness, which rather tended to thefts, robberies, spoils, and slaughters, than reformation, or honest coercion of disorders. As for their motives and excuses for such factious attempts, breaking out to find fault with men in authority, and audacious invectives against the government: alas! neither can they tell what to demand or what to redress, when it shall come to true deciding indeed. For a very confusion will hinder their resolutions, and, not knowing wherein to proceed directly, they ask indirectly that which may not be granted. As for their governors themselves, let them be never so good, they shall be sure of enviers, and finders of faults; let them be never so bad, they shall have flatterers and supporters; let them be indifferent, and the good which they do shall not be so well accepted, as the bad they procure maliciously taken; yea, remove whom you will, the persons may be changed, but the faults will remain, and so the prince be pleased, and men's private humours satisfied, who regarded the commonwealth, or helped a poor man for charity's sake; yet I must needs say, that many times honest governors, instead of obedience, have good-will; and who-soever loveth his country, without collateral respects, may sit down with a safe conscience, but not unscandalised, or maligned of some of his own rank. Therefore I would have all generous spirits, either to love virtue for virtue's sake, once placed in authority, and, in spite of the world, stick close to the sides of religion and equity, though persecution and troubles do follow, or disclaim the affecting such transcendent places, allaying the thirst of ambition with a quiet potion of repose and contentment, and leaving the vanity of foppish observation to vain-glorious fools, who are not only called so by God himself, but, peradventure, reputed so even by such as do them reverence, and fatten themselves in the well-soiled pastures of their government.

But to our story:

When the king was advertised of these troubles, and exorbitant attempts, which gathered like a cloud, threatening a tempest round about him, and saw into what perplexity he was now detrued, having war on every side, he compared himself to a man rising in a dark night, and going undressed into a room, striking

his head against this post, running against that table, meeting with his shins such a stool or form, and staggering up and down against one block or another; and so stood, for the time, amazed, not knowing what to say, what to do, or with whom to find fault, till, with a kind of sigh, he vented out this saying of Euripides:

—*Similes sumus nautis, qui
Tempestatis cum effugerint sævam vim,
Prope terram appulerunt, deinde a terra
Flaminibus pelluntur in pontum iterum.*

Eurip. Heraclidæ.

But to complain of God, or men, would rather aggravate his grief than procure his redress; therefore, though he well knew that princes were the tennis-balls of fortune, and subjects of mutability and alteration, and that he must submit to the divine Providence; yet he also understood there was no lying still in this depolation, without the ordinary practice of such remedies as God had appointed in their several workings, and therefore prepared his armies either to bring this disturbance to a quiet atonement, or whip the rebellion with the scourges of fire and sword: but when again he considered the Scots were his enemies, and must be suppressed; the western rebels were at his doors, and must be repugned; France was wavering, and must be looked unto; Flanders threatening, and must be appeased; Perkin Warbeck lay at advantage, and must be watched; yea, over-watched, as indeed the principal firebrand, that set all this on a blaze, and, in the midst of these hurlyburlies, came over ambassadors from the French king, who must be answered; he grew somewhat perplexed again, till, shaking off all the hindrances of his amazement, he fell to practice, and orderly performances.

Whereupon he called his council together, and they without any great difficulty, determined the business in this manner: to attend upon the Scots, Thomas Howard, earl of Surrey, a puissant and politick captain, prisoner at the overthrow of King Richard the Third, and within two years set at liberty, and after John Lord Dinham made high treasurer of England, was appointed to muster the forces of the county palatine of Durham, and the borders round about, and so attend that service. To repress the western rebels, the Lord Dawbney, with his whole power, prepared for Scotland, was recalled to march against them, where-soever they encamped; to look into France, Calais, and Guisnes, with the garrisons, were much augmented, and provided for. To prevent Flanders, the navy was prepared, and the staples for the merchants settled: to keep Warbeck from coming into England, and joining with the rebels, the whole nobility combined themselves, especially the earl of Essex, and Lord Mountjoy, who came on purpose to London, to offer their service to his majesty; and so all places were looked unto with a vigilant eye, and manned with strength of soldiers: and, to answer the ambassadors of Charles the French king, he sent honourable persons to receive

receive them, and convey them to Dover, and there a while to detain them till some of these tumults and rebellions were extinguished and suppressed; which indeed was so wisely and politickly handled, that none of the ambassadors were troubled so much as with the rumours of these commotions.

But see the horror of spite, and with what a contracted brow misfortune can look upon kings themselves! So that a man well may say to this rebellion, as Ovid did to Cupido in his first book of Elegies:

Sunt tibi magna puer, nimiumque potentia regna: cur opus affectas ambitiosè novum?

For, as these rebels and Cornishmen departed from Wells, they entertained, for their chief captain, James Twichet, Lord Audley, whose countenance and authority in the country strengthened them much: for, by this occasion, they went, without intermission, to Salisbury, and so to Winchester, and from thence into Kent, hoping for further and further assistance; but they were deceived in their expectation: for the earl of Kent, George Lord Abergavenny, John Brooke, Lord Cobham, Sir Edward Poinings, Sir Richard Guilford, Sir Thomas Bouchier, Sir John Pechy, William Scot, and many others, with a well-mustered army, were not only ready to defend their country from all mischief and destruction, but determined to offend them in their facinorous attempts, and prejudicial intrusion; which loyalty somewhat rebated the forwardness of the Cornishmen, and they began to suspect themselves, being so far from their country, and remote from any supply. Notwithstanding, loth to dishearten their spirits with any depressing humour, they cast away all doubts, and, presuming on their own strength and forces, as also animated by their leaders and conductors, they were now as much exasperated against the Kentishmen, for refusing their promised assistance, as against the king, for usurping their liberty, swearing revenge against both: in which rage and heat of repining, they came as far as Blackheath, within four miles of London, and took the field in an arrogant, over-daring manner, on the top of an hill, supposing all things conformable to their arrogancy, and deceivable hopes, because, as yet, they passed and repassed without fighting, or strong encounters: but, alas!

Blanditiæ comites tibi erunt terrorque furorque,

And they were abused with a veil of ignorance, and covering of obstinacy: for the king disposed of his affairs with great policy and circumspection, not determining to give them battle, or exagitate them at all, till he had them far from their proper dwellings and flattering friends; till they were in despair of relief, and wearied with long and tedious journies; till their treasure was spent, their vitals consumed, and provision failing; till their company dropped from them like rotten hangings on a moistened wall, and their whole designs and expectation were quite disannulled; and

then, when he imagined their souls vexed with the terror of a guilty conscience, their fury asswaged with compunction and penitency, their spirits daunted with repentance and remorse, and all their army affrighted with madness and doubtful extasies, would he set upon them, and, in some convenient place, circumvent and inviron them to his own best advantage, and their irrecoverable damage and destruction.

As for the city of London, I cannot but remember and compare it unto Rome, both when Hannibal passed the Alps, to threaten the monarchy, being yet far off himself, and also Marius and Sylla covered her fields with armed men, and trampled on the bosom of their country with ambitious steps, and cruel feet of usurpation: then spoke the poet in this manner:

— *Quoties Romam fortuna laceffit,
Hac iter est bellis, gemitu sic quisque latenti,
Non ausus timuisse palam: vox nulla dolori
Credita:* Lucan. lib. i.

There was chaining the streets, shutting up the shops, making strong the gates, doubling the watches, hiding their treasure, cries, fears, terrors, and every one more disturbed for the loss of his private goods, than the encumbrances of the commonwealth. Here was mustering of soldiers, watching all day in armour, guarding the river, filling the streets with companies of horse and foot, cutting down the bridge, locking up their doors, shutting the gates, and what else named before, to be put in practice, with advantage of many pieces of ordnance, both in Southwark and the suburbs, and the strength of the Tower, which they knew was reserved for the king himself. Notwithstanding, such was the instability of the citizens, being a little disturbed from their quietness and rest, their dainties and ease, their banquetings and meeting, their feasts and sumptuousness, their pastimes and pleasures, that they rather complained of the king and his council for the first occasion of these tumults, than exprobrated the rebels for ingratitude and disobedience: but the king, without further disputing against their peevishness, or laying open the abuses of such refractory people, delivered them of this fear: for he presently sent John earl of Oxford, Henry Bouchier earl of Essex, Edmund de la Poole earl of Suffolk, Sir Rice ap Thomas, Humphrey Stanley, and other worthy martial men, with a company of archers and horsemen, to environ the hill where the rebels were incamped round about: himself, with the main army and forces of the city, much ordnance and great provision, took St. George's fields; where, on a Friday, at night, he quartered himself, and on the Saturday, very early in the morning, he posted Lord Dawdney to Dertford, who by break of day, got the bridge of the Strand, in spite of resisters, which manfully defended it a while, shooting arrows a full yard long; and demeaning themselves like scholarly and eloquent orators, pleading for the time in a bad cause with good words, and handling an ill matter too well. From thence he went courageously

ously against the whole company; and, what with the former earl's assaulting them on the one side, and his own charges on the other side, as knowing how the king's business stood to make an end of the war, the battle began a-pace, and not a man but prepared himself to fight it out, till at last the Lord Dawbney engaged himself so far, that he was taken prisoner; but whether for fear, or through his own wit and policy, they quickly released him, and he as quickly dispatched the matter, and made an end of the war; for he put them all to flight, so that a man may well say unto them:

— *Via nulla salutis,
Non fuga, non virtus, vix spes quoque mortis honestæ:*

And I may truly report of the contrary: never was a battle so well fought, and so quickly determined: for, before the king was ready to go to dinner, there were slain two thousand rebels, and many more taken prisoners; the rest hardly escaped home, who, for all their defeat, and uncomfortable news to the people, were rather accelerated to revenge their companions wrongs, than exanimated from further attempts, or seemed grieved at the king and country's molestation; shewing sad looks, but stomachful hearts, and so remained intoxicated in their brains, and ready, upon every occasion, to a new rebellion, as you shall hear hereafter.

When this battle was ended, and so delicately contrived (for the king lost not above four-hundred men) some imputed it to the king's policy, who appointing the same on Monday, by way of anticipation, fell upon them on Saturday, and so, taking them somewhat unprovided, had the fortune to prevail and thrive in his advantage. Such as were taken and apprehended had their pardon, except the principal and firebrands of the mischief: for the Lord Audley was drawn from Newgate to Tower-hill, in a coat of his own arms painted upon paper reversed and all torn, and there beheaded the twenty-eighth of June. Thomas Flamock and Michael Joseph were executed, after the order of traitors, and their quarters sent into Cornwall, for the terrifying of the people: some were dispatched at sundry towns, as they deserved; amongst whom the smith, and divers others of his immodest friends, had no excuse to make for this rebellion; but, whether they prevailed or no, they were sure to be registered to eternity, for daring to do somewhat in behalf of their country's liberty, and bidding battles to kings and princes at their palace-gates, and before the city-walls, even London itself, that great city, the chamber for their treasury, and strength of their royalty; which makes me remember a saying of Lucan, lib. viii.

— *Sed me vel sola tueri
Fama potest rerum, toto quas gessimus orbe,
Et nomen, quod mundas amat:—*

And in another place, lib. ix.

— *Quid plura feram? tum nomina tanto
Invenies operi, vel famam consule mundi:*

And this was the end of the twelfth year.

In this time you must know, that the king of Scots lay not idle, but, merely upon supposition of what would follow, prepared himself, nor was so ill befriended, but he had secret intelligences of all King Henry's purposes and intendments; whereupon he enlarged his army, barricadoed his passages, intrenched and fortified the holds, kept good watch and ward, and stood on the pinnacles of a high presumption to encounter with the proudest forces of England; yea, to give defiance, if need were, to the king himself. Notwithstanding he now lay a while only at defence, watching with what ward the English would break upon him, and wondering at my Lord Dawbney's retraction, and why he came not forward as his spies had advertised; but, when he understood of the Western rebellion, he then conjectured the truth, and a while reposed himself, till a messenger of these Western men came unto Perkin and proffered their obedience and endeavours, if he would come and join his army with theirs, and so, as their prince and captain, revenge their wrongs: this was motioned to King James, who tho' he confessed, that, if they would join with the Cornishmen, there might be a gate open indeed to prevail and walk in the fields of victory; yet he would by no means adventure his people so far, and confessed plainly he wanted ships for transporting so great an army into those parts: only, because he would be doing to please the supposed prince, he meant to take this opportunity of the king of England's disturbance, and once again adventure into his territories; and so with a sufficient preparation he attempted the castle of Norham, standing upon the river of Tweed, dividing Scotland and England. But Richard Fox, bishop of Durham, a man of great learning, courage, experience, and fidelity, suspecting as much, had well stored and fortified the same, and was in it with such power, ammunition, and provision, as he was able to raise, sending the king word of the siege, and inviting the earl of Surrey to come to his rescue with all expedition: the earl was mustering of men in Yorkshire when this news extended itself, and like a worthy servant hastened his journey the rather, and so with twelve earls and barons of the North country, one-hundred knights and gentlemen of name, and twenty-thousand soldiers, well-ordered and armed, he came to raise the siege, in which this brave prelate was so engaged: besides, he furnished a handsome navy at sea, whereof the Lord Brooke was admiral, to give their attendance whatsoever should chance: but when the king of Scots, and his counterfeit duke of York, had full and certain notice of the earl of Surrey's approach, and that the Lord Dawbney's army was also intire and unbroken, yea, ready to march forward as a second to the

the former, they thought it better to retire with security, than to tarry the adventure with certainty of loss, if not hazard both of life and honour; and so by a voluntary consent they raised their camp and returned, under colour of commiseration of the people, whom they knew in the best war must be subjected to slaughter or captivity: and to this purpose they could yield a reason out of our poet to certain spirits that wondered at their affrightings and drawing-back, seeing no peril apparent, nor hearing of any steadfast reports concerning a more forcible enemy, and so calling for a book reading to them this lesson of satisfaction:

— *Potuit tibi vulnere nullo
Stare labor belli, potuit sine cæde subactum,
Captivumque ducem violatæ tradere paci?
Quis furor ô Cæci scelus, Civilia bella
Gesturi metuunt, ne non cum sanguine vincant?*

Lucan. lib. vii.

This answer of the king did rather harm than good to poor Perkin. For they perceived the king was weary of this war, and loth to take his part any longer, and so they rested a while displeasingly pleased.

But the truth was, the earl of Surrey was so enraged at the bragging and over-daring prince, that he followed him at the heels, and in revenge of many mischiefs perpetrated by him in such audacious manner, he entered Scotland, defaced the castle of Cundrestins, demolished the tower of Hedonhall, undermined the tower of Edington, overthrew the pile of Fulden, and sent Norroy king of arms to the captain of Haiton castle, the strongest fortification between Berwick and Edinburgh, to deliver the same; which he absolutely denied, until the worthy general set himself down before it, made his approaches, and cast up a strong rampart, or battery, for the expugnation, prevailing so far, that at last it was surrendered, their lives only saved; who were no sooner departed, according to the conditions, but our general quite overthrew and demolished the same.

The king of Scots was within a mile of the siege, and yet durst not rescue the same; only, by way of ostentation, he sent Marchmount and another herald to the earl of Surrey with a kind of defiance, and challenge either to encounter with him army to army, or body to body; conditionally, that if the victory fell to his majesty, the earl should deliver and surrender for his ransom the town of Berwick with the fish-garths of the same; if the earl again were victor, the king would pay one-thousand pound sterling for his redemption. The noble general welcomed these heralds, and like a courageous, yet understanding captain, quickly answered all the points of their commission; first, he was ready to abide the battle in the plain field, and would, if he pleased, for the same purpose lay open the trenches, and make the passages so easy, that victory should have comfort of coming amongst

them. Secondly, he thought himself much honoured, that so noble a prince and great a king, would vouchsafe to descend to so low a degree of contention, as a private duel with him, for which he would not only repute him heroick and magnanimous, but, setting his loyalty to his prince aside, perform all good offices, which belonged to the sweet contract of a perpetual amity, if it were possible, between them. Thirdly, for the town of Berwick, it was none of his, but the king his master's, which he would not so much as conjecture upon without his consent and advice, as he himself might well judge in the affairs of princes, what was to be done. Fourthly, he thought his own life worth all the towns of the world, and so would gladly hazard himself; yea was proud, as he said before, that so great a majesty would parallel him in such a kind; only he desired pardon for a little vain-glory, that, if he conquered the king, he would release him freely; if the king vanquished him, he would either yield him his life, or pay such a tribute and competency, as is befitting the state and degree of an earl; to all which he was the rather induced, because he was confident, that

Causa jubet melior superos sperare secundos.

But it should seem, these affronts were mere flourishes: for neither battle, nor combat, nor any enterprise worth the recording was put in practice, although the English forces had lain long in the country, to the same purpose: whereupon the lord general, loth to spend his time so inconsiderately, and somewhat wearied with the distemperature of the climate, and unseasonableness of the weather, the country affording nothing but mists and fogs at this time of the year, raised his camp, and retired to Berwick. But, when the truth was farther enlarged, the king commanded him so to do by his letters of private intelligence: for now came a time, in which the windows of heaven seemed to open, and the God of mercy thought to recompense his patience and goodness, with a quiet end of his troubles, and happy success in his enterprises, which fell out upon this occasion:

Ferdinando king of Spain, and Elifabeth his wife, having a purpose to marry their daughter Lady Catharine, to Arthur prince of Wales, and very loth that any contention between the king of Scots, whom he much favoured, and the king of England, whom he highly respected, should be, as it were, a wall of partition between their projected amity and royal affinity; especially that either probability of an interest, or counterfeit device of the issue male from the house of York, should cast any blocks or hindrances in the way of these pretences; he most providently sent one Peter Hialos, a man of great learning, experience, and prudence, as an ambassador to James king of Scots, by way of mediation to contract a league of peace and absolute amity between the king of England and him; who proceeded with such fair conditions,

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and prevailed so well in his proposed message, that he perceived a glimmering sun shine of this peace afar off, but that there were certain thickening clouds of mischief and disturbance, which by some effectual heat from the king of England's breath must be removed and dissipated; and therefore he wrote to King Henry, that, if it would please him to send some worthy man to be his associate in this enterprise, he persuaded himself, that an honest oratory would quickly conclude the profitable articles of amity. For the poet had assured him, and he found by some experience, that

Addit invalidæ rebus facundia causæ :

And, for an entrance into the same, he assured the King, that there was a great likelihood to lay down the bloody colours of defiance, and flourish the pleasant ensigns of tranquillity. For the king of Scots had already protested, he was only emulous of King Henry's virtues, and neither maligned nor spited his person; and, for Perkin's title, he made it a matter of conscience and charity. For he knew him the right heir, if he were the right creature, and the clergy warranted the actions as meritorious. The better sort disclaimed all tyrannous prosecutions: for, except their obedience to the king, they spent and consumed their estates, and only returned with tears and lamentations for the loss of their friends. The inferior sort imputed all to the superior commands, and, as for the formidable effects and bloody issue of war, it was only the chance and fortune of encounters, the action of fury, and the vengeance or curse appropriate to dissensions, according to that worthy author of excellent sentences and propositions,

— *Sed mentibus unum*

Hoc solamen erat, quod voti turba nefandi

Conscia, quæ patrum jugulos, quæ pectora fratrum

Sperabat, gaudet monstris, mentisque tumultu,

Atque omen scelerum subitos putat esse furor.

Lucan. lib. vi.

Whereupon King Henry boasting of the character of prince of peace, so that he might not be branded with ignominy of baseness, pusillanimity, and dishonour, quickly consented to such agreement, and for the same purpose sent Richard Fox bishop of Durham, who still lay in the battered castle of Norham, as his chief commissioner, who accordingly associated himself with Peter Hialos, at the town of Jedworth in Scotland, whither the ambassador from King James likewise repaired. Here were many matters disputed upon, many conditions laid open, many difficulties raised, many grievances urged, and many conclusions argued: but, because they failed in the main point, nothing was determined. For the king of England required Perkin Warbeck to be delivered into his hands, as the principal fountain of this venomous stream, the chief occasion of his unquietness, the perturber of his realm, the seducer of his subjects, and

the author of many rebellions. But the king of Scots, like a prince indeed, would not buy his peace with the blood of innocents, especially a man coming to him for succour, shewing all the marks of a distressed and abused prince, allied unto him by marriage, commended by the emperor, assisted by the dukes of Burgundy, and himself of fair demeanour, sweet behaviour, and of a most royal and well esteemed spirit: therefore, I say, he would by no means betray him into the hands of his enemies, that was so long admitted into the bosom of his friends; nor should it be said, that in any such degree, for any worldly respect whatsoever, King James of Scotland would be base or perfidious; which he had learned from the example and punishment of Prusias king of Bithynia, whom the Romans deposed, for consenting to betray Hannibal into their hands, though they had promised large rewards, and threatened severe vengeance.

The commissioners answered directly, that they intended not by way of defamation, or contumelious discovery of the vanity of the man, or impossibility of his business to make him odious or corroborate their own purposes, by the destruction of so silly a creature, or discrediting so poor a business: but merely to shew the truth, and unfold the secrets of the deceit, that such a prince, as King James, might not be colluded with shadows and apparitions, but orderly drawn into this holy and general league, wherein both the emperor, France, and Spain desire a combination of amity with England; there only wanted himself to make the number complete, that the horn of Achelous might be sent from nation to nation, from kingdom to kingdom. For I can assure you, the merchants of England have been received into Antwerp with general procession, the emperor is pleased with this combination, the king of Spain pretendeth a marriage, the king of France endeavoureth a league, and all the princes of Europe seek after a true confirmation of quietness: therefore, once again, be not an enemy to the good of all Christendom, nor so adverse to this holy combination, that the world shall rather esteem you wilful and prejudicate, than wise and considerate.

Notwithstanding all this forcible and effectual intimation, the king of Scots would not consent to deliver Perkin upon any condition; but, as he came to him for refuge, he should depart untouched, and not by his occasion be in worse case than the brute beasts, or vilest condition of men, as he had learned long since out of that ancient tragedian:

Habet confugium bellua quidem petram,

Servi verò aras deorum: civitas verò ad civitatem

Fugit, calamitatem passa: rerum enim humanarum

Non est quicquam perpetuò beatum.

Eurip. Supplices.

Yet with much ado he was brought to a truce for certain years, and condescended to this, that Perkin should be no longer succoured, harboured, or main-

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tained by him, or in his territories and dominions: with which answer, and orderly ratification of the same, the ambassadors departed, the armies retired, the soldiers were discharged, the king of England satisfied, the orators of France (who from Dover had audience at London about the same purpose) rewarded, and of all others the worthy Peter Hialos, as principal work-man in this intricate business, liberally and bountifully recompensed.

Only poor Perkin, whose glorious meteor began now to be exhaled, seemed disconsolate and exanimated at this news and determination, especially when King James began to expostulate and reason the matter with him: first, From a repetition of the benefits and favours received by his princely liberality and gentleness. Secondly, From his consanguinity, in marrying his kinswoman upon dangerous hopes and trivial adventures. Thirdly, From his many trials of sundry conflicts in England, proving all his promises wind and smoke, and his best enterprises trivial and fanatical. Fourthly, Upon the now combination of amity with all the princes of Europe, which could not be done without the king of England's consent and agreement. Fifthly, Upon the fatherly regard of his country, which had need have some breathing-time of ease and rest, and much questionless take a love-day of consolation and desisting from turmoils. Last of all, from the care of religion and mother-church, unto whose obedience and regard he was now absolutely sworn: therefore he desired him to take some other course, and depart out of his realm. For, as he heard, he was now interested in the confederacy of the peace of Christendom, and, unless he should be a perjured and perfidious prince, he could in no sort infringe the conditions, nor break the truce combined by a firm and inseparable adjuration.

When Perkin had heard him out, although every word was worse than the croaking of some night-raven or screech-owl, and the amazement, for the time, might have much disabled him: yet loth to discredit his cause by any dejection or pusillanimity, and seeing all answers were superfluous, and the very messengers of despair and disconsolation, he raised himself with some outward cheerfulness, and, as well to avoid ingratitude towards so great a benefactor, as to countenance himself and his business, he thus, casting away all fear and abating timidity, replied: Most worthy prince,

Mortale est quod quæris opus: mihi fama perennis.

And therefore God forbid, that my continuance in your court and kingdom, or the weakened cause of my attempts, should prove disadvantageous or ominous unto you, both in regard of the many favours your princeliness hath heaped upon me undeserved, and my own willingness not to be too troublesome or offensive unto so benign a majesty; which rather than it should be hazarded for my sake, without a cheerful and liberal willingness, the fame and glory of the enterprise shall

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be sufficient for me; and I will not only disclaim my right and interest in the kingdom of England, my lawful inheritance, by descent, but pour out myself, and spend my life, most profusely for your sake. Only this I must intreat at your hands, to give me leave to rig and caulk up my ships, and gather together that dispersed company I have, or such as would willingly and voluntarily attend me. Which seeming but reasonable, and no way repugning the former agreement with the ambassadors, was quickly condescended unto; with many gifts, and royal furniture for his wife and family, he took his leave, and sailed back the same way he came into Ireland, determining (as the last anchor-hold of his fortunes) either to unite himself with the Cornishmen, whom he knew not fully appeased, or to retire to Lady Margaret, his most worthy aunt, and faithful coadjutrix.

He had not been long in Ireland, but his false fortune began once again to play with him, as flattering him with assured confidence and warrant, that the Western men would welcome and entertain him; from whom he had this notice, that they could not forget their former injuries and slaughters, nor determine a settled and true obedience to the Lancastrian family: whereupon, because something must be done, or else he should be for ever discredited; or that God in his justice, derided all such enterprises to scorn, or else in his mercy, would give King Henry a breathing-time to set his other princely qualities of wisdom, magnificence, quietness, religion, charity, government, and policy on work; he sailed out of Ireland, with five small ships, 200 men, his wife and attendants, his substance and wealth, and, in a word, all that he had.

But, when he was to confer about his landing, and setting forward his designs, he had such poor counselors, as a man would smile at for pity, rather than laugh at for scorn: for his principal friends were now John Heron, a mercer and bankrupt; John of Water, sometime mayor of Cork; Richard Skelton, a taylor; and John Astley, a scrivener, men in general defame for dishonest actions, and in particular reproach, for understanding nothing but what conformed to their own wilfulness, and outrageous appetites; of whom I may say, as Ovid complains in another case, in his elegies:

*Non bene conducti vendunt perjuria testes,
Non bene selecti Indicis arca patet:*

With this crew, about the month of September, he landed at a place called Bodnam, and there so solicited and excited the multitude, and wavering people, that, when they heard him proclaimed Richard the Fourth, as the undoubted son of Edward the Fourth, whom the duke of Gloucester, or, if you will, Richard the Tyrant determined to murder, but that he escaped by the providence of God, they flocked unto him to the number of four-thousand, and, according to the nature of children running after new-fangled toys and painted pictures, submitted to his highness, and swore, with

with all allegiance, to maintain his dignity and royalty; with which confidence and company, after they had taken the musters of his army, and concluded to get some strong towns into their possession, that so they might not only augment their forces, but still have places of supportation and refuge to retire unto, they went directly to Exeter, and besieged it. But because they wanted ordnance to make a battery, and other provision to raise their trenches, and approaches; or indeed, if you will, were ignorant of martial discipline, and the secrets of a true soldier's profession; they spent the more time against the gates, and endeavoured nothing but a forcible entrance, assailing the same, with great pieces of timber, like the Roman rams, crows of iron, firebrands, and impetuous violence of great stones cast at them, and amongst them. But the citizens manfully defended themselves, and held it out to their perpetual fame, letting over the walls, in secret places, divers in baskets, with strong cords, to post to the king, and acquaint him with their distress. In the mean while, seeing a fire made under their gates, and that the enemy's fury increased, they suspected themselves, and had no other shift but to put force to force, and with one fire extinguish, or, if you will, devour another; and so they caused great store of faggots and timber combustible to be brought close to the posterns and greater gates, where the mischief began, and set the same on fire, which increased with a filthy smoke, and smother, and, at last, burst out into a flame and blaze, so that neither the enemies could come in, nor citizens go out; but all were compelled to desist from that work, and apply themselves to more new and necessary labours. For the rebels assaulted the most weak and broken places of the wall, and the citizens ran to the expulsions, and repaired the breaches, as fast as they were made; besides, they had leisure to cast up great trenches under their gates, and by strong banks rampiering the same made them more difficult passages than before: the walls were mightily and impetuously assaulted, but the worthy citizens defended them, with that courage, and countermanding, that they slew above two-hundred soldiers, in their fury, and behaved themselves, as if they determined to obtain a perpetual name of renown, and unmatched trophy of honour: so that I may well and briefly say of them:

——— *Serpens, fitis, ardor, arenae*
Dulcia virtuti: gaudet patientia duris.

When Perkin and his associates saw so strong and strange opposition, they seemed both amazed and disheartened at the same; whereupon, between rage and despair, he retired his lousy and distressed army to the next great town, called Taunton, where he mustered them a-new, but found a great want of his company: for many of his desperate followers were slain and cut off; many of the honestest and civiler sort, seeing the town of Exeter so well maintained, and that very few resorted unto him, contrary to his former flou-

ishes and ostentation, fell from him, and retired themselves home; many weary of the wars, and conjecturing an impossibility to remove a king so firmly established, or terrified with the punishment impending on treason, and presumptuous rebellion, left him to his fortunes; and many politickly forecasting for the worst, seeing not one of the nobility or better sort to afford a helping hand to the lifting up of this frame, were contented to dispense with former protestations, and so provided for themselves, whereby as I said, as if the proverb was verified,

Non habet eventus sordida præda bonos,

he came short of his reckoning, and the items of his accounts were much curtailed of their former length and computation.

But, in truth, the posts of the country brought comfortable tidings of the king's army approaching, of which the Lord Daubney, a fortunate and successful man in all his enterprises, was general; yet, in the mean while, had Lord Edward Courtney, earl of Devonshire, Lord William his son, Sir Edmund Carey, Sir Thomas Trenchard, Sir William Courtney, Sir Thomas Fulford, Sir John Hatwell, Sir John Croker, Walter Courtney, Peter Edgecomb, William Sentaure, and divers others, brought forward the forces of the country, to raise the siege of Exeter; which not only animated and encouraged the citizens, but rebated the fury of the contrary, and diverted them from that fore and outrageous manner of assaulting the walls, where, in the last onset, the noble earl, and divers others, were hurt with arrows; he wounded in the arm, and the rest in several parts of their bodies, but very few slain: and so, with much ado, this famous and honour-thirsting city, with the honest inhabitants of the same, were delivered and relieved.

By this time the royal standards of King Henry were advanced in sight of the city, and the drums beat up their accustomed marches, to the joy and fulness of contentment, both of the town and country: but, when the king was advertised of their returning to Taunton, he hasted thither: but first he welcomed Edward, duke of Buckingham, a young noble, and well regarded prince, in whose company came along an hundred knights and esquires of special name and credit in their countries, amongst whom, Sir Alexander Bainham, Sir Maurice Berkley, Sir Robert Fame, Sir John Guise, Sir Robert Points, Sir Henry Vernon, Sir John Mortimer, Sir Thomas Tremaille, Sir Edward Sutton, Sir Amias Paulet, Sir John Bickwell, Sir John Sapcotes, Sir Hugh Lutterel, and Sir Francis Cheney were principal. O what a glorious thing it is, to see a nobleman either stand by the chair of the prince, as a court star and supportation, that, at last, the king may ask, What shall be done to the man he means to honour? Or more in his own orb, that is, the love and credit of his country, firm to the state and graceful in all his actions and proceedings, still having a care to the government of the people, and an eye to the dignity

of the commonwealth; so shall his fame be extended abroad, and his renown enlarged at home; which makes me remember the description of Capaneus in that ancient Euripides's Supplices, who may be a precedent to all young noblemen; yea, I wish with my heart, that such, as are not too presumptuous on their own gifts of nature and education, would take the book in hand, and make use both of precept and example, for the illustration of their honours, and administration of their lives: the poet is somewhat large, and more pleasant in the Greek, than the Latin. He thus beginneth:

*Capaneus hic est, cui facultas vivendi erat abundans,
Minimè verò divitiis insolens erat; magnitudinem verò
animi*

*Non majorem habebat, quam pauper vir,
Fugiens splendido victu, quicumque intumesceret minis,
Sufficientia vili pendens: non enim in pastu ventris
Virtutem esse, mediocria verò sufficere dicebat, &c.*

Capanei Laus.

But to our story again: when the king approached the town of Taunton, whether out of policy not to hazard the whole army at once, or out of suspicion of some revolvers in his company, or humbly considering there might be a turning of fortune's wheel, as still *rota fortunæ in gyro*, in the encounters of a battle, or harping upon some stratagem and enterprise, as providently forecasting both the worst and best, which might chance: he sent before him Robert, Lord Brooke, the steward of his house, Giles, Lord Daubney, and Sir Rice ap Thomas, to give the onset, and begin the battle, that he with the rest, as a strong ambuscade and relief, might come to the rescue, if they were wearied and fatigued. But little needed this policy or procrastination: for poor Perkin (desperate of his fortunes, and quite exanimated to encounter with the king's forces, in so warlike a manner and fearful a preparation, contrary to all the motives of a true Roman honour, and without knowledge of his army) about midnight, accompanied with sixty horse, departed in wonderful celerity to a sanctuary-town besides Southampton, called Bewdley, where he, John Heron, Thomas a Water, and others, registered themselves as persons privileged.

O what a God art thou! that canst, one way, humble settled princes, with the very shadows of peril and danger, making them confess their frailty and ticklish state of mortality, by the several incumbrances and mischiefs to which they are subject; and, another way, confound the mightiest projects, and annihilate their enterprises, turning all actions and mountains of pride, sedition, conspiracies, and ambition, to powder and dust, and then blowing it away like smoke and vapour; and, another way, protect the right of the innocent and distressed, sending remedy and comfort, when they least think of it, or know to help and advance themselves; and, another way, whip with the rods of vengeance the frenetical and vain multitude,

who know nothing but rudeness and clamorous outcries, nor practice any thing but indecencies and outrageousness: so that we well say:

*O Jupiter, cur nam miseros sapere dicunt
Homines! ex te enim pendemus,
Agimusque ea, quæ tu volueris.
O nihili homines!
Qui arcum extendentes tanquam ultra articulum,
Et jure utique mala patientes multa,
Amicis non quidem creditis sed ipsis rerum eventibus, &c.
Eurip. Supplices.*

When King Henry knew that Perkin was fled, and departed from his camp, he sent the Lord Daubney, with five-hundred horse, to intercept him; but he was lodged before they came, although most of his company were surprised and taken, who, as miserable caitiffs, and poor wretched delinquents, were presented to his majesty: but, when the residue of this fearful and staggering army could neither understand what was become of their general, nor see their accustomed pendants and ancients, nor their quarters so well ordered, as was the manner of soldiers, nor their companies so chearful and well heartened, they knew not what to say or to do; some supposing he was fraudulently slain, some suspecting he was traitorously fled, some reporting the manifestation of his deceit, some wondering at the strangeness of proceedings, in that he had so miraculously begun, and presumptuously prosecuted such a dangerous work; some exclaiming upon the simplicity of the matter, that built upon no better grounds, than vain hopes and presumptuous titles; some cursing themselves, that they had so far engaged their loyalties against their sovereign lord and king; some, continuing in their rancorous malice, swore nothing but revenge and obstinacy; and some, never to be reclaimed, even when their forces failed, cried out to go forward, railing at the misfortune of the business, that they must now fail, when they were ready to pull down the town-walls with their hands: yet, when they were assured of his cowardly flight and base pusillanimity, the common fear, common mischief, and common danger, made them cast away their armour, and submit to the king; to whom, though they came with affrighted countenances, and venomous hearts, sad looks, and little repentance, curses in their souls, and promises of faith, loyalty, and obedience out of their mouths; yet did the king entertain them with all chearfulness and acceptable comfort, as the greatest benefit which God could, at that time, bestow upon him, not disputing of their hypocrisy, nor determining, by more narrow searches, or artificial incantations, to try out the depth, and search the bottom of their resolutions.

Thus, as a conqueror, without manslaughter and effusion of blood, he rode triumphantly into the city of Exeter; and knowing Premium and Poena to be the mastering curbs of all the things in the world, not only praised and applauded the citizens, but opened the

the treasure-house of reward and honour amongst them, giving some presents, advancing others to the order of knighthood, and granting many petitions, according to the worthy condition of a prince, and the full corroboration of their obedience: then proceeded he to some exemplary punishment of divers refractory Cornishmen, whom their own companies accused as delinquents, and the majesty of the government would not endure without correction.

But all this was nothing, in comparison of that which followed: for his horsemen prosecuted the chase so diligently and honestly, that they pursued the Lady Catharine Gordon, wife to this Perkin, even to Michael's mount; who, notwithstanding, had she not been betrayed by some of her own followers, might have escaped; for, transforming herself into one of her servant's habits, she had gone quite away to her ships, but that some pitying the distress of the king and turmoils of the kingdom, and perceiving the end of the war, and pacification of these troubles, to depend upon her surprising, would, by no means, give way unto new disturbances, but took her, and presented her to the king's commissioners: what should I say, when she herself said nothing? But, perceiving them gentlemen of worth, with Hypsipile to Jason, she cried out:

Si vos nobilitas generosaque nomina tangunt.

I know you will use me like yourselves, and understand I am a prince every way. So they gave her leave to adorn herself, and brought her, like a bond-woman and captive, to the king, who, wondering at her beauty and attractive behaviour, lifted up his hands to heaven in her behalf, to see so great a worth betrayed to fanatical hopes and frenetical deceit, thanking God for himself, that he had such a trophy of his endurances and victories in his hands; nor was the emperor Aurelius more proud of Zenobia, than he rejoiced in this adventure; some say, he fancied her person himself, and kept her near unto him as his choicest delight; yea, so doated on her perfections, that he forgot all things, but the contentment which he received by her, inasmuch that many dared to libel against him, with that saying of Dejanira to Hercules:

*Quem nunquam funo, seriesque immensa laborum fregerit,
huic Iolen imposuisse jugum.*

Some say, he durst not let her marry, for fear of ambitious tumours in such as could attain to such a fortune: some confirm, that she was of that greatness of spirit, that she scorned all others in regard of herself, both by the privilege of her birthright, and the possibility of her greatness. Howsoever, he intreated her most honourably and amiably (such a power hath beauty and comeliness ever in distress) and sent her to the queen so majestically attended, as if she had been a queen indeed.

In the mean while, my Lord Daubney employed himself, and his company, so effectually, that, invi-

roning the sanctuary, wherein Perkin was, with two companies of light horse, who were vigilant, cautious, strong, and courageous, he so lay in the advantage of watching the place, that Perkin could no way escape: but the king was not satisfied with this protraction, and therefore loth to lose him, or give him liberty to run, with the blind mole, into further caverns of the earth, to cast up heaps, and little hills of commotion, and affrighting his estate; and yet daring not to infringe the privilege of these holy places (such a hand had superstition, and the pope's fulmination, got over all the princes of Europe) he went more politickly to work, and sent divers persons of account to persuade his submission, and render himself wholly into the king's hands, who not only promised him pardon of life, but comfort of liberty, yea, honourable maintenance, upon the easy conditions of desisting to perturb the commonwealth any further, and disclaiming so injuriously to pretend any title to the diadem.

When Perkin saw to what streights his barque was driven, and that he must either split on the rocks of despair, or retire back again into the troublesome ocean of despatch, according to the nature of cowardly and irresolute men, he chose the worst part, to save his life and submit to the king's acceptance; not remembering, because he was never acquainted with the secrets of majesty, That he, which hath been once a prince, must never look for a settled quietness in a private estate (because he is still subject to the conqueror's pleasure) but an ignominious life, than which an honourable death is ten-thousand times better; which made the noble Hecuba, as a worthy pattern to all unfortunate princes, thus answer the proudest conquerors themselves:

*Parrigam collum cordatè, intrepidè,
Liberam vero me, ut libera moriar,
Per deos quæso dimittentes occidite: apud manes enim
Serva vocari, regina cum sim, pudet me.*

But, as I said, he now only recounted the difficult passages of his former travels, the dangers escaped, the deceit pretended, the peril imminent, and the misfortune too apparent, as being in no security in the place he was fled unto, nor having any confidence in the persons he had chosen: for, though he knew there was a reverence appropriate to sanctuaries, yet kings, if they pleased, would be tied neither to law nor religion, but perform what they list, or under colour of their own security, say they are compelled unto. Therefore, without any further aggravation, relying on the king's pardon, and those honourable conditions propounded, he voluntarily resigned himself, and came to his majesty, as a messenger of glad tidings, That now all wars, troubles, and commotions were, by this means, ended and determined.

The king wondered not much at him, for he only found him superficially instructed, of a natural wit, of reasonable qualities, well-linguaged, and of indifferent apprehension, but far from that highness of spirit,

rit, or heroick disposition, to deserve the character of a prince, or lay claim to a diadem; yet, loth with any boisterous strength to handle a brüsed arm, or draw the fellow into a new self-love, or good opinion of himself, he passed over his examination the slightlier, and brought him immediately to London, being met all the way with great concourses of people; who both came to gratify him and his auspicious success, and to see Perkin like some strange meteor or monster; or, if you will, because we will deal more cleanly with him, like a triumphant spectacle, to move amazement, delight, and contentment, according to that saying of the poet:

Nocte pluit tota, redeunt spectacula mane.

But, when they began to capitulate, that, being a stranger and an alien born, he durst not only abuse so many princes and commonwealths with lyes, fictions, and abominable deceit, but even bid battle to kings and princes, yea, bring kings and princes into the field for his assistance, they fell from wondering at him to rail and abuse him, both with checks and opprobrious taunts; yea, divers dared to put in practice many indecencies, both of rage and indignation, had not the reverence of his majesty's presence diverted their inconsideration, and commanded no further rumour, gazing upon him, or violent threatenings against him. To conclude, the king brought him quietly to London; and, though he had given him life, and afforded him a kind of liberty, yet did he set a guard over him, that he could neither have free conference, nor do what he wantonly listed without them.

By this time you must consider, that Lady Margaret in Flanders, duchess-dowager of Burgundy, was not so ill befriended, or negligent in her own affairs, but she had both intelligence from England, and spies of her own, to acquaint her with all occurrences and adventures, as they chanced. But, whether it was a news to her of bitterness and tormenting spight, or no, let them judge, that make their stomachs and inward faculties a store-house of rancour and malice, and cry out with Seneca, *Felix jacet, quicumque quos odit premit*; yet was she not tormented so much with the loss, expences, or disaster of the business, which might be the chance of war, as that she could not prevail in her malignant courses against her enemy, the house of Lancaster: so that she bemoaned the lamentable success of her unfortunate darling, and, as many did testify, even shed tears again; but they were so far from compunction, or penitency, that they seemed rather signs of rage, phrensy, and intolerable madness, in which she cried out on nothing but revenge, and repeated an exclamation of Hermione's against Orestes:

*Quæ mea cælestes injuria fecit iniquos!
Quodve mihi miseræ fidus abesse querar?*

So that, if she had had power equal to her implacable hatred, King Henry should have felt the scourges of her

wrathful hand, even to the lowest dejection, and she had, doubtless, shewed him a trick of a woman's will, or (if I might speak without offence) wickedness.

In this while, Perkin, having two years liberty to ruminate on his business, and swell up his vexed soul with uncomfortable commemoration of preceding misfortunes, would many times cast out abrupt and uncertain speeches concerning his distress, and the malevolent aspect of his fate, cursing his miserable life, and complaining of his unprofitable genius, that had stood him in no better stead, wishing he had been born to any mechanical drudgery, rather than from the royal blood of Plantagenet: insomuch that his keepers mistrusted him in these extasies, and the king was still troubled, that he could neither make him confess the truth, nor disclaim this high assumption of another's dignity and royalty. But at last, as all such discontentments and eruptions must have vent, and so a determination, whether the scandal of this kind of imprisonment grieved him, or the inquietness of his thoughts vexed him, or the baseness of his submission abused him, or the loss of his sweet wife confounded him, or the instigations of others disturbed him; or indeed, because the last act of his tragedy and catastrophe was now in hand, he not only studied which way to escape, but put the same in practice, in spite of his own knowledge, that the king was acquainted with all his discontentments. For, alas! princes have long hands and prying looks, to reach into the furthest parts of their kingdom, and search into the secretest closets of their palaces, yea, other men's houses, and so are made to understand the affairs of the remotest regions. But, concerning himself, his vain suppositions, as in his former enterprizes, still flattered him, that he should once again find fuel enough, to set another rebellion and commotion on fire: and his vexation to be bereaved of so delicate a creature, as his lady, made him desperate of all, and set his wits on the tenter-hooks, to put something in practice to his further contentment. So that one day reading the story of Mortimer's escape out of the Tower, by giving his keepers a sleepy drink; he, in such a manner deceiveth his guard, and betook him to a resolution of escaping and flying out of the land; wherein he proved only like the silly bird, that with striving in the net, entangles herself the more: or, as deer that are hunted, betray themselves to well-scented hounds, by their faster running away, whereby they make the deeper impression in their steps: so fell it out with him,

Incidit in Scyllam, cupiens vitare Charybdim:

And, by seeking after liberty, he brought himself to a straighter and more unkindly endurance: for, when he had gone to the sea-coasts, and heard the exclamations of the people against him; saw all places debarred, knew great searches made for him, understood what an indignation the country had conceived of his mockeries and illusions, and found the whole kingdom up in his search, and posting after him; he was quite exanimated,

exanimated, and, like a man distracted, knew not what to do. At last, unstable in his former wilfulness, he once again altered his pretended journey, and came to the house of Bethlehem, called the priory of Shene, beside Richmond in Surry, and committed himself to the prior, with a long and secret conference; concluding, with an impetration of his charity, that, being a man of God, he would not think it strange to see princes subject to disasters and fatal conclusions of misfortune: for he well knew the story, both of the abbot of Westminster and the bishop of Carlisle, who, in spite of King Henry's usurpation, who had not only projected the delivery of Richard of Bourdeaux, but opposed the king in his strength of sovereignty, against his wilfulness to destroy the other deposed; and therefore he desired him to obtain his pardon of the king, yielding forcible intimation for the same purpose.

The prior (glad to have interest in such a meritorious work, and proud to be serviceable to his prince and country) came with convenient speed to the court, and acquainted his majesty with the accident, leaving no circumstance of any validity unrecounted; which ended to the king's wonderful content, and the whole court's disdain and amazement. But all times are not alike, and princes, in their mercies and pardons, are not so flexible as presumption buildeth upon: yet, to please the prior, he gave him his life, which, to a generous and free-born spirit, was more irksome than death: for he was first taken and brought to Westminster, with all scorn and reproach; then set in a pair of stocks, with contumelious derision; then carried through all the streets of London, like a prodigious spectacle; then put to the rack, which made him not only confess his pedigree and original, but write it with his own hands: last of all, mounted on divers scaffolds, he read it in publick, and that so disgracefully, as in the commemoration was able to torment a looker-on, so that he might well cry out,

*Vitamque per omnem
Nulla fuit tam mœsta dies: nam cœtera damna
Durata jam mente malis, firmaque tulerunt.*

In some of your chronicles you have this confession at large, as in Grafton; which, to make the story complete, I have a little contracted, and thus expose the same:

BE it known unto all men, that I was born in the town of Tournay, in Flanders, my father, John Osbeck, comptroller of the said town, my mother Catharine Haro, and my grandfather Direck Osbeck, after whose decease, my grandmother married Peter Flamme, receiver of Tournay, and dean of the boatmen over Lesceld; my mother's father was called Peter de Faro, which kept the keys of St. Thomas's gate, within the said town. I had also an uncle, Mr. John Statine, of St. Pia's parish, with whom I dwelled very young; he married my aunt Jane, and brought

me up very well; yet my mother, not contented, as being very fond of me, had me to Antwerp, to learn Flemish more exactly, to a kinsman of my father's, John Steinbeck, with whom I remained a full half year; but, by reason of the wars, I returned to Tournay, where I was placed with Mr. Barlo, who, within another year, carried me to the mart at Antwerp, where I fell sick a while, and so was boarded in a skinner's house, much conversant with the English nation, whereby I learned the language, as you see. From thence I went to Barrow mart, and lodged at the Old Man: afterwards, Mr. Barlo left me at Middleborough, with John Strew, a merchant, who first made me believe I was better than I was. From Antwerp I sailed into Portugal, with my Lady Brampton, in a ship called the Queen's ship, and served a knight in Lichborne, called Don Peter Las de Cognat, who had but one eye; yet the manner of his behaviour, and the order of his house, made me tarry a year. Then Pregent Meno, a Bretagner, carried me into Ireland, and either commanded so by my Lady Margaret, who, as she said, was my aunt, or projecting something for his own private interest, would needs persuade me I was a Plantagenet of the house of York. For, when I arrived in Cork, because I was somewhat handsomely appareled, they would needs bestow upon me the title of the earl of Warwick, son to George duke of Clarence, formerly in Ireland, which John Le Wellin, the mayor, maintained; and, forasmuch as my denial was contrary to their expectation, they brought me to the cross, and made me swear, which I did, disclaiming him, or any of his kindred, until Stephen Poitron, with John à Water, came unto me, as resolved I was King Richard's bastard-son (then in the hands of the king of England) persuading me not to be afraid or daunted at any thing. For they would aid me and assist me, even to the obtaining the crown of England; yea, they knew of their own knowledge, the earls of Desmond and Kildare were ready to venture their lives and estates for my sake: after this they carried me into Flanders, to Lady Margaret, regent and duchess of Burgundy, who prevailed so far with me, that I took upon me the person of Richard duke of York, second son of King Edward the Fourth, and so, with reasonable preparation, I returned back again into Ireland, where the said John à Water, Stephen Poinings, John Tiler, Hubert de Brough, the foresaid earls, and many others, entered with me into a dangerous rebellion, and I was proclaimed by them Richard the Fourth. From hence the king of France sent for me, by Loyte Lucas and Stephen Friar; but, making peace with England, he left me to my fortunes: then I sailed into Flanders, where my supposed aunt made more of me than before; so I attempted England, but was driven back again into Flanders, from whence I went into Scotland, and from thence again into Ireland, and so into England.

When the people had heard him out, they wondered both ways at the matter, and stood, as it were, confounded betwixt shame and indignation. If it were
a collu-

a collusion, to think how grossly the kingdom, and some of the best therein, yea many kingdoms had been abused with such an imposture, to the prosecuting several facinorous actions, and disturbance of the peace and tranquillity of the commonwealth: if it were not so, and that for fear of life he confessed the contrary, being the true Plantagenet, and a prince born to so great a fortune; then they wondered that any man could be so base, as to deject himself to such ignominy and opprobrious disgraces, when to die had been honourable, and to sell one's life in the field, far better than to plead on a scaffold, where the many changes must needs distract him, and make a poor soul neither fit for life nor death: but, whatsoever he was, they could not chuse but deplore his estate and misfortune, as naturally and ordinarily all men are bemoaned in adversity, especially such an one, that was so forward in the race and journey to majesty, and pulled back so often by the sleeve, and turned with a fury into the house of desolation, and dungeon of disconsolate wretchedness, when to have perished at once had been a favour of death and fortune indeed, according to our poet:

*Mitius ille perit subita qui mergitur unda,
Quam sua qui liquidas brachia lassat aquis.*

Lib. iii. De Ponto.

When the king had this way satisfied himself, and pleased the people, as he thought, he made no more ado, but, to prevent inconveniences, clapped him in the Tower, from whence he escaped not, until he was carried to Tyburn, and there swallowed up by the never satisfied paunch of hell, for his former abuses and intolerable wickedness, which happened very shortly after. For, just at this instant, a roguish Augustin friar, called Patrick, on the borders of Suffolk, after Peter Warbeck's example, taught a poor scholar, one Ralph Wilford, to take upon him the title of the earl of Warwick, as yet in the Tower of London; but supposed to escape, as corrupting his keepers, intimating the glory of the action, and the bravery of such an enterprize, wherein who would be so base and cowardly, as not to adventure his life, and put in practice any design to attain to a diadem, especially by so easy means as personating a prince, and assuming the title of the next heir to the crown? And when some of his better understanding friends laid open the danger and impossibility of the attempt, with the odiousness and perfidiousness of the treason, he answered the first with one poet:

*Famaque post Cineres major venit, & mihi nomen,
Tum quoque cum vivis annumerarer, erat:*

Lib. iv. De Ponto.

And the latter with another:

*Si enim injustè facere oportet, potissimum propter
Imperium jus violandum est: alias pium esse convenit.*
Eurip. Phenissos.

But although this mischief was quietly blown over, like a weak and thick cloud, suddenly dispersed by a forcible wind (for both master and scholar were quickly apprehended; the one hanged on Shrove-Tuesday, at St. Thomas Watring's, and the friar condemned to perpetual imprisonment) yet it left such an impression behind, to the troubling, as a man may say, the whole region of the air, that the king would dally no longer, but, like the sun in his full strength, at the next incensing of his majesty, dissolved all such vapours, and gave the law leave to play her part to the final extirpation of the very roots of sedition, which presently was thus set on work.

Peter Warbeck, impatient at this restraint of his liberty, and stomaching his former disgraces and indignities, would endure no longer, but studied every hour how to escape, not yet knowing what to do, when he did escape; to which purpose, by fair promises and false persuasions, he corrupted his keepers, Strangway, Blewet, Aftwood, and long Roger, servants of Sir John Digby, lieutenant of the Tower, to slay their said master; and set both Perkin and the true earl of Warwick at large, and so to make their fortunes, as they could, either by domestick or foreign friends; to which, when the innocent prince condescended, as glad any way to enjoy his liberty, and to be freed of his imprisonment (for you see birds kept in golden cages beat and flutter up and down, as scorn-ing their inclosure, to get out into their native country, the region of the air) mischief and misfortune, which play the tyrant with many men all their lives long, and never affordeth one day, or breathing-time, to give them a taste of any pleasure or contentment, discovered the whole conspiracy to the king and his council, not leaving out any circumstance which might either exasperate his rage, or pull forward death and destruction to the delinquents. Whereupon, without further disputing the matter, Perkin Warbeck, John à Water, some time mayor of Cork, and his son, were, the sixteenth of November, arraigned and condemned at Westminster of high treason, and the twenty-third hanged at Tyburn: Perkin mounted on a scaffold, reading his confession, and, contrary to all expectation, asking the king and country forgiveness, and dying penitently, with great remorse of conscience, and compunction of spirit:

Et sic finis Priami—

Not long after, Edward earl of Warwick, who had been the twenty-first of November arraigned at Westminster, before the earl of Oxford, high constable of England for the present, was, upon the twenty-eighth, 1499, beheaded on Tower-hill: for he quietly confessed the inditement, concerning his consent and willingness to obtain his liberty, though it were by violating the law in that kind, and breaking of prison, whose simplicity I rather lament than condemn the offence. For it was a dangerous time for any Plantagenet to live in, and I may well cry out,

Omne

Omne tulit secum Cæsaris ira malum :

But the king was indeed glad of this occasion, and fortune gave virtue the check, because, as he had imprisoned him without a cause, he knew not what to do with him without a fault; yet some report that the principal reason of accelerating his death was a speech of Ferdinando's king of Spain, who should swear, that the marriage between Lady Catharine, his daughter, and Prince Arthur of Wales, should never be consummated, as long as any earl of Warwick lived. For the very name and title was not only formidable to

other nations, but superstitious to the wavering and unconstant English; whereupon the king was the gladder to take hold of this opportunity, wherein the conviction of the law had cast this stumbling-block of treason in his walk and race to a longer life; and yet was there nothing done, but by orderly proceedings, and justifiable discourses, more than when the silly prince submitted to his mercy, he thought it the greatest point of mercy to look to himself, and so, for the benefit of his posterity, and the sedation of all troubles, both present and to come, struck off his head, and with him the head of all division and dissension.

The Negotiations of THOMAS WOLSEY, the great Cardinal of ENGLAND, containing his LIFE and DEATH, viz.

I. The Original of his Promotion. II. The Continuance in his Magnificence. III. His Fall, Death, and Burial.

Composed by Mr. CAVENDISH, one of his own Servants, being his Gentleman-Usher.

I T seemeth no wisdom to credit every light tale, blazed abroad in the mouths of vulgars, for we daily hear, how, with their blasphemous trump, they spread abroad innumerable lies, without either shame or honesty, which, prima facie, shew forth a visage of truth, as though it were an absolute verity, though indeed nothing less; and, amongst the better sort, those babblings are of no validity.

I have read the allegations of divers worthy authors against such false rumours and opinions of the common people, who delight in nothing more than to hear strange things, and to see new alterations of authority, rejoicing sometimes in such novelties, which afterwards do produce repentance. Thus, may all men of understanding conceive the madness of the rude multitude, and not give too much credence to every sudden rumour, until the truth be perfectly known, by the report of some approved and credible persons, that commonly have the best intelligence.

I have heard, and also seen set forth in divers printed books, some untrue imaginations, after the death of divers persons, who in their lives were in great estimation, invented rather to bring their honest names in question than otherwise.

Now, forasmuch as I intend to write here some special proceedings of Cardinal Wolsey, the great archbishop, his ascending unto honour and great promotion, his continuance in it, and sudden falling from the same: a great part thereof shall be of mine own knowledge, and some part from credible persons informations.

This Cardinal was my lord and master, whom, in his life-time, I served, and so remained with him in his fall continually, during the time of all his troubles, both in the south and north parts, until he died. In all which time, I punctually observed all his demeanors, as also in his great triumph and glorious estate.

And, since his departure, I have heard divers surmised and imagined tales concerning his proceedings and dealings, which I myself have certainly known to be most untrue, unto which I could have sufficiently answered according to truth: but conceiving it to be much better to be silent, than to reply against their untruths, whereby I might, perhaps, have rather kindled a great flame of displeasure,

displeasure, than have quenched one spark of their untrue reports; therefore I did refer the truth thereof to the Almighty, who knows the truth of all things.

Nevertheless, whatsoever any man hath conceived of him in his life, or since his death; thus much, I dare say, without offence to any, that, in my judgment, I never saw this realm in better obedience and quiet, than it was in the time of his authority, nor justice better administered, without partiality, as I could justly prove, if I should not be taxed with too much affection.

I will therefore here desist to speak any further, by the way of apology, and proceed. Now to speak of his original, and ascending through Fortune's favour to high dignity, and abundance of Wealth.

ADVERTISEMENT TO THE READER.

WHO pleaseth to read this history advisedly, may well perceive the mutability of honour, the tottering state of earthly dignity, the deceit of flattering friends, and the instability of princes favours.

This great Cardinal having experience of all this, witness his fleeting from honour, the loss of friends, riches and dignities, being forgotten of his prince, whilst fortune smiled, having satiety of all these; and she, bending her brow, deprived him of all terrestrial joys, who, by twenty years study and pains, had obtained so great wealth and dignity, and, in less than one year, lost all.

And thus was his honour laid in the dust.

CHAP. I.

Of the Cardinal, his original, and who he was.

TRUTH it is, Cardinal Wolsey was an honest poor man's son in the town of Ipswich, in the county of Suffolk, and there born, who being but a child was very apt to learn; wherefore, by means of his parents, and other his good friends, he was maintained at the university of Oxford, where, in a short time, he prospered so well, that, in a small time, as he told me with his own mouth, he was made bachelor of arts when he was but fifteen years of age, and was most commonly called the boy bachelor. Thus, prospering in learning, he was made fellow of Magdalen college in Oxford; after that, he was made master of Magdalen school, at which time were the lord marquis of Dorset's sons there at school, committing unto him as well their education as their instructions and learning.

It pleased this lord marquis, against Christmas, to send as well for the schoolmaster as for the scholars home to his house, for their recreation in that pleasant and honourable forest. They being a while there, the lord marquis their father perceiving them to be well improved in learning for the time, he was so well contented, that he, having a benefice in his gift, being at that present void, gave the school-master the same, in regard of his diligence. After Christmas, at his departure to the university, he having the presentation thereof, repaired to the ordinary for his institution; and, being then furnished with all his instru-

ments, at the ordinary's hands, for his preferment, made haste, without any further delay, to his benefice, to take possession thereof. Now you shall understand, that the school-master had not been long there, but one Sir James Pawlet, knight, dwelling in the country thereabouts, took an occasion of displeasure against him, but upon what ground I know not: inasmuch, that Sir James was so bold as to set the school-master by the heels during his displeasure, which affront was afterwards neither forgotten, nor forgiven: for, when the school-master mounted so high as to be lord chancellor of England, he was not forgetful of his old displeasure most cruelly ministered unto him by Sir James, but sent for him, and after a very sharp reproof enjoined him not to depart out of London, without licence first obtained; so that he continued in the Middle Temple the space of five or six years, and afterwards lay in the Gatehouse next the stairs, which he re-edified, and sumptuously beautified the same all over on the outside, with the cardinal's arms, his hat, his cognisance and badges, with other devices, in so glorious a manner, as he thought thereby to have appeased his old displeasure.

This may be a good precedent for men in authority, which work their own wills without wit, to remember that greatness may decay. And those, whom they do punish more of humour than justice, may afterwards be advanced to great honour, as this Cardinal was, and they abased as low as this Sir James was, which seek revenge. Who would have thought, when Sir James Pawlet punished this poor school-master, that ever he should have mounted to so great a dignity

as to be chancellor of England, considering his mean parentage and friends? These be the wonderful works of God's providence. And I would wish, that all men in authority would fear God, in all ages, in the time of their triumph and greatness, considering that advancement and authority are not permanent, but many times slide and vanish suddenly away, as princes pleasures alter and change, or, as all living creatures must, of necessity, pay the debt due to nature, which no earthly creature can resist.

Shortly after, it chanced the said lord marquis died, after whose decease, the school-master thinking himself but a weak beneficed man, and that he had left his fellowship in the college; for, as I understand, if a fellow of that house be once promoted to a benefice, he shall, by the rules of the same house, be dismissed of his fellowship; and now, being also destitute of his singular good lord, as well as of his fellowship, which was most of his relief, thought long to be provided of some other help, to defend him from all such storms as he might meet with. In his travel thereabouts, he grew acquainted with a very great and ancient knight, who had a great place in Calais, under King Henry the Seventh. This knight he served, and behaved himself so discreetly, that he obtained the special favour of his said master; insomuch that, for his wit and gravity, he committed all the care and charge of his said office to his said chaplain. And, as I understand, his office was the treasurer'ship of Calais, who, in regard of his great age, shortly after was discharged of his said office, and so returned into England, intending to live a more private life; but, through his instant labour and good favour, his chaplain was preferred to be the king's chaplain. And, when he had once cast anchor in the port of promotion, how he then bestirred himself, I shall now declare.

He having, then, just occasion to be daily in sight of the king in his closet, not spending the rest of the day in idleness, would attend those men whom he thought to bear most rule in the council, and were most in favour with the king; which, at that time, was Dr. Fox, bishop of Winchester, and lord privy-seal; and also Sir Thomas Lovell, knight, a very sage and wise counsellor, being master of the wards and constable of the Tower.

These ancient and grave counsellors, in process of time, perceiving this chaplain to be a man of a very acute wit, thought him a meet instrument to be employed in greater affairs.

Not long after, it happened that the king had an urgent occasion, to send an ambassador to Maximilian the emperor, who lay, at that present, in the Low-Countries, at Flanders, and not far from Calais.

Now the bishop of Winchester and Sir Thomas Lovell, whom the king most esteemed, as the chiefest of his council, one day, advising and debating with themselves upon this ambassage; and, by this time, they saw they had a convenient occasion to prefer the king's chaplain, whose excellent eloquence and learning, they highly commended unto the king's highness;

who giving ear unto them, and being a prince of an excellent judgment and modesty, he commanded them to bring his chaplain, whom they so commended, before his grace; and being come, his majesty, to prove his ability, entered into discourse with him concerning matters of state, whereby the king had so well informed himself, that he found him to be a man of a sharp wit, and of such excellent parts, that he thought him worthy to be put in trust with matters of greater consequence.

CHAP. II.

Of the Cardinal's speedy dispatch in his first ambassage to the Emperor Maximilian.

THE king, being now resolved to employ him in this ambassage, commanded him, thereupon, to prepare himself for his journey; and, for his dispatch, wished him to repair to his grace, and his council, of whom he should receive his commission and instruction. By means whereof, he had then a fit occasion to repair, from time to time, into the king's presence, who had, thereby, daily experience of his singular wisdom, and sound judgment. Thus having his dispatch, he took his leave of the king at Richmond about four o'clock in the afternoon, when he launched forth in a Gravesend barge, with a prosperous wind and tide; and his happy speed was such, that he arrived at Gravesend in little more than three hours, where he tarried no longer than the post-horses were provided; and he travelled so speedily, that he came to Dover the next morning, where the passengers were under sail to pass to Calais; so that, long before noon, he arrived there, and having post-horses prepared, departed from thence without tarrying, making such hasty speed, that he was that night with the emperor; who, understanding of the arrival of the king of England's ambassador, would in no wise delay time, but sent for him incontinently; for his affection to the king of England was such, that he was glad of any opportunity to do him a courtesy.

The ambassador declares the sum of his ambassy unto the emperor, of whom he craved speedy expedition, which was granted him; so that the next day he was clearly dispatched, and all the king's requests fully accomplished and granted. At which time he made no further stay, but took post-horses that night, and rode without intermission to Calais, being conducted thither by divers nobles, appointed by the emperor; and, at the opening of the gates of Calais, he came thither, where the passengers were ready to return for England, insomuch that he arrived at Dover, between ten and eleven o'clock in the forenoon.

And, having post-horses in readiness, he came to the court at Richmond that same night; where, taking his repose until morning, he presented himself unto his majesty, at his first coming out of his bed-chamber to his closet, to mass, whom, when he saw, he checked, for that he was not on his journey.

Sir, quoth he, if it may please your highness, I have already been with the emperor, and dispatched your affairs, I trust to your grace's contentation; and, thereupon, presented the king with his letters of credence from the emperor. The king, wondering at his speedy return, he being so well furnished with all his proceedings, for the present, dissembled his admiration and imagination in that matter, and demanding of him, whether he encountered with his pursuivant, which he sent unto him with letters, imagining him to be scarce out of London, which concerned very material passages which were omitted in their consultation, which the king earnestly desired should have been dispatched in his ambassage.

Yes, forsooth, quoth he, I met with him yesterday by the way; and, though I had no knowledge thereof, yet, notwithstanding, I have been so bold, upon my own discretion, perceiving the matter to be very necessary in that behalf, that I dispatched the same: and, forasmuch as I have been so bold to exceed my commission, I most humbly crave your royal remission and pardon.

The king, inwardly rejoicing, replied, We do not only pardon you, but give you our princely thanks, both for your good exploit, and happy expedition; and dismissed him for that present, and bade him return to him again after dinner, for a further relation of his ambassage, and so the king went to mass.

It is not to be doubted, but this ambassador had, all this while, visited his great friends, the bishop of Winchester and Sir Thomas Lovell, to whom he had declared the effect of his ambassage; and, also, his majesty's commendations of him did not a little rejoice the worthy counsellors, forasmuch as he was of their preferment; and, shortly after, the king gave him, for his diligent service, the deanery of Lincoln, which was, in those days, one of the greatest promotions that he gave under the degree of a bishop; and he grew more and more in estimation and authority, and was afterwards promoted to be almoner.

Now not long after, when death, that favoureth no estates, nor king, nor emperor, had taken away the wise King Henry the Seventh out of this present life, it was a wonder to see, what practices and devices were then used about the young prince, Henry the Eighth; the great provision that was then made for the funeral of the one, and for the coronation of the other, by the now Queen Catharine, and mother, after the queen's highness that now is, whose virtuous life Jesu long preserve.

After the solemnizations, and costly triumphs, our natural, young, courageous, lusty prince and sovereign, Lord King Henry the Eighth, entering into his flower and lusty youth, took upon him the royal sceptre and imperial diadem of this fertile nation, the twenty-second of April, *Anno Dom.* 1509, which, at that time, flourished with all abundance of riches wherewith the king was most inestimably furnished, called then the *golden world*.

Now, shortly after, the almoner, seeing he had a

plain path-way to promotion, behaved himself so politickly, that he was made one of the king's privy-council, and increased in favour daily; to whom he gave a house at Bridewell, near Fleet-street, where he kept his house for his family, and so he daily attended upon the king, being in special favour.

His sentences in the star-chamber were ever so pithy and witty, that upon all occasions they assigned him, for the fluent eloquence of his tongue, to be the expositor to the king in all their proceedings; in whom the king received so great content, that he called him still nearer to his person; and the rather, because he was most ready to advance the king's own will and pleasure, having no respect to the case.

Now the king being young, and much given to his pleasure, his old counsellors advised him to have recourse sometimes to the council about his weighty affairs; but the almoner, on the contrary, persuaded him to mind his pleasure, and he would take his care and charge upon himself, if his majesty would countenance him with his authority, which the king liked well; and thus none was, like to the almoner, in favour with the king.

CHAP. III.

Of King Henry's invading France, in his own person, with the Cardinal's assistance.

THUS the almoner continuing in high favour, till, at last, many presents, gifts, and rewards came in so plentifully, that, I dare say, he wanted nothing, for he had all things in abundance, that might either please his fancy, or enrich his coffers, for the times so favourably smiled upon him, but to what end, you shall hereafter hear. Therefore, let all men, to whom fortune extendeth her favour and grace, take heed, they trust not her subtle and fair promises, for, under colour thereof, she carrieth an envious gall; for, when she seeth her servant in highest authority, she turneth her favour, and pleasant countenance, into frowns.

This almoner climbed up fortune's wheel, so that no man was in estimation with the king, but only he, for his witty qualities and wisdom.

He had an especial gift of natural eloquence, and a filed tongue to pronounce the same; so that he was able, therewith, to persuade and allure all men to his purposes, in the time of his continuance in fortune's favour.

In the fifth year of the reign of King Henry the Eighth, it chanced, that the realms of England and France were at variance, but upon what ground, or occasion, I know not; infomuch that the king was fully resolved, in his own person, to invade France with a puissant army: it was, therefore, thought very necessary, that his royal enterprises should be speedily provided, and furnished, in every degree, in things apt and convenient for the same: for expedition thereof, the king thought no man's wit so meet for policy, and
painful

painful travel, as the almoner, to whom he committed his whole affiance and trust therein; and he being nothing scrupulous, in any thing that the king would command, although it seemed very difficult, took upon him the whole charge of the business, and proceeded so therein, that he brought all things to good effect, in direct order, for all manner of victuals and provisions, convenient for so noble a voyage and army.

All things being thus prepared, by him, in order, the king, not intending to neglect, or delay any time, but, with noble and valiant courage, to advance his royal enterprise, passed the seas between Dover and Calais, where he prosperously arrived: and, after he had there made his arrival, and landed all his provision, and ammunition, and sat in consultation about his weighty affairs, marched forth, in good order of battle, till he came to the strong town of Turwine, to the which he laid strong siege, and made a sharp assault, so that, in short space, it was yielded unto him; unto which place, the emperor Maximilian resorted to him with a great army, like a mighty prince, taking of the king wages.

Thus, after the king had taken this strong town, and taken possession thereof, and set all things in good order, for the defence and preservation thereof, to his majesty's use, then he retired from thence, and marched towards Tournay, and there laid siege in like manner; to which he gave so fierce assault, that the enemies were constrained to render the town to his majesty. At which time, the king gave unto the almoner the bishoprick of the same see, towards his pains and diligence sustained in that journey. And when he had established all things, according to his princely mind and pleasure, and furnished the same with men, and captains of war, for the safeguard of the town, he prepared for his return to England.

But now, you shall understand, by the way, that, whilst the king was absent with a great power in France, the Scottish king invaded England, against whom the queen sent a great army, the earl of Surrey being general, where he overthrew the Scots at Blamston, called Hoddenfield, where the king of Scots was slain, with divers of his nobility, and eighteen thousand men, and they took all his ammunition for war.

By this time the king returned into England, and took with him divers noble personages of France, being prisoners; as the duke of Longuido, viscount Clermont, with divers others, that were taken in a skirmish.

And, thus, God gave him victory at home, and victory abroad, being in the fifth year of his reign, *Anno Dom. 1513.*

CHAP. IV.

The king's promoting his almoner, being made cardinal, and lord chancellor of England.

THE king being returned into England, the see of Lincoln became void by the death of Dr. Smith,

late bishop there; which bishoprick the king gave to the almoner elect of Tournay, who was not negligent to take possession thereof, but made all speed for his consecration, the solemnization thereof being ended, he found a way to get into his hands all his predecessor's goods, whereof I have seen divers parts that furnished his house.

It was not long after, but Dr. Bambridge, Archbishop of York, died at Rohan in France, being there the king's ambassador; unto which see the king presented the last new bishop of Lincoln, so that he had three bishopricks in his hands at one time, all in one year given him. Then prepared he again for his translation from the see of Lincoln, to that of York, as he did before to his installation.

After which solemnization done, and being then archbishop, and *Primas Angliæ*, thought himself sufficient to compare with that of Canterbury, and did thereupon advance his crosses in the courts, and every other place, as well in the precinct and jurisdiction of Canterbury, as any other place; and, forasmuch as Canterbury claimeth a superiority over York, as well as over any other bishoprick within England, and, for that cause, claimeth an acknowledgment, as in ancient obedience of York, to abate advancement of his crosses, to the crosses of Canterbury.

Notwithstanding, York not desisting to bear the same, although Canterbury gave York a check for the same, and told him, it was presumption, by reason whereof, there ingendered some grudge between them: but, shortly after, he obtained to be made cardinal and *Legatus de Latere*, unto whom the pope sent the cardinal's cap, and certain bulls, for his authority in that behalf, whereupon he was installed at Westminster in great triumph, which was executed by all bishops with their mitres, caps, and other ornaments; and, after all this, he was made chancellor of England, and Canterbury, who was the chancellor, was dismissed.

Now, he being in the chancellorship, and endowed with the promotions of archbishop and cardinal *de latere*, thought himself so fully furnished, that he was now able to surmount Canterbury in all jurisdictions; and, in all ecclesiastical powers, to convocate Canterbury, and all other bishops, and spiritual persons, to assemble at his convocations, where he would assign to take upon him the convention of all ministers, and others within their jurisdictions, and visited all the spiritual houses in their diocese, and all manner of spiritual ministers, as commissioners, scribes, apparitors, and all other necessary officers to furnish his courts; and did convene, by convention, whom he pleased through this realm and dominion, and all other persons, to the glory of his dignity. Then he had two great crosses of silver, whereof one was of his archbishoprick, and the other of his legateship, borne before him wheresoever he rode or went, by two of the tallest priests that he could get in this realm.

And, to the increase of his gain, he had in his hand the bishoprick of Durham, and St. Albans, in commendam; also when Dr. Fox, bishop of Winchester, died,

died, he did surrender Durham to the king, and took himself to Winchester. He had also, as it were in farm, the bishopricks of Bath, Worcester, and Hereford, for the incumbents of them were strangers. He had also, attending upon him, men of great possessions, and the tallest yeomen, for his guard, in the realm.

CHAP. V.

Of the orders and offices of his house and chapel.

AND first, for his house, you shall understand, that he had in his hall three boards, kept with three several officers, that is to say, a steward, that was always a priest; a treasurer that was ever a knight; and a comptroller that was an esquire; also a confessor, a doctor, three marshals, three ushers in the hall, besides two almoners and grooms.

Then had he in the hall-kitchen two clerks, a clerk-comptroller, and a surveyor over the dresser, with a clerk in the spicery, which kept continually a mess together in the hall; also, he had in the kitchen two cooks, labourers, and children, twelve persons; four men of the scullery, two yeomen of the pastry, with two other paste-layers under the yeomen.

Then had he in his kitchen a master-cook, who went daily in velvet or fatten, with a gold chain; besides two other cooks, and six labourers in the same room.

In the larder, one yeoman and a groom; in the scullery, one yeoman and two grooms; in the buttery, two yeomen and two grooms; in the ewry, so many; in the cellar, three yeomen and three pages; in the chandery, two yeomen; in the wayfary, two yeomen; in the wardrobe of beds, the master of the wardrobe, and twenty persons besides; in the laundry, a yeoman, groom, and thirteen pages, two yeoman-purveyors, and a groom-purveyor; in the bakehouse, two yeomen and grooms; in the wood-yard, one yeoman and a groom; in the barn, one yeoman; porters at the gate, two yeomen and two grooms; a yeoman in his barge, and a master of his horse; a clerk of the stables, and a yeoman of the same; a farrier, and a yeoman of the stirrup; a maltbour and sixteen grooms, every one of them keeping four geldings.

Now will I declare unto you the officers of his chapel, and singing-men of the same. First, he had there a dean, a great divine, and a man of excellent learning; and a sub-dean, a repeater of the choir, a gospeller, an epittler of the singing-priests, and a master of the children: in the vestry, a yeoman, and two grooms, besides other retainers that came thither at principal feasts.

And, for the furniture of his chapel, it passeth my weak capacity to declare the number of the costly ornaments, and rich jewels that were occupied in the same; for I have seen, in procession about the hall, forty-four rich copes of one fettle worn, besides the rich candlesticks, and other necessary ornaments to the furniture of the same.

Now you shall understand, that he had two cross-bearers, and two pillar-bearers in his great chamber; and in his privy chamber, all these persons, the chief chamberlain, a vice-chamberlain, a gentleman-usher, besides one of his privy-chamber; he had also twelve waiters, and six gentlemen-waiters; also he had nine or ten lords, who had each of them two or three men to wait upon him, except the earl of Derby, who had five men.

Then he had gentlemen cup-bearers, and carvers; and of the sewers, both of the great chamber, and of the privy chamber, forty persons; six yeomen ushers, eight grooms of his chamber; also he had of alms, who were daily waiters of his board at dinner; twelve doctors and chaplains, besides them of his, which I never rehearsed; a clerk of his closet, and two secretaries, and two clerks of his signet; four counsellors learned in the law.

And, for that he was chancellor of England, it was necessary to have officers of the chancery to attend him for the better furniture of the same.

First, he had a riding clerk, a clerk of the crown, a clerk of the hamper, and a chafer; then he had a clerk of the check, as well upon the chaplains, as upon the yeomen of the chamber; he had also four footmen, garnished with rich running coats, whensoever he had any journey. Then he had a herald of arms, a serjeant of arms, a physician, an apothecary, four minstrels, a keeper of his tents, an armourer, and instructor of his wards, an instructor of his wardrobe of robes, a keeper of his chamber continually; he had also in his house a surveyor of York, a clerk of the green-cloth. All these were daily attending, downlying and uprising: and at meat, he had eight continual boards for the chamberlains, and gentlemen officers, having a mess of young lords, and another of gentlemen; besides this, there was never a gentleman, or officer, or other worthy person, but he kept some two, some three persons to wait upon them; and all others, at the least, had one, which did amount to a great number of persons.

Now, having declared the order according to the chain roll, use of his house, and what officers he had daily attending to furnish the same, besides retainers, and other persons, being suitors, dined in the hall: and, When shall we see any more such subjects that shall keep such a noble house? Therefore here is an end of his household; the number of persons in the chain were eight hundred persons.

CHAP. VI.

Of his second ambassage to the Emperor Charles the Fifth.

AFTER he was thus furnished, in manner as I have before rehearsed unto you, he was sent twice on ambassage to the Emperor Charles the Fifth, that now reigneth, and father to King Philip, now our lord and sovereign: forasmuch as the old Emperor Maximilian was

was dead, and, for divers other urgent occasions, touching his majesty; it was thought fit that about such weighty matters, and to so noble a prince, the cardinal was most meet to be sent on this ambassage; and he, being one ready to take the charge thereof upon him, was furnished in every respect most like a great prince, which was much to the honour of his majesty, and of this realm: for, first, he proceeded forth like to a cardinal, having all things correspondent; his gentlemen, being very many in number, were clothed in livery-coats of crimson velvet of the best, and chains of gold about their necks; and his yeomen, and all his mean officers, were clad in fine scarlet, guarded with black velvet one hand-breadth. Thus furnished, he was twice sent in this manner to the emperor in Flanders, then lying at Bruges, whom he did most nobly entertain, discharging all his own charges, and his men's. There was no house in the town of Bruges, wherein any of my lord's gentlemen were lodged or had recourse, but that the owners of the houses were commanded by the emperor's officers, upon the pain of their lives, to take no money for any thing that the cardinal's men did take of any kind of victuals; no, although they were disposed to make costly banquets, further commanding their said hosts that they should want nothing which they honestly required, or desired to have.

Also the emperor's officers every night went through the town from house to house, where any Englishmen had recourse, or lodged, and served their livery for all night, which was done on this manner: first, the officers brought into the house a casteel of fine manchets, then two silver pots of wine, and a pound of sugar, white lights, and yellow lights, a bowl of silver, and a goblet to drink in, and every night a staff torch. This was the order of their livery every night; and then, in the morning, when the officers came to fetch away their stuff, they would account for the gentlemen's costs the day before.

Thus the emperor entertained the cardinal and his train, during the time of his ambassy. And, that done, he returned into England with great triumph, being no less in estimation with the king than he was before, but rather much more; for he increased daily in the king's favour, by reason of his wit and readiness to do the king pleasure in all things.

In the one and twentieth year of King Henry the Eighth's reign, *Anno Dom.* 1529, this Emperor Charles the Fifth came into England, who was nobly entertained.

CHAP. VII.

Of the manner of his going to Westminster-hall.

NOW must I declare the manner of his going to Westminster-hall in the term time: First, When he came out of his privy-chamber, he most commonly heard two masses in his chapel or chamber. And I heard one of his chaplains say since, that was a man of

credit and excellent learning, that, what business soever the cardinal had in the day-time, he never went to bed with any part of his service unpaid, no, not so much as one collect, in which, I think, he deceived many a man: then, going into his chamber again, he demanded of some of his servants if they were in readiness, and had furnished his chamber of presence, and waiting-chamber: he, being then advertised, came out of his privy-chamber about eight of the clock, ready apparelled, and in red, like a cardinal; his upper vesture was all of scarlet, or else of fine crimson taffata, or crimson sattin ingrained, his pillion scarlet, with a black velvet tippet of fables about his neck, holding in his hand an orange, the meat or substance thereof being taken out and filled again with a part of sponge, with vinegar, and other confections against pestilent airs, the which he most commonly held to his nose, when he came to the presses, or when he was pestered with many suitors: and before him was borne the broad seal of England, and the cardinal's hat, by some lord, or some gentleman of worship, right solemnly: and, as soon as he was entered into his chamber of presence, where there were daily attending on him as well noblemen of this realm, as other worthy gentlemen of his own family, his two great crosses were there attending upon him; then cry the gentleman-ushers that go before him bare-headed: on masters before, and make room for my lord. Thus, when he went down into the hall with a serjeant of arms before him, bearing a great mace of silver, and two gentlemen carrying two great plates of silver; and, when he came to the hall-door, there his mule stood trapped all in crimson velvet, with a saddle of the same.

Then were attending him, when he was mounted, his two cross-bearers, and his two pillar-bearers, all upon great horses, and in fine scarlet; then he marched on with a train of gentry, having four footmen about him, bearing every one of them a pole-ax in his hand: and thus passed he forth till he came to Westminster, and there alighted and went in this manner up to the chancery, and staid a while at a bar, made for him beneath the chancery; and there he communed sometimes with the judges, and sometimes with other persons, and then went up to the chancery, and sat there till eleven of the clock to hear suits, and to determine causes; and from thence he would go into the star-chamber, as occasion served him; he neither spared high nor low, but did judge every one according to right.

Every Sunday he would resort to the court, being then at Greenwich, with his former rehearsed train and triumph, taking his barge at his own stairs, furnished with yeomen standing upon the sails, and his gentlemen within and about, and landed at the Three Cranes in the Vine-tree; and from thence he rode upon his mule with his crosses, his pillars, his hat, and his broad seal carried before him on horse-back along Thames-street until he came to Billingsgate; and there he took his barge, and so went to Greenwich, where he was nobly entertained by the lords in the king's house,

house, being there with staves in their hands, as the treasurer, comptroller, with many others, and conveyed into the king's chamber, and so went home again in the like triumph.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Cardinal's magnificence in his houses.

HE lived a long season ruling all things in this realm appertaining to the king by his wisdom, and all other matters of foreign regions, with whom the king had any occasion to meddle. All ambassadors of foreign potentates were ever disposed by the cardinal's wisdom, to whom they had continual access for their dispatch.

His house was always resorted unto like a king's house, with noblemen and gentlemen; and when it pleased the king's majesty, as many times it did, he would, for his recreation, resort unto the cardinal's house, against whose coming there wanted no preparations or goodly furnitures, with victuals of the finest sort that could be had for money or friendship.

Such pleasures were here devised for the king's delight, as could be invented or imagined; banquets set with masquers and mummers, in such a costly manner, that it was glorious to behold; there wanted no damfels meet to dance with the masquers, or to garnish the place, for the time, with variety of other pastimes. Then were there divers kinds of musick, and many choice men and women singers appointed to sing, who had excellent voices. I have seen the king come suddenly thither in a masque, with a dozen masquers all in garments like shepherds, made of fine cloth of gold and silver wire, and six torch-bearers, besides their drummers, and others attending on them with vizards, and clothed all in fatten. And, before his entering into the hall, you shall understand that he came by water to the water-gate without any noise, where were laid divers chambers and guns charged with shot, and at his landing they were discharged, which made such a rattling noise in the air, that it was like thunder: it made all the noblemen, gentlemen, and ladies, to muse what it should mean coming so suddenly, they sitting quietly at a banquet. In this sort you shall understand, that the tables were set in the chamber of presence covered, and my lord cardinal sitting under his cloth of state, and there having all his service alone; and then were there set a lady and a nobleman, a gentleman and a gentlewoman, throughout all the tables in the chambers on the one side, which were made all joining, as it were, but one table. All which order was done by my Lord Sands, then lord chamberlain to the king, and by Sir Henry Guildford, then comptroller of the king's house.

Then, immediately after this great shot of guns, the cardinal desired the lord chamberlain to see what it did mean, as though he knew nothing of the matter; they then looked out of the window into the

Thames, and, returning again, told him, that they thought they were noblemen and strangers arrived at the bridge, and coming as ambassadors from some foreign prince: with that, said the cardinal, I desire you, because you can speak French, to take the pains to go into the hall, there to receive them into the chamber, where they shall see us, and all those noble personages, being merry at our banquet, desiring them to sit down with us, and take part of our fare.

Then went they incontinently into the hall, where they were received with twenty torches, and conveyed up into the chamber with such a number of drums and flutes, as I have seldom seen together at one time and place.

Then, at their arrival into the chamber, they went two and two together directly before the cardinal where he sat, and saluted them very reverently: to whom the lord chamberlain for them, said; 'Sir, forasmuch as they are strangers, and cannot speak English, they have desired me to declare unto you, that they, having understanding, at this your triumphant banquet, were assembled such a number of fair dames, they could do no less, under the supportation of your grace, than to view as well their incomparable beauties, as to accompany them at Mumchance, and after that to dance with them, so to beget their better acquaintance.'

And, furthermore, they require of your grace license, to accomplish this cause of their coming.

When the cardinal said he was willing, and very well content they should do so.

Then went the masquers, and first saluted all the dames, and then returned to the most worthy, and there opened the great cup of gold, filled with crowns, and other pieces, to cast at.

Thus perusing all the gentlewomen, of some they won, and to some they lost. And, having viewed all the ladies, they returned to the cardinal with great reverence, pouring down all their gold, which was above two hundred crowns. At all, quoth the cardinal, and casting the dye he won it, whereat was made great joy.

Then, quoth the cardinal to my lord chamberlain, I pray you go tell them, that to me it seemeth that there should be a nobleman amongst them, that better deserves to sit in this place than I, to whom I should gladly surrender the same, according to my duty, if I knew him.

Then spoke my lord chamberlain to them in French, declaring my lord cardinal's word; and, they rounding him again in the ear, the lord chamberlain said unto my lord cardinal:

Sir, quoth he, they confess that among them is such a noble personage, whom, if your grace can point out from the rest, he is contented to disclose himself, and to accept of your place most willingly.

With that the cardinal, taking good advice, went amongst them; and at the last, quoth he, it seemeth to me, that the gentleman with the black beard should be he; and with that he rose out of his chair, and offered the same to the gentleman with the black beard,
with

with the cup in his hand: but the cardinal was mistaken, for the person to whom he then offered his chair was Sir Edward Nevill, a comely knight, and of a goodly personage, who did more resemble his majesty's person than any other in that masque.

The king, seeing the cardinal so deceived in his choice, could not forbear laughing, but pulled down his vizard, and Sir Edward Nevill's also, with such a pleasant countenance and cheer, that all the noble estates desired his highness to take his place: to whom the king made answer, that he would first go and shift him: and thereupon he went into the cardinal's bed-chamber, where was a great fire prepared for him, and there he newly apparelled himself with rich and princely garments; and, in the king's absence, the dishes of the banquet were clean taken away, and the tables covered again with new and perfumed cloaths, every man sitting still until the king's majesty, with his masquers, came in among them, every man new apparelled.

Then the king took his seat under the cloth of estate, commanding every person to sit still as they did before; and then came in a new banquet before his majesty of two hundred dishes, and so they passed the night in banqueting and dancing until morning, which much rejoiced the cardinal, to see his sovereign lord so pleasant at his house.

CHAP. IX.

Of the original instrument of the Cardinal's fall, Mistress Anne Bullen.

NOW you shall understand, that the young lord of Northumberland attended upon my lord cardinal, who when the cardinal went to court, would ever have conference with mistress Anne Bullen, who then was one of the maids of honour to Queen Catherine, insomuch that at last they were contracted together, which, when the king heard, he was much moved thereat, for he had a private affection to her himself, which was not yet discovered to any, and then advised the cardinal to send for the earl of Northumberland, his father, and take order to dissolve the contract made between the said parties; which the lord cardinal did, after a sharp reprehension, in regard he was contracted without the king and his father's knowledge: he sent off for his father, who came to London very speedily, and came first to my lord cardinal, as all great personages did, that in such sort were sent for, of whom they were advertised of the cause of their sending for: and when the earl was come, he was presently brought to the cardinal into the gallery. After whose meeting, my lord cardinal and he were in secret communication a long space; after their long discourse, and drinking a cup of wine, the earl departed, and, at his going away, he sat down at the gallery end in the hall, upon a form, and, being set, called his son unto him, and said:

Son, quoth he, even as thou art, and ever hast been a proud, disdainful, and very unthrifty master, so thou hast now declared thyself: wherefore what joy, what pleasure, what comfort, or what solace can I conceive

in thee? That thus, without discretion, hast abused thyself, having neither regard to me thy natural father, nor unto thy natural sovereign lord, to whom all honest and loyal subjects bear faithful obedience, nor yet to the prosperity of thy own estate; but hast so unadvisedly ensnared thyself to her for whom thou hast purchased the king's high displeasure, intolerable for any subject to sustain. And, but that the king doth consider the lightness of thy head, and wilful qualities of thy person, his displeasure and indignation were sufficient to cast me, and all my posterity, into utter ruin and destruction. But he, being my singular good lord, and favourable prince, and my lord cardinal my very good friend, have, and do clearly excuse me in thy lewdness, and do rather lament thy folly, than malign thee, and have advised an order to be taken for thee, to whom both I and you are more bound, than we conceive of. I pray to God that this may be a sufficient admonition unto thee, to use thyself more wisely hereafter; for, assure thyself, that, if thou dost not amend thy prodigality, thou wilt be the last earl of our house: for thy natural inclination, thou art masterful and prodigal, to consume all that thy progenitors have, with great travel, gathered and kept together with honour: but, having the king's majesty my singular good lord, I trust, I assure thee, so to order my succession, that thou shalt consume thereof but a little.

For I do not intend, I tell thee truly, to make thee heir; for thanks be to God, I have more boys, that, I trust, will use themselves much better, and prove more like to wise and honest men; of whom I will chuse the most likely to succeed me.

Now, good masters and gentlemen, quoth he unto us, it may be your chances hereafter, when I am dead, to see those things, that I have spoken to my son, prove as true as I now speak them; yet, in the mean time, I desire you all to be his friends, and tell him his faults in what he doth amiss; wherein you shall shew yourselves friendly to him; and so I take my leave of you. And, son, go your ways unto my lord your master, and serve him diligently; and so parted, and went down into the hall, and took his barge.

Then, after long and large debating the matter about the Lord Piercy's assurance to Mrs. Anne Bullen, it was devised, that the contract should be infringed and dissolved, and that the Lord Piercy should marry one of the earl of Shrewsbury's daughters. And so, indeed, not long after he did; whereby the former contract was broken and dissolved, wherewith Mrs. Anne was greatly displeased; promising, That, if ever it lay in her power, she would do the cardinal some displeasure; which indeed she afterwards did. But yet he was not altogether to be blamed, for he did nothing, but what the king commanded; whereby the Lord Piercy was charged to avoid her company. And so was she, for a time, discharged the court, and sent home to her father; whereat she was much troubled and perplexed; for all this time she knew nothing of the king's intended purpose. But we may see, when fortune doth begin to frown, how she can compass a matter of displeasure,

pleasure, through a far-fetched mark: now, therefore, of the grudge, how it began, that in process of time wrought the cardinal's utter destruction.

CHAP. X.

Of Mrs. Anne Bullen's favour with the king.

OH Lord, what a great God art thou! that workest thy wonders so secretly, that they are not perceived, until they be brought to pass and finished.

Attend now, good reader, to this story following, and note every circumstance, and thou shalt, at the end, perceive a wonderful work of God against such as forget him and his benefits.

Therefore, I say, consider; after this my Lord Piercy's troublesome business was over, and all things brought to an end, then Mrs. Anne Bullen was again admitted to the court; where she flourished in great estimation and honour, having always a prime grudge against my lord cardinal, for breaking the contract between the Lord Piercy and herself, supposing it had been his own device, and no other's; and she, at last, knowing the king's pleasure, and the depth of his secrets, then began to look very haughtily and stout, lacking no manner of rich apparel, or jewels, that money could purchase.

It was, therefore, imagined by many through the court, that she, being in such favour, might do much with the king, and obtain any suit of him for her friends. All this while, she being in this estimation in all places, there was no doubt, but good Queen Catharine, having this gentlewoman daily attending upon her, both heard by report, and saw with her eyes, how all things tended against her good ladyship; although she seemed neither to Mrs. Anne Bullen, nor the king, to carry any spark of discontent, or displeasure, but accepted all things in good part, and with great wisdom, and much patience dissembled the same, having Mrs. Anne Bullen in more estimation for the king's sake, than when she was with her before, declaring herself indeed to be a very patient Grissel, as, by her long patience in all her troubles, shall hereafter more plainly appear.

For the king was now so enamoured of this young gentlewoman, that he knew not how sufficiently to advance her.

This being perceived by all the great lords of the court, who bore a secret grudge against my lord cardinal, for that they could not rule in the kingdom as they would for him, because he was *Dominus fac totum* with the king, and ruled as well the great lords, as the mean subjects; whereat they took an occasion to work him out of the king's favour, and consequently themselves into more estimation.

And, after long and secret consultation with themselves, how to bring this matter to pass, they knew very well, that it was somewhat difficult for them to do absolutely of themselves; wherefore they perceiving the great affection and love, the king bore to Mrs. Anne Bullen, supposing in their judgments, that she would be a fit instrument to bring their earnest inten-

tions to pass, therefore they often consulted with her to that purpose; and she, having both a very good wit, and also an inward grudge and displeasure against my lord cardinal, was ever as ready to accomplish their desires, as they were themselves; wherefore there was no more to do, but only to imagine an occasion to work their malice by some pretended circumstances. Then did they daily invent divers devices how to effect their purpose; but the enterprise thereof was so dangerous, that, though they would fain have attempted the matter with the king, yet durst they not, for they knew the great zeal the king did bear unto the cardinal; and this they knew very well, That, if the matter they should propound against him, was not grounded upon a just and urgent cause, the king's love was such towards him, and his wit such withal, that he could with his policy vanquish all their enterprises, and then, after that, requite them in the like nature, to their utter ruin.

Therefore they were compelled to forbear their plots, till they might have some better ground to work upon. And now the cardinal, perceiving the great zeal the king bore to this gentlewoman, framed himself to please her, as well as the king: to that end, therefore, he prepares great banquets and feasts, to entertain the king and her, at his own house, she all this while dissembling the secret grudge in her breast. Now the cardinal began to grow into wonderful inventions not heard of before in England; and the love between this glorious lady and the king grew to such perfection, that divers things were imagined, whereof I forbear here to speak, until I come to the proper place.

CHAP. XI.

Of the variance between the French king and the duke of Bourbon, who fled to the city of Pavia, where the king besieged him.

THEN began a certain grudge between the French king and the duke of Bourbon to break out, inso-much that the duke, being now at variance with the house of France, was compelled for safeguard of his life, to fly and forsake his country, fearing the king's malice and indignation.

The cardinal, having intelligence hereof, contrived that the king our sovereign lord should obtain the duke to be his general in his wars against the French king, with whom our king had then an occasion of war; and the rather, because the duke of Bourbon was fled to the emperor to invite him to the like purpose, where he moved the king in this matter. And, after the king was advised thereof, and conceived the cardinal's invention, he mused more and more of this matter, until it came into a consultation amongst the council; so that it was concluded, that an ambassador should be sent to the emperor about this matter. And it was further concluded, that the king and the emperor should join in those wars against the French king; and that the duke of Bourbon should be the king of England's champion, and general in the field, who had a number of good soldiers, over and besides the emperor's

emperor's army, which was not small; and that the king should pay the duke monthly wages for himself and his retinue.

For which purpose, John Russel, who was afterwards created earl of Bedford, lay continually beyond the seas in a secret place, both to receive money from the king, and to pay the same monthly to the duke; so that the duke began the wars with the French king in his own territories and dukedom, which the king had gotten into his own hands, being not perfectly known to the duke's enemies, that he had any aid from our sovereign lord: and thus he wrought the French king much displeasure, insomuch that the French king was constrained to prepare a present army, and, in his own person, to resist the duke's power. And, battle being joined, the king drove him to take Pavia, a strong town in Italy, with his host of men for his security; where the king incamped himself wonderfully strong, intending to close the duke within the town, lest he should issue out, and skirmish with him.

The French king in his camp sent secretly into England a private person (being a very witty man) to treat of a peace between his master and our sovereign lord; his name was John Jokin, who was kept as secretly as might be, no man having intelligence of his arrival; for he was no Frenchman born, but an Italian, a man of no great estimation in France, nor known to be much in his master's favour, but taken to be a merchant; and, for his subtle wit, was elected to treat of such an ambassage, as the French king had given him in commission.

This *Jokin* was secretly conveyed to Richmond, and there staid, until such time as the cardinal resorted thither to him, where, after Easter term was ended, he kept his feast of Whitfontide very solemnly; in which season, my lord cardinal caused this *Jokin* divers times to dine with him, who seemed to be both witty, and of good behaviour. He continued long in England after this, till at the last, as it should seem, he had brought the matter, which he had in commission, to pass. Whereupon, the king sent out immediately a restraint unto Sir John Russel, that he should retain that month's pay still in his hands, until the king's pleasure should be further made known, which should have been paid to the duke, being then incamped within the town of Pavia. For want of which money, the duke and his men were much dismayed, when they saw no money come, as it was wont to do; and, being in this dangerous case, where victuals began to grow scanty and very dear, they imagined many ways what should be the reason that the king's money came not; some said this, and some said that, mistrusting nothing less than the true cause thereof.

CHAP. XII.

Of the duke of Bourbon's stratagem, and victory, wherein the French king was taken prisoner.

NOW the duke and his soldiers were in great misery, for want of victuals, and other necessities, which they could, by no means, get within the town:

hereupon, the captains and soldiers began to grudge and murmur, being, for want of victuals, all like to perish; and, being in this extremity, came before the duke, and said, 'Sir, we must, of force and necessity, yield to our enemies; and better were it for us so to do, than to starve like dogs.' But, when the duke heard this, he replied, with weeping tears, 'Sirs, you have proved yourselves valiant men, and of noble hearts, in this service; and, for your necessity, whereof I myself do participate, I do not a little lament; but I shall desire you, as you are noble in heart and courage, so to take patience, for two or three days, and, if succour come not then from the king of England, as I doubt nothing less, I will then consent to you all, to put ourselves and lives unto the mercy of our enemies;' whereunto they all agreed, and tarried till two days were passed, expecting relief from the king: then, the duke, seeing no remedy, called his noble captains and soldiers before him, and, weeping, said, 'You noblemen, and captains, we must yield ourselves unto our enemies, or else famish; and, to yield the town and ourselves, I know well the cruelty of our enemies; as for my part, I pass not for their cruelties, for I shall suffer death, I know very well, most cruelly, if I come once into their hands: it is not, therefore, for myself that I do lament, it is for your sakes, it is for your lives, and for the safeguard of your persons, for, so that you might escape your enemies hands, I would willingly suffer death. Good companions, and noble soldiers, I do require you all, considering the miserable calamities and dangers we are in, at this present, to sell our lives most dearly, rather than to be murdered like beasts; therefore, if you all consent with me, we will take upon us, this night, to give our enemies assault, and by that means, we may either escape, or else give them an overthrow; for it were better to die in the field, like men, than to live, prisoners, miserable in captivity; to which they all agreed.

'Then (quoth the duke) you all perceive the enemies camp is strong, and there is no way to enter upon them, but one, and that entry is planted with great ordnance, and strength of men, so that it is impossible to attain to our enemies, that way, to fight with them in their camp; and also, now of late, you perceive, they have had but small doubt of us, in regard they have kept but slender watch.

'Therefore, my advice is, there shall issue out of the town, in the dead time of the night, from us, a certain number of you, that be the most likely to assault the camp, and they shall give the assault, secretly, against the place of the entry, which is most strong and invincible; which force, and valiant assault, shall be to them, of the camp, so doubtful, that they will turn the strength of the entry, that lieth over-against your assault, to beat you from your purpose; then will I enter out, at the postern-gate, and come to the place of their strength newly turned, and there, before they be aware, will I enter, and fight

‘ fight with them in the camp, and win their ordnance, which they have newly turned, and beat them with their own pieces, and then may you come, and join with me in the field.’

This device pleased them all wonderful well, who did then prepare themselves, all that day, for that device, and kept themselves secret and close, without any noise, or shot of pieces, in the town, which gave the enemy the less fear of the assault; for, at night, they went all to their tents, and couched quietly, nothing mistrusting what after happened; so, in the dead of the night, when they were all at rest, the assailants issued out of the town, and there, according to the duke's appointment, they gave so cruel and fierce an assault, that they, in the camp, had much ado to withstand them; and then, as the duke before declared, they, within, were compelled to turn the shot, that lay at the entry, against the assault; then issued out the duke, and, with him, about fifteen or sixteen hundred men, or more, secretly in the night. The enemy being ignorant of his coming, until he entered the field, and, at his entry, he took all the ordnance that lay there, and slew the gunners; then charged the pieces against the enemies, and slew them wonderfully, and cut down their tents and pavilions, and murdered many therein, before they were aware of his coming, suspecting nothing less than his entry; so that he won the field, before the king could arise, and the king was taken in his lodging, before he was harnessed. And, when the duke had won the field, the French king taken, and his men slain; his tents robbed and spoiled, and the king's coffers searched; the duke of Bourbon found the league, under the great seal of England, newly made, between the king of England and the French king, whereby he perceived the impediment of his money, which should have come to him from the king, having, upon due search of this matter, further intelligence, that all this business was devised by the cardinal of England: whereupon, the duke conceived such indignation against the cardinal, that he went immediately to Rome, and there intended to sack the town, and to have taken the pope; but, at the first assault of the town, the duke was the first man that was there slain; notwithstanding, the captains continued their assaults, and, at last, many of the town fled, with the pope, to the castle of Angelo, where he continued in great calamity.

I have written this history more at large, because it was thought the cause of all this mischief; wherefore, you may see, whatsoever a man doth purpose, be he prince or prelate, yet God dispatcheth all things at his pleasure and will, it being a folly for any wise man to take upon him any weighty enterprise of his own will, without calling upon God, for his grace and assistance in all his proceedings.

I have seen princes, either when they would call a parliament, or any other great assembly, that they would first call to God, most reverently, for his grace therein; and now I see the contrary, as it seems, they trust more to their own minds and wills, than to God's

good grace, and, even thereafter, oftentimes do their matters take effect; wherefore, not only in this history, but divers others, may be perceived most evident examples. Yet I see no man, almost, in authority, or high estate, regard the same; which is the greater pity, and the more to be lamented. Now here I desist to speak any further of this matter, and to proceed to others.

CHAP. XIII.

Of the French king's redemption out of captivity, and the Cardinal's ambassage into France.

UPON the taking of the French king, there were divers consultations, and various opinions amongst the council; some held, that our sovereign lord the king could invade the realm of France, and might easily conquer the same: forasmuch as the king, with the most part of the noblemen of France, were in captivity; some said again, That the king, our master, ought to have had the French king prisoner, forasmuch as he was taken by our king's champion, and captain-general, the duke of Bourbon, and the emperor; insomuch that the king was advised, thereby, to occasion of war against the emperor, because he kept the king of France out of our king's possession, with divers imaginations and devices, as their fancies served, which were too long here to relate.

Thus were they in long consideration, whereof every man in the court talked as his fancy served him, until, at the last, divers ambassadors, from the realm of France, came to the king our lord, desiring him to take order with the emperor for the French king's delivery, as his highness's wisdom should think best, wherein my lord cardinal bore great rule; so that, after great deliberation and advice taken, it was thought good, by the cardinal, that the emperor should deliver the French king out of his ward, upon sufficient pledges.

And, afterwards, it was thought meet, that the king's two sons, that is to say, the dauphin and the duke of Orleans, should be delivered, in hostage, for security of the emperor, and the king our sovereign lord, upon all such demands and requests, as should be demanded of the French king, as well by the emperor, as by our sovereign lord.

The cardinal lamenting the French king's captivity, and the pope's great adversity, who yet remained in the castle of Angelo, either as prisoner, or else for defence against his enemies, endeavoured, and laboured all that he could, with the king and his council, to take some order, for the quietness of them both.

At the last, as you heard before, divers of the great states, and lords of the council, with my lady Anne, lay in continual wait, to espy a convenient occasion, to take the cardinal in a snare.

Therefore, they consulted with the cardinal, and informed him, that they thought it a necessary time for him, to take upon him the king's commission, to travel

vel beyond the seas, and, by his wisdom, to compass a present peace amongst these great princes and potentates, encouraging him thereto, and alledging, that it was more meet for his wisdom, discretion, and authority, to bring so weighty a matter to pass, than any other within this realm; their intent was no other, but to get him from the king, that they might adventure, by the help of their chief mistress, to deprave him unto the king, and so, in his absence, bring him into his disgrace, or, at the least, to be in less estimation.

Well, the matter was so handled, that the cardinal was commanded to prepare himself for the journey, which he took upon him, but, whether willingly or not, I cannot say; but this I know, that he made so short abode, after the perfect resolution thereof, that he caused all things to be prepared speedily for his journey, and every one of his servants were appointed, that should attend him in the same.

When all things were concluded, and provided for this noble journey, he advanced forwards, in the name of God. My lord had with him such of the lords and bishops, as were not of the conspiracy.

Then marched he forward from his new house at Westminster, through all London, over London-Bridge, having a great many gentlemen, in a rank, before him, in velvet coats, and the most part of them, with chains of gold about their necks. And all his yeomen followed him, with noblemen, and great men's servants, all in orange-tawny coats, and the cardinal's hat, with T. and C. for Thomas Cardinal, embroidered upon them, as well upon his own servants coats, as all the rest of the gentlemen, and his sumpter mules, which were twenty, and more, in number: and when all his carriages and carts, and other his train, were passed before, he rode very sumptuously, like a cardinal, with the rest of his train on his mule, with his spare mule, and his spare horse, covered with crimson velvet, and gilded stirrups, following him. And, before him, he had his two great silver crosses, his pillars of silver, the king's broad-seal of England, and his cardinal's hat, and a gentleman carrying his balance, otherwise called his *cloke-bag*, which was made of fine scarlet, all embroidered, very richly, with gold. Thus he passed through London, as I said before; and, all the way in his said journey, he was thus furnished, having his harbingers, in every place, before, which prepared lodgings for him, and his said train.

The first journey he made was two miles beyond Deptford in Kent, to Sir Richard Wiltshire's house; the rest of his train were lodged in Deptford, and in the country thereabouts.

The next day he marched to Rochester, where he lay in the bishop's palace, and the rest were lodged in the city.

The third day, he rose from thence to Faversham, and there lodged in the abbey, and his train in the town, and some about in the country.

The fourth day, he rode to Canterbury, where he was kindly entertained by the bishop of the city, and there he continued four or five days. In which season was the jubilee, and a great fair in the town, by reason it was the feast of St. Thomas, their patron; upon which day, there was a solemn procession, wherein my lord cardinal was in his legantine ornaments, with his hat upon his head, who commanded the monks and the quire, to sing the Latin after this sort, 'Sancta Maria ora pro Papa Nostro Clemente,' and in this manner, perused the Latin through; my lord cardinal kneeling at a stool before the quire-door, prepared for him, with carpets and cushions: all the monks, and the quire, stood in the body, singing the Litany; at which time I saw my lord cardinal weep tenderly, which James, I, and others, conceived to be for grief, that the pope was in such calamity, and danger of the lance-knights.

The next day, I was sent with letters from my lord, to a cardinal in Calais, in post, so that I was, the same night, in Calais. At my arrival, I found, standing upon the pier, without the Lanthorn-gate, all the council of the town, to whom I delivered up my message, and my letters, before I entered the town; where I lay until my lord came thither, who arrived two days after my coming thither, before eight o'clock in the morning, and was received of all the noble officers and council of the town, and the mayor of the staple, with procession, the clerks being in rich copes, having many rich crosses.

In the lanthorn-gate, a stool, with cushions and carpets, was set for him, where he kneeled, and made his prayers: at which time, they fenced him with seizures of silver, and sprinkled water; that done, they passed on before him, in procession, until he came unto St. Mary's church, where, at the high altar, turning him to the people, he gave them his benediction and pardon, and then he repaired, with a great number of noblemen and gentlemen, to a place in the town, called the Chequer, where he kept his house, so long as he abode in the town, going immediately into his naked bed, because he was somewhat troubled with sickness, by reason of his passage by sea.

That night he called unto him Monsieur de Bees, captain of Bulloigne, with divers others gallants and gentlemen, who had dined with him that day, and, having some further consultation with my lord cardinal, he and the rest of the gentlemen departed again to Bulloigne.

Thus my lord was daily visited with one or other of the French nobility.

When all his train and carriage were landed, and all things prepared for his journey, his grace called all his noblemen and gentlemen into the privy-chamber, where being assembled before him, he said: I have called you hither to declare unto you, that I would have you both consider the duty you owe to me, and the good-will I seemably bear to you for the same. Your intendment of service is to further the authority
I have

I have by commission from the king, which diligent observance of yours I will hereafter recommend to his majesty; as also to shew you the nature of the Frenchmen, and withal to instruct you with the reverence you shall use me, for the high honour of the king's majesty, and to inform you how you shall entertain, and accompany the Frenchmen, when you meet at any time.

Concerning the first point, you shall understand for divers weighty affairs of his grace's, and for mere advancement of his royal dignity, he hath assigned me in this journey to be his lieutenant; what reverence therefore belongeth to me for the same, I will shew you.

By virtue therefore of my commission and lieutenantship, I assume and take upon me to be esteemed in all honour and degrees of service, as unto his highness is meet and due, and that by me nothing be neglected that to his state is due and appertinent; for my part, you shall see that I will not omit one jot thereof: therefore, one of the chief causes of your assembly, at this time, is to inform you, that you be not ignorant of your duty in this; I wish you, therefore, as you would have my favour, and also charge you all in the king's name, that you do not forget the same in time and place, but that every of you do observe his duty to me, according as you will, at your return, avoid the king's indignation, or deserve his highness's thanks; the which I will set forth at our return, as each of you shall deserve.

Now to the second point, the nature of the Frenchmen is such, that at their first meeting they will be as familiar with you, as if they had known you by long acquaintance, and will commune with you in their French tongue, as if you knew every word; therefore, use them in a kind manner, and be as familiar with them as they are with you; if they speak to you in their natural tongue, speak to them in English, for if you understand not them, no more shall they you. Then speaking merrily to one of the gentlemen, being a Welchman; Rice, quoth he, speak thou Welch to them, and doubt not but thy speech will be more difficult to them, than their French shall be to thee. Moreover, he said unto them all, let your entertainment and behaviour be according to all gentlemen's in humility, that it may be reported, after our departure from thence, that you were gentlemen of very good behaviour and humility; that all men may know you understand your duties to your king, and to your master. Thus shall you not only obtain to yourselves great commendations and praises, but also greatly advance your prince and country.

Now being admonished of these things, prepare yourselves against to-morrow, for then we purpose to set forward. Therefore, we his servants being thus instructed, and all things being in a readiness, proceeded forward; the next day being Mary Magdalen's day, my lord cardinal advanced out of Calais, with such a number of black coats as hath been seldom seen; with the ambassador, went all the peers of Ca-

lais and Groynes. All other gentlemen, besides those of his train, were garnished with black velvet coats, and chains of gold. Thus passed he forward, with his troop before, three in a rank, which compass extended three quarters of a mile in length, having his crosses, and all other his accustomed glorious furniture carried before him, as I have formerly related, except the broad seal, the which he left with doctor Taylor, then master of the rolls, until his return.

Thus passing on his way, we had scarce gone a mile, but it began to rain so vehemently, that I have not seen the like for the time; which endured until we came to Bulloigne, and before we came to Standingfield the cardinal of Lorraine, a goodly young gentleman, gave my lord a meeting, and received him with much joy and reverence, and so passed forth with my lord in communication, until we came near the said Standingfield, which is a religious place, standing between the English, French, and Imperial dominions, being a neuter, holding of neither of them. Then there we waited for my lord le count Brian, captain of Picardy, with a great number of stradigats or arboncies standing in array, in a great piece of green oats, all in harness upon light horses, passing on with my lord in a wing into Bulloigne, and so after into Picardy, for my lord doubted, that the emperor would lay some ambushment to betray him; for which cause, he commanded them to attend my lord for the safety of his own person, to conduct him from the danger of his enemies.

Thus rode he accompanied, until he came nigh to Bulloigne, within an English mile, where all the worshipful citizens of Bulloigne came and met him, having a learned man that made an oration in Latin to him, unto the which my lord made answer; and that done, Monsieur de Bees, captain of Bulloigne, with his retinue, met him on horseback, with all his assembly. Thus he marched into the town, lighting at the abbey gate, from whence he was conveyed into the abbey with procession, and there they presented him with the image of our lady, commonly called, *Our Lady of Bulloigne*, where were always great offerings; that done, he gave his blessing to the people, with certain days of pardon: then went he into the abbey to his lodging, but all his train were lodged in the high bafe town.

The next day, after he had heard mass, he rode to Mutterel, where he was in like manner saluted by the worshipful of the town, all in livery alike, where also a learned oration was made to him in Latin, which his grace answered again in Latin. And as he entered in at the gate, there was a canopy of silk, embroidered with like letters, as his men had on their coats: and when he was alighted, his footmen had it, as due to their office. There were also made pageants for joy of his coming, who was called in the French tongue, whither he rode or came, *Le Cardinal de Patifagas*, and in Latin, *Cardinalus Patifagus*, and was accompanied all that night with the gentlemen of the country thereabouts.

The

The next day he took his journey towards Aboville, where he was in like manner entertained, and conveyed into the town, and most honourably welcomed with divers kinds of pageants, both costly, and wittily contrived to every turning of the streets; as he rode through the town, having a canopy borne over him, richer than at Muterel; and so conveyed him to his lodging, which was a fair house, newly built with brick, at which house the French king, Lewis, was married to the king's sister, which was married after to the duke of Suffolk. In this town of Aboville he remained eight or nine days, where resorted unto him divers of the French king's council, every day continually feasting, and entertaining him, and the other lords.

At the time of his departing out of the town, he rode to a castle beyond the water, called by some, *Le Channel Percequeine*, standing and adjoining to the said water, upon a great hill and rock, within the which there was a college of priests: the situation whereof was like to the castle of Windsor in England; and there he was received with a solemn procession, conveying him first to the church, and then to the castle upon the bridge, over the water of Some, where King Edward the Fourth met with the French king, as you may read at large in the Chronicles of England.

My lord was no sooner seated in his lodging, but I heard, that the French king would come that day to the city of Amience, which was not above six English miles from thence. And being desirous to see his coming thither, I took with me two of my lord's gentlemen, and rode presently thither: and being but strangers, we took up our lodging at the sign of the Angel, directly over-against the west-door of the cathedral church, *De nostre Dame*, where we staid in expectation of the king's coming: and about four of the clock, came madam regent the king's mother, riding in a very rich chariot, and with her within was the queen of Navarre, her daughter, attended with a hundred or more of ladies and gentlewomen following, every one riding upon a white palfrey, also her guard, which was no small number. And within two days after the king came in, with a great shot of guns, and there were divers pageants, made only for joy of his coming, having about his person, and before him, a great number of noblemen and gentlemen, in three companies: the first, were Switzers and Burgonians with guns; the second were Frenchmen with bows; the third were *Le Carpe-full* Scotchmen, who were more comely persons than all the rest. The French guard and Scotch had all one livery, being apparelled with rich coats of white cloth, with a guard of silver bullion of a handful broad: the king came riding on a rich jennet, and did alight at the said great church, and was conveyed with procession to the bishop's palace, where he was lodged. The next morning, I rode again to Picqueny, to attend upon my lord, and when I came, my lord was ready to go on horseback, to ride towards Amience, and passing on his way, he was saluted by divers noble personages, mak-

ing him orations in Latin, to whom my lord made answer, *extempore*.

Then was word brought him, that the king was ready to meet him, wherefore he had no other shift but to light at an old chapel that stood hard by the highway, and there he newly apparelled himself in rich array; and so mounted again upon another mule, very richly trapped with a foot-cloth of crimson velvet, purled with gold, and fringed about the edges with a fringe of gold very costly, his stirrups of silver gilt, bosses of the same, and the cheeks of his mule's bit were all gilt with fine gold; and by that time he was mounted again in this gorgeous manner, the king was come very near, within less than an English quarter of a mile, his guard standing in array upon the top of an high hill, expecting my lord's coming; to whom my lord made as much haste as conveniently he could, until he came within a pair of butts length, and there he staid. The king perceiving that, caused Monsieur Van de Mount to issue from him, and to ride to my lord cardinal, to know the cause of his tarrying; and so Monsieur Van de Mount, being mounted upon a very fair jennet, took his race with his horse till he came even to my lord, and then he caused his horse to come aloft twice or thrice so near my lord's mule, that he was in doubt of his horse, and so alighted, and in humble reverence did his message to my lord; that done, he repaired to the king.

And then the king advanced forward, seeing my lord do the like, and in the mid-way they meet, embracing each other with amiable countenances. Then came into the place all noblemen and gentlemen, on both parts, who made a mighty press.

Then the king's officers cried, *Penant de la vant, i. e. March, march*: so the king, with the lord cardinal on his right hand, rode towards Amience, every English gentleman being accompanied with another of France. The train of these two great princes was two miles in length, that is to say, from the place of their meeting unto Amience, where they were nobly received with guns and pageants, until the king had brought my lord to his lodging, and then departed for that night: the king being lodged in the bishop's palace. And the next day, after dinner, my lord rode with a great train of English noblemen and gentlemen, unto the court to the king, at which time the king kept his bed; yet nevertheless, my lord came into his bed-chamber, where on the one side of the bed sat the king's mother, and on the other side the cardinal of Lorraine, accompanied with divers other gentlemen of France, and after some communication, and drinking of wine, with the king's mother, my lord departed, and returned to his own lodging, accompanied with divers other lords and gentlemen.

Thus continued my lord at Amience, and also the king, fourteen days feasting each other divers times, and there one day at mass, the king and my lord received the holy sacrament, as also the queen regent, and the queen of Navarre; after that it was determined, that the king and my lord should remove, and

so they rode to a city called Champaigne, which was more than twenty miles from Anrience, unto which town I was sent to provide lodging for my lord; and in my travel, I having occasion to stay by the way at a little village, to shoe my horse, there came to me a servant from the castle, there perceiving me to be an Englishman, and of my lord legate's servants, as they then called my lord; and desired me to go into the castle to the lord his master, who he thought would be very glad to see me: to whom I consented, because I desired acquaintance with strangers, especially with men of authority and honourable rank; so I went with him, who conducted me to the castle, and at my first entrance I was among the watchmen who kept the first ward, being very tall men and comely persons, who saluted me very kindly; and knowing the cause of my coming, they advertised their lord and master; and forthwith the lord of the castle came out unto me, whose name was Monsieur Crookisley, a nobleman born; and at his coming he embraced me, saying, that I was heartily welcome, and thanked me that I was so gentle as to visit him and his castle, saying, that he was preparing to meet the king, and my lord cardinal, and to invite them to his castle; and when he had shewed me the strength of his castle, and the walls, which were fourteen feet broad, and I had seen all the houses, he brought me down into a fair inner court, where his jennet stood ready for him, with twelve other of the fairest jennets that ever I saw, especially his own, which was a mare; which jennet, he told me, he had four hundred crowns offered for her; upon these twelve jennets were mounted twelve goodly gentlemen, called pages of honour; they rode all bare-headed, in coats of cloth of gold, guarded with black velvet, and they had all of them boots of red Spanish leather.

Then took he his leave of me, commanding his steward, and other of his gentlemen, to conduct me to his lady to dinner; so they led me up to the Gate-house, where then their lady and mistress lay, for the time that the king and the cardinal should tarry there. And after a short time, the Lady Crookisley came out of her chamber into her dining-room, where I attended her coming, who did receive me very nobly, like herself, she having a train of twelve gentlemen that did attend on her. Forasmuch, quoth she, as you are an English gentleman, whose custom is to kiss all ladies and gentlewomen in your country without offence, yet it is not so in this realm; notwithstanding, I will be so bold as to kiss you, and so shall you salute all my maids. After this we went to dinner, being as nobly served as ever I saw any in England, passing all dinner-time in pleasing discourses.

And shortly after dinner I took my leave, and was constrained that night to lie short of Champaigne, at a great walled town, called Moundrodrey, the suburbs whereof my lord of Suffolk had lately burned; and early in the morning I came to Champaigne, being Saturday and market-day, where at my first coming I took up my inn over-against the market-place, and

being set at dinner in a fair chamber, that looked out into the street, I heard a great noise, and clattering of bills; and looking out, I saw the officers of the town bringing a prisoner to execution, and with a sword cut off his head. I demanded what was the offence, they answered me, for killing of red-deer in the forest near adjoining. And incontinently they held the poor man's head upon a pole in the market-place, between the stag's horns, and his four quarters set up in four places of the forest.

Having prepared my cardinal's lodging in the great castle of the town, and seen it furnished, my lord had the one half assigned, and the king the other half; and in like manner they divided the gallery between them; and in the midst thereof there was made a strong wall, with a window and a door, where the king and my lord did often meet and talk, and divers times go one to the other through the same door. Also there was lodged in the same castle madam regent, the king's mother, and all the ladies and gentlewomen that did attend on her.

Not long after came the lord chancellor of France, a very witty man, with all the king's grave counsellors, where they took great pains daily in consultation. At which time, I heard my lord cardinal fall out with the chancellor of France, laying to his charge, that he went about to hinder the league which was before his coming concluded upon by the king our sovereign lord, and the French king their master. Insomuch that my lord stomached him stoutly, and told him, it was not he that should infringe the amiable friendship. And if the French king his master, being there present, would follow his, the chancellor's counsel, he should not fail, shortly after his return, to feel the smart, what it was to maintain war against the king of England, and thereof he should be well assured; insomuch that his angry speech and bold countenance made them all doubt how to quiet him to the council, who was then departed in a great fury.

Now here was sending, here was coming, here was intreating, and here was great submission and intercession, made unto him to reduce him to his former communication, who would in no ways relent, until madam regent came to him herself, who handled the matter so well that she brought him to his former communication, and by that means he brought all things to pass, that before he could not compass, which was more out of fear than affection, the French king had to the matter in hand; for now he had got the heads of all the council under his girdle.

The next morning, early after this conflict, the cardinal arose about four of the clock, and sat him down to write letters into England unto the king, commanding one of his chaplains to prepare him ready; insomuch that the chaplain stood ready in his vestures until four of the clock in the afternoon. All which season my lord never rose to eat any meat, but continually writ letters with his own hand; and about four of the clock in the afternoon he made an end of writing, commanding one Christopher Gunner, the king's serjeant,

serjeant, to prepare himself without delay to ride post into England, with his letters, whom he dispatched away before ever he drank. That done, he went to mass and mattins, and other devotions with his chaplains, as he was accustomed to do; and then went to walk in a garden the space of an hour and more, and then said evening song, and so went to dinner and supper, making no long stay, and so went to bed.

The next night following, my lord caused a great supper to be made, or rather a banquet, for madam regent, and the queen of Navarre, and other noble personages, lords and ladies. At which supper was madam Lewis, one of the daughters of Lewis, the last king, whose sister lately died; these two sisters were by their mother inheritors of the duchy of Bretagne. And, forasmuch as King Francis had married one of the sisters, by which he had one moiety of the said duchy, he kept the said Madam Lewis, the other sister, without marriage, to the intent the whole duchy might descend to him, or his successors after his death, for lack of issue of her.

But now let us return to the supper or banquet, where all those noble personages were highly feasted. And in the midst of the said banquet, the French king, and the king of Navarre, came suddenly in, who took their places in the lowest part thereof: there was not only plenty of fine meats, but also much mirth and solace, as well in merry communion, as also the noise of my lord's musick, who played there all that night so cunningly, that the two kings took great delight therein, insomuch that the French king desired my lord to lend them unto him for the next night. And after the supper or banquet ended, the lords fell to dancing, amongst whom one Madam Fountaine had the praise. And thus passed they the most part of the night before they parted.

The next day the king took my lord's musick, and rode to a nobleman's house, where was some living image, to whom he had vowed a night's pilgrimage; and to perform his devotion when he came there, which was in the night, he danced and caused others to do the same, and the next morning he returned to Champaigne.

The king being at Champaigne, gave order that a wild boar should be lodged for him in the forest, whither my lord cardinal went with him to see him hunt the wild boar, where the lady regent, with a number of ladies and damsels were standing in chariots, looking upon the toil; amongst these ladies stood my lord cardinal to regard the hunting, in the lady regent's chariot. And within the toil was the king, with divers ladies of France, ready furnished for the high and dangerous enterprize of hunting of this perilous wild swine.

The king being in his doublet and hose all of sheep's colour cloth, richly trimmed, in his slip, a brace of very great greyhounds, who were armed as their manner there is, to defend them from the violence of the beast's tusks. And the rest of the king's gentlemen, that were appointed to hunt, were likewise in their

doublets and hose, holding each of them a very sharp boar's spear. Then the king commanded the keepers to uncouch the boar; and that every person within the toil should go to a standing, among whom were divers gentlemen of England.

The boar presently issued out of his den, and being pursued by a hound, came into the plain, where he staid awhile, gazing upon the people, and the hound drawing near him, he espied a bush upon a bank; under the bush lay two Frenchmen, who fled thither, thinking there to be safe; but the boar smelling them, and thrusting his head into the bush, these two men came away from thence, as men use to fly from the danger of death.

Then was the boar, by violence of the hunters, driven from thence, who run straight to one of my lord's footmen, being a very tall man, who had in his hand an English javelin, with which he defended himself a great while. But the boar continued foaming at him, with his great tusks; at the last, the boar broke in sunder his javelin, so that he was glad to draw his sword, and therewith stood upon his guard, until the hunters came and rescued him, and put the boar once again to flight to another gentleman of England, one Mr. Ratcliff, who was son and heir to the Lord Fitzwalter, now earl of Suffex, who, by his boar's spear, rescued himself. There were many other passages, but I forbear prolixity, and return to the matter in hand.

Many days were spent in consultation, and expectation of Christopher Gunner's return, who was formerly sent post into England with letters, as I said before: at last he returned with letters, upon receipt whereof my lord prepared, with all expedition, to return to England.

The morning that my lord intended to remove, being at mass in his closet, he consecrated the chancellor of France a cardinal, and put his hat on his head, and his cap of scarlet, and then took his journey, and returned into England with all the expedition he could, and came to Sayne, and was there nobly entertained of my Lord Staines, who was captain of that place; and from thence went to Calais, where he staid a while for shipping of his goods, and, in the mean time, he established a work to be there kept for all nations: but how long, or in what sort; it continued, I know not; for I never heard of any great good it did, or of any assembly of merchants, or traffick of merchandize, that were brought thither for so great and mighty a matter, as was intended for the good of the town. This being established, he took shipping for Dover, and from thence rode post to court.

The king being then in his progress at Sir Henry Wyat's house in Kent, of whom I and others of his servants thought he should have been nobly entertained, as well of the king himself, as of the nobles. But we were all deceived in our expectation. Notwithstanding, he went immediately to the king after his return, with whom he had long talk, and continued two or three days after in the court, and then retired

to his house at Westminster, where he remained till Michaelmas-term, which was within a fortnight after, and there he exercised his place of chanceryship, as he had done before.

And, immediately after the beginning of the term, he caused to be assembled in the star-chamber all the noblemen, judges, and justices of the peace of every shire throughout England, that were at Westminster-hall then present. And there he made a long oration, declaring the cause of his ambassage into France, and of his proceedings therein: saying, That he had concluded such an amity and peace, as was never heard of in this realm, between our sovereign lord the king's majesty, the emperor, and the French king, for a perpetual peace, which shall be confirmed in writing, under the seals of both realms, engraven in gold: offering further, that our king should receive yearly, by that name, out of the duchy of Normandy, all the charges and losses he had sustained in the wars.

And also, forasmuch as there was a restraint made of the French queen's dowry (whom the duke of Suffolk had married) for many years together during the wars, it was concluded, That she should not only receive the same, according to her just right, but also the arrearages, being unpaid during the said restraint, should be perfected shortly after. The resort of ambassadors out of France should be such a great number of noblemen and gentlemen, to confirm the same, as hath not been seen, heretofore, repair hither out of one realm.

This peace thus concluded, there shall be such an amity between them of each realm, and intercourse of merchandize, that it shall be seen to all men to be but one monarchy. Gentlemen and others may travel from one country to another, for their recreations and pleasure; and merchants of either country may traffick safely, without fear of danger; so that this realm shall ever after flourish.

Therefore may all Englishmen well rejoice, and set forth the truth of this ambassy in the country. Now, my masters, I beseech you, and require you, in the king's behalf, that you shew yourselves as loving and obedient subjects, in whom the king may much rejoice, &c. And so he ended his oration, and broke up the court for that time.

CHAP. XIV.

Of the French ambassadors entertainment and dispatch.

NOW the great long looked-for ambassadors are arrived, being in number eight persons, of the noblest and most worthy gentlemen in all France; who were nobly received from place to place, and so conveyed, through London, to the bishop's palace in Paul's church-yard, where they were lodged; to whom divers noblemen resorted, and gave them noble presents, (especially the mayor of the city of London) as, wines, sugars, beeves, muttens, capons, wild fowl,

wax, and other necessary things in abundance, for the expences of his house.

They resorted to the court, being then at Greenwich, on Sunday, and were received of the king's majesty, of whom they were entertained highly.

They had a commission to establish our king's highness in the order of France; to whom they brought, for that intent, a collar of fine gold, with a Michael hanging thereat, and robes appertaining to the said order; which were of blue velvet, and richly embroidered; wherein I saw the king pass to the closet, and afterwards in the same to mass.

And, to gratify the French king for his great honour, he sent incontinently noblemen here in England, of the order of the garter; which garter the herald carried into France unto the French king, to establish him in the order of the garter, with a rich collar and garter, and robes according to the same; the French ambassadors still remaining here until the return of the English.

All things being then determined and concluded concerning the perpetual peace, upon solemn ceremonies and oaths, contained in certain instruments concerning the same, it was concluded there should be a solemn mass sung in the cathedral church of Paul in London, by the cardinal, the king being present at the same in his traverse to perform all things determined.

And, for the preparation thereof, there was a gallery from the west-door of Paul's church, through the body of the same, up to the choir, and so to the high altar into the traverse. My lord cardinal prepared himself to sing the mass, associated with twenty-four mitres of bishops and abbots, who attended him with such ceremonies as to him were then due, by reason of his legative prerogative.

And, after the last Agnus, the king rose out of the traverse, and kneeled upon a carpet and cushions before the high altar; and the like did the great master of France, chief ambassador, that here represented the king's person of France; between whom the lord cardinal divided the blessed sacrament, as a perfect oath and bond for security of the said covenants of the said perpetual peace.

That done, the king went again into the traverse, this mass being ended, which was solemnly sung both by the choir of the same church, and all the king's chapel.

Then my lord took and read the articles of peace openly before the king and all others, both English and French; and there, in sight of all the people, the king put his hand to the gold seal, and subscribed with his own hand, and delivered the same to the grand master of France, as his deed, who semblably did the like. That done, they departed, and rode home with the cardinal, and dined with him, passing all the day after in consultation of weighty affairs touching the articles and conclusion of the said peace.

Then the king departed to Greenwich by water; at whose departure it was concluded, by the king's device,

vice, that all the Frenchmen should remove to Richmond, and hunt there; and from thence to Hampton-court, and there to hunt likewise; and the lord cardinal there to make a banquet, or supper, or both; and from thence they should ride to Windsor, and there hunt; and afterwards return to the king at Greenwich, and there to banquet with him before their departure.

This determined, they all repaired to their lodgings; then was there no more to do, but to make preparation in all things for the entertainment of this great assembly at Hampton-court, at the time appointed by my lord cardinal, who called before him all his chief officers, as stewards, treasurers, clerks, and comptrollers of his kitchen; to whom he declared his whole mind touching the entertainment of the Frenchmen at Hampton-court; to whom he also gave command neither to spare for any cost, or expence, nor pains to make them such a triumphant banquet, that they might not only wonder at it here, but also make a glorious report, to the great honour of our king and this realm.

Thus, having made known his pleasure to accomplish his commandment, they sent out all the carriers, purveyors, and other persons to my lord's friends to prepare: also they sent to all expert cooks, and cunning persons in the art of cookery in London, or elsewhere, that might be gotten, to beautify the noble feast.

Then the purveyors provided, and my lord's friends sent in such provision, that it was a wonder to see it.

The cooks wrought both day and night in many curious devices, where was no lack of gold, silver, or any other costly thing; the yeomen and grooms of his wardrobe were busied in hanging the chambers with costly hangings, and furnishing the same with beds of silk, and other furniture for the same in every degree.

Then my lord sent me, being his gentleman-usher, and two others of my fellows, to foresee all things touching our rooms to be richly garnished; wherein our pains was not small; but daily we travelled up and down, from chamber to chamber, to see things fitted.

Then wrought joiners, carpenters, painters, and all other artificers needful, that there was nothing wanting to adorn this noble feast. There was carriage and re-carriage of plate, stuff, and other rich implements, so that there was nothing lacking, that could be devised or imagined for that purpose. There were also provided two hundred and eighty beds, with all manner of furniture to them, too long here to be related.

The day assigned to the Frenchmen being come, they were ready assembled before the hour of their appointment; wherefore the officers caused them to ride to Hanworth, a park of the king's within three miles of Hampton-court, there to spend the time in hunting till night; which they did and then returned, and every of them were conveyed to their several chambers, having in them good fires, and stores of wine, where they remained till supper was ready.

The chambers, where they supped and banqueted, were adorned thus:

First, the great waiting-chamber was hung with very rich cloth of arras; and so all the rest, some better than others; and furnished with tall yeomen to serve. There were set tables round about the chambers, banquet-wise, covered; also a cupboard, garnished with white plate, having also in the same chamber four great plates, to give the more light, set with great lights; and a great fire of wood and coals.

The next chamber was the chamber of presence, richly hanged, also, with cloth of arras, and a sumptuous cloth of state, furnished with many goodly gentlemen to serve. The tables were ordered, in manner as the others were, save only the high table was removed beneath the cloth of state, towards the midst of the chamber, with six desks of plate, garnished all over with fine gold, saving one pair of candlesticks of silver, and gilded, with lights in the same; the cupboard was barred about, that no man could come very near it, for there were divers pieces of great store of plate to use; besides, the plates that hung on the walls, to give light, were silver, and gilt, with wax lights.

Now were all things in readiness, and supper fit; the principal officers caused the trumpets to blow, to warn them to supper: then the officers conducted the noblemen where they were to sup, and, they being set, the service came up, in such abundance, both costly, and full of devices, with such a pleasant noise of music, that the Frenchmen, as it seemed, were wrapped up in a heavenly paradise. You must understand, that my lord cardinal was not there all this while; but the French monsieurs were very merry with their rich fare, and curious cates and knacks; but, before the second course, my lord cardinal came in, booted and spurred, suddenly amongst them; at whose coming, there was great joy, every man rising from his place, whom my lord cardinal caused to sit still, and keep their places, and, being in his riding apparel, called for his chair, and sat him down in the midst of the high table, and was there as merry and pleasant, as ever I saw him in my life.

Presently after, came up the second course, which was above one hundred several devices, which were so goodly and costly, that, I think, the Frenchmen never saw the like.

But the rarest curiosity of all the rest, they all wondered at, which, indeed, was worthy of wonder, were castles, with images in the same, like St. Paul's church, for the model of it; there were beasts, birds, fowls, personages, most excellently made, some fighting with swords, some with guns, others with cross-bows, some dancing with ladies, some on horseback, with complete armour, jousting with long and sharp spears, with many more strange devices, which I cannot describe; amongst all, I noted, there was a chess-board made of spice plate, with men of the same, and of good proportion.

And, because the Frenchmen are very expert at that sport, my lord cardinal gave that game to a French gentleman, commanding, that there should be made a good case, to convey the same into his country.

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Then called my lord for a great bowl of gold, filled with hippocras, and, putting off his cap, said, 'I drink a health to the king my sovereign lord, and next unto the king your master.' And, when he had drank a hearty draught, he desired the grand master to pledge him a cup, which cup was worth five hundred marks; and so all the lords, in order, pledged these great princes. Then went the cup merrily about, so that many of the Frenchmen were led to their beds; then went my lord into his privy-chamber, making a short supper, or rather a short repast, and then returned again into the presence-chamber, amongst the Frenchmen, behaving himself in such a loving sort, and so familiarly towards them, that they could not sufficiently commend him.

And, while they were in communication and pastime, all their livery were served to their chambers; every chamber had a basin and ewer of silver, and a great livery-pot, with plenty of wine, and sufficient of every thing.

Thus furnished was every room about the house; when all was done, then were they conducted to their lodgings.

In the morning, after they had heard mass, they staid and dined with my lord, and so departed towards Windsor; and, as soon as they were gone, my lord returned to London, because it was in the midst of the term.

You must conceive, the king was privy to this magnificent feast, who then intended far to exceed the same, which I refer to the Frenchmen's return. Now the king had given command to his officers, to provide a far more sumptuous banquet for the strangers, than they had at the cardinal's, which was not neglected. After the return of these strangers from Windsor, which place they much commended for the situation thereof, the king invited them to the court, where they dined, and, after dinner, they danced, and had their pastime till supper-time.

Then was the banquet-chamber, in the little yard at Greenwich, furnished for the entertainment of these strangers, to which place they were conducted by the greatest personages, then being in the court, where they did both sup and banquet; but to describe to you the order hereof, the variety of costly dishes, and the curious devices, my weak ability, and shallow capacity, would much eclipse the magnificence thereof: but thus much take notice of, that, although that banquet at Hampton-court was marvellous sumptuous, yet this banquet excelled the same, as much as gold doth silver in value; and, for my part, I never saw the like.

In the midst of the banquet, there were turning at the barriers lusty gentlemen in complete armour, very gorgeous, on foot, and the like on horseback; and, after all this, there was such an excellent interlude, made in Latin, that I never saw or heard the like, the actors apparel being so gorgeous, and of such strange devices, that it passeth my poor capacity to relate them.

This being ended, there came a great company of ladies and gentlewomen, the chiefest beauties in the

realm of England, being as richly attired, as cost could make, or art devise, to set forth their gestures, proportions, or beauties, that they seemed to the beholders, rather like celestial angels, than terrestrial creatures, and, in my judgment, worthy of admiration; with whom the gentlemen of France danced and masked, every man choosing his lady, as his fancy served: that done, and the maskers departed, came in another mask of ladies and gentlewomen, so richly attired, as I cannot express; these ladies maskers took each of them one of the Frenchmen to dance, and here note, that these noble women spoke all of them good French, which delighted them much to hear the ladies speak to them in their own language.

Thus, triumphantly, did they spend the whole night, from five o'clock in the night, until two or three o'clock in the morning, at which time the gallants drew all to their lodgings, to take their rest.

As neither health, wealth, nor pleasure, can always last, so ended this triumphant banquet, which, being passed, seemed, in the morning, to the beholders, as a phantastick dream.

Now, after all this solemn banqueting, they prepared, with bag and baggage, to return; and, thereupon, repaired to the king, and, in order, every man took his leave of his majesty, and the nobles, by whom the king sent his princely pleasure and commendations to the king their master, thanking them for their pains; and, after great communication had with the great master of that ambassage, he bade them adieu.

Then they came to Westminster, to my lord cardinal, to do the like, of whom he received the king's reward, which I shall hereafter relate.

First, every man, of honour and estimation, had plate, some to the value of two or three hundred pounds, and some of four-hundred pounds, besides the great gifts before received of his majesty, as gowns of velvet, with rich furs, great chains of gold; and some had goodly horses of great value, with divers other gifts of great value, which I cannot call to remembrance; but the worst of them had the sum of twenty crowns; and thus, being nobly rewarded, my lord, after humble commendations to the French king, bade them farewell, and so they departed.

The next day, they were conveyed to Dover, to the sea-side, with all their furniture, being accompanied with many English young gallants; and what report of their royal entertainment they made in their own country, I never heard.

CHAP. XV.

Of the king's discovery of his love to Mrs. Anne Bullen to the cardinal, with the cardinal's dislike, and also the opinions of all the learned bishops in England, and foreign universities.

AFTER this began new matters, which troubled the heads and imaginations of all the court, where-
with

with all their stomachs were full, but little digestion, viz. the long concealed affection of the king to Mrs. Anne Bullen now broke out, which his majesty disclosed to the cardinal, whose often persuasions, on his knees, took no effect.

My lord, thereupon, being compelled to declare to his majesty his opinion and wisdom, in the advancement of the king's desires, thought it not safe for him to wade too far alone, or to give rash judgment in so weighty a matter, but desired leave of the king to ask counsel of men of ancient and famous learning, both in the divine and civil laws.

Now this being obtained, he, by his legantine authority, sent out his commissions for the bishops of this realm, who, not long after, assembled all at Westminster, before my lord cardinal; and not only these prelates, but also the most learned men of both universities, and some from divers cathedral colleges in this realm, who were thought sufficiently able to resolve this doubtful question.

At this learned assembly was the king's case consulted of, debated, argued, and judged, from day to day: but, in conclusion, when these ancient fathers of law and divinity parted, they were all of one judgment, and that contrary to the expectation of most men. And I heard some of the most famous and learned amongst them say, The king's case was too obscure for any man, and the points therein were doubtful, to have any resolution therein, and so, at that time, with a general consent, departed, without any resolution or judgment.

In this assembly of bishops, and divers other learned men, it was thought very expedient, that the king should send out his commissioners into all universities in Christendom, as well here in England, as foreign regions, there to have this case argued substantially, and to bring with them, from thence, every definition of their opinions of the same, under the seal of every university; and thus much, for this time, were their determinations.

And, thereupon, divers commissioners were presently appointed for this design; so some were sent to Cambridge, some to Oxford, some to Lorraine, others to Paris, some to Orleans, others to Padua, all at the proper costs and charges of the king, which, in the whole, amounted to a great sum of money; and all went out of this realm, besides the charge of the ambassage, to those famous and notable persons of all the universities, especially such as bore the rule, or had the custody of the university seals, who were fed by the commissioners with such great sums of money, that they did easily condescend to their requests, and grant their desires.

By reason whereof, all the commissioners returned with their purpose, furnished, according to their commissions, under the seal of every several university, whereat there was no small joy conceived of the principal parties; insomuch that ever after the commissioners were had in great estimation, and highly advanced, and liberally rewarded, far beyond their wor-

thy deserts. Notwithstanding, they prospered, and the matter went still forward, having now, as they thought, a sure staff to lean upon.

These proceedings beings declared unto my lord cardinal, he sent again for the bishops, to whom he declared the effect of these commissioners pains, and, for assurance thereof, shewed them the instruments of each university, under their several seals; and, the business being thus handled, they went again to consultation, how things should be ordered.

At last it was concluded, that it was very meet the king should send unto the pope's holiness the opinions of both universities of England, and also foreign universities, which were manifestly authorized by their common seals: and it was also thought fit, the opinions of the worthy prelates of England should be sent to the pope, comprised in an instrument, which was not long time in finishing.

Nor was it long after, that the ambassadors were assigned for this design, who took their journey accordingly, having certain instruments, that, if the pope would not, thereupon, consent to give judgment, definitively in the king's case, then to require another commission from his holiness, to be granted to his legate, to establish a court here in England, for that purpose only, to be directed to my lord cardinal, legate of England, and to cardinal Campaine, bishop of Bath, which the king gave him at a certain time, when he was sent ambassador hither from the pope's holiness, to determine, and rightly judge according to their consciences. To the which, after long suit made, and for the good-will of the said cardinal, the pope granted their suit.

Then they returned into England, relating unto the king, that his grace's pleasure should be now brought to pass substantially, being never more likely, considering the state of the judges.

Long was the expectation, on both sides, for the coming over of the legate from Rome, who, at last, arrived in England, with his commission, and, being much troubled with the gout, his journey was long and tedious, before he could get to London, who should have been most solemnly received at Blackheath; but he desired not to be so entertained with pomp and vain-glory, and, therefore, he came, very privately, on his own horse, without Temple-bar, called Bath-place, where he lay; the house being furnished with all manner of provision of my lord's. So, after some deliberation and consultation, in the ordering of the king's business, now in hand, by his commission, and articles of his ambassage, which being read; it was determined, that the king, and the good queen, his lawful wife, should be judged at Bridewell, and in Black-friars, and, some place thereabouts, the court to be kept, for the disputation and determination of the causes, and differences, between the king and the queen, where they were to repair before these two legates, who sat as judges; before whom the king and queen were cited, and summoned to appear, which was a strange sight, and the newest device that ever was heard

heard or read of in any story or chronicle: a king and a queen to be compelled to appear in a court, as common persons, within their own realm and dominions, and to abide the judgments and decrees of their subjects, being a prerogative belonging to the royal diadem.

CHAP. XVI.

A new court erected to determine the king's case, two cardinals being judges, having power to convene the king and queen, and the issue thereof.

IT is a wonderful thing to consider the strength of princes wills, when they are bent to have their pleasure fulfilled, wherein no reasonable persuasions will serve the turn; how little do they regard the dangerous sequels that may ensue as well to themselves as to their subjects. And amongst all things, there is nothing that makes them more wilful than carnal love, and various affecting of voluptuous desires, wherein nothing could be of greater experience than to see what inventions were furnished, what laws were enacted, what costly edifices of noble and ancient monasteries were there overthrown, what diversities of opinions then arose, what extortions were then committed, how many learned and good men were then put to death, and what alterations of good ancient laws, customs, and charitable foundations, were turned from the relief of the poor, to the utter destruction and desolation, almost to the subversion of this noble realm.

It is a thousand pities to understand the things that since have happened to this land, the proof whereof hath taught all us Englishmen lamentable experience. If men's eyes be not blind, they may see, and, if their ears be not stopped, they may hear; and if pity be not exiled, their hearts may relent and lament at the sequel of this inordinate love, although it lasted but a while. *O Lord God, withhold thine indignation from us.*

You shall understand, as I said before, that there was a court erected at Black-friars, London, where these two cardinals sat as judges: now will I describe unto you the order of the court.

First, There were many tables and benches set in manner of a consistory, one seat being higher than another for the judges aloft; above them three degrees high was a cloth of estate hanged, and a chair royal under the same, wherein sat the king, and some distance off sat the queen, and at the judges feet sat the scribes and officers for the execution of the process; the chief scribe was Dr. Stevens, after bishop of Winchester, and the apparitor, who was called doctor of the court, was one Cooke of Westminster. Then before the king and the judges sat the archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Warham, and all other bishops; there stood, at both ends within, counsellors learned in the spiritual laws, as well on the king's side, as the queen's side, Dr. Sampson, afterwards bishop of Chichester, and Dr. Hall, after bishop of Worcester, with divers others; and proctors in the same law were Dr.

Peter, who was afterwards chief secretary, and Dr. Tregunmill, with divers others.

Now, on the other side, there were council for the queen, Dr. Fisher bishop of Rochester, and Dr. Standish bishop of St. Asaph in Wales, two brave noble divines, especially the bishop of Rochester, a very godly man, whose death many noblemen and many worthy divines much lamented, who lost his head about this cause, before it was ended, upon Tower-hill; as also another ancient doctor called Dr. Ridley, a little man but a great divine. The court being thus ordered, as is before expressed, the judges commanded the cryer to proclaim silence, whilst the commission was both read to the court and to the people there assembled: that done, and silence being again proclaimed, the scribes commanded the cryer to call King Henry of England; whereunto the king answered and said, *Here*: then called he again the queen of England, by the name of Catherine queen of England, *Come into the court, &c.* Who made no answer thereunto, but rose immediately out of her chair where she sat; and, because she could not come to the king directly, by reason of the distance, therefore she came round about the court to the king, and kneeled down at his feet, saying these words in broken English, as followeth:

Sir, quoth she, I beseech you do me justice and right, and take some pity upon me, for I am a poor woman and a stranger, born out of your dominions, having here no indifferent council, and less assurance of friendship. Alas! sir, how have I offended you? What offence have I given you, intending to abridge me of life in this sort? I take God to witness, I have been to you a true and loyal wife, ever conformable to your will and pleasure; never did I contrary or gainsay your mind, but always submitted myself in all things, wherein you had any delight or dalliance, whether it were little or much, without grudging or any sign of discontent: I have loved for your sake all men whom you have loved, whether I had cause or not, were they friends or foes; I have been your wife this twenty years, by whom you had many children: and, when I first came to your bed, I take God to witness, I was a virgin; whether it were true or no, I put it to your conscience. If there be any cause that you can alledge, either of dishonesty, or of any other matter, lawful to put me from you, I am willing to depart with shame and rebuke; but, if there be none, then I pray you let me have justice at your hands.

'The king your father was a man of such an excellent wit in his time, that he was accounted a second Solomon; and the king of Spain, my father Ferdinand, was taken for one of the wisest kings that reigned in Spain these many years. So they were both wise men and noble princes; and it is no question but they had wise counsellors of either realm, as be now at this day, who thought not, at the marriage of you and me, to hear what new devices are now invented against me, to cause me to stand to the order of this court. And I conceive
'you

• you do me much wrong, nay you condemn me for
• not answering, having no council but such as you
• have assigned me: you must consider that they can-
• not be indifferent on my part, being your own sub-
• jects, and such as you have made choice of out of
• your own council whereunto they are privy, and
• dare not disclose your pleasure.

• Therefore, I most humbly beseech you, to spare
• me, until I know how my friends in Spain will
• advise me: but, if you will not, then let your plea-
• sure be done.'

And with that she rose, making a courtesy to the king, and departed from thence; all the people thinking she would have returned again to her former seat; but she went presently out of the court, leaning upon the arm of one of her servants, who was her general receiver, one Mr. Griffith.

The king, seeing that she was ready to go out of the court, commanded the cryer to call her again by these words, Catherine, queen of England, *come into court*. Lo, quoth Mr. Griffith, you are called again. Go on, quoth she, it is no matter: it is no indifferent court for me, therefore I will not tarry; go on your way; and so they departed, without any further answer at that time, or any appearance in any other court after that.

The king, seeing she was departed thus, and considering her words, said to the audience these few words in effect:

Forasmuch, quoth he, as the queen is gone, I will in her absence declare unto you all: she hath been to me a true obedient wife, and as comfortable as I could wish or desire; she hath all the virtues and good qualities that belong to a woman of her dignity, or in any of meaner estate; her conditions will well declare the same.

Then, quoth the cardinal, I humbly beseech your highness, to declare unto this audience, whether I have been the first and chief mover of this matter unto your highness, or no, for I am much suspected of all men.

My lord cardinal, quoth the king, you have rather advised me to the contrary, than been any mover of the same. The special cause, that moved me in this matter, is a certain scruple that pricked my conscience, upon certain words spoken by the bishop of Bayonne, the French ambassador, who came hither to consult of a marriage between the princess our daughter, the Lady Mary, and the duke of Orleans, second son to the king of France; and, upon resolution and determination, he desired respite to advertise the king his master thereof, whether our daughter Mary should be legitimate, in respect of my marriage with this woman, being sometime my brother's wife: which words, I pondering, begot such a scruple in my conscience, that I was much troubled at it, whereby I thought myself in danger of God's heavy displeasure and indignation; and the rather, because he sent us no issue male, for all the issue male that I have had by my wife died incontinently after they came into the world, which caused me to fear God's displeasure in that par-

ticular. Thus, my conscience being tossed in that wave of troublesome doubts; and partly in despair to have any other issue, than I had already by this lady, my now wife; it behoved me to consider the estate of this realm, and the danger it stands in for lack of a prince to succeed me. I thought it therefore good, in release of this mighty burthen on my conscience, as also for the quiet estate of this realm, to attempt a trial in the law herein: whether I might lawfully take another wife, without stain of carnal concupiscence, by which God may send more issue, in case this my first copulation was not good? I not having any displeasure in the person, or age of the queen, with whom I could be well contented to continue, if our marriage may stand with the law of God, as with any woman alive; in which point consisteth all the doubt that we go about, now to know by the learned wisdom of you our prelates and pastors, of this realm and dominion, now here assembled for that purpose, to whose consciences and learning I have committed the care and judgment, according to which I will, God willing, be well contented to submit myself and obey the same. And, when my conscience was so troubled, I moved it to you, my lord of Lincoln, in confession, then being my ghostly father: And, forasmuch as you were then in some doubt, you moved me to ask counsel of the rest of the bishops; whereupon I moved it to you, my lord cardinal, to have your license, forasmuch as you are metropolitan, to put this matter in question; and so I did to all you, my lords, to which you all granted under your seals, which is here to shew. That is truth, quoth the bishop of Canterbury, and, I doubt not, but my brothers will acknowledge the same. No, sir, not so, under correction, quoth the bishop of Rochester, for you have not my hand and seal. No, quoth the king, Is not this your hand and seal, and shewed it to him in the instrument with seals? No, forsooth, quoth the bishop: How say you to that, quoth the king, to the bishop of Canterbury. Sir, It is his hand and seal, quoth the bishop of Canterbury. No, my lord, quoth the bishop of Rochester, indeed you were in hand with me to have both my hand and seal, as other of the lords had done; but I answered, that I would never consent to any such act, for it was much against my conscience. And therefore my hand and seal shall never be set to such an instrument, God willing, with many other words to that purpose. You say truth, quoth the bishop of Canterbury, such words you used; but you fully resolved at the last, that I should subscribe your name, and put to your seal, and you would allow of the same; all which, quoth the bishop of Rochester, under correction, my lord, is untrue. Well, quoth the king, we will not stand in argument with you, you are but one. And so the king arose up, and the court was adjourned until the next day, at which time the cardinals sat again, and the council on both sides were there present to answer.

The king's council alledged the matrimony not good, nor lawful at the beginning, because of the carnal copulation that prince Arthur had with the queen: this

this matter was very narrowly scanned on that side, and, to prove the carnal copulation, they had many reasons and similitudes of truth; and being answered negatively again, on the other side, it seemed that all their former allegations were doubtful to be tried, and that no man knew. 'Yes, quoth the bishop of Rochester, I know the truth. How can you know the truth, quoth the cardinal, more than any other person? Yes, forsooth, my Lord, quoth he, I know that God is the truth itself, and never saith but truth. and he saith thus: *Quos Deus conjunxit, homo non separet*. And, forasmuch as this marriage was joined, and made by God to a good intent, therefore, I said, I knew the truth, and that man cannot break upon any wilful action, which God hath made and constituted. So much do all faithful men know, quoth my lord cardinal, as well as you, therefore, this reason is not sufficient in this case; for the king's council do alledge many presumptions, to prove that it was not lawful at the beginning, *ergo*, it was not ordained by God, for God doth nothing without a good end; therefore, it is not to be doubted, but, if the presumptions be true which they alledge to be most true, then the conjunction neither was, nor could be of God; therefore I say unto you, my lord of Rochester, you know not the truth, unless you can avoid their presumptions upon just reasons.'

'Then, quoth Dr. Ridley, it is a great shame and dishonour to this honourable presence, that any such presumptions should be alledged in this open court. What, quoth my lord cardinal, *Domine Doctor Reverende*. No, my lord, there belongs no reverence to this matter, for an unreverent matter may be unreverently answered; and so left off, and then they proceeded to other matters.

Thus passed this court from session to session, and day to day, till a certain day the king sent for the cardinal to Bridewell, who went into the privy-chamber to him where he was, about an hour, and then departed from the king, and went to Westminster in his barge; the bishop of Carlisle, being with him, said, 'It is a hot day to-day. Yes, quoth the cardinal, if you had been as well chafed, as I have been within this hour, you would say you were very hot.' My lord no sooner came home, but he went to bed, where he had not laid above two hours, but my lord of Wiltshire, Mrs. Anne Bullen's father, came to speak with him from the king; my lord commanded he should be brought to his bedside, who told him, it was the king's mind he should forthwith go, with the cardinal, to the queen, being then at Bridewell, in her chamber, and to persuade her, through their wisdoms, to put the whole matter into the king's own hands, by her consent; which should be much better for her honour, than stand to the trial at law, and, thereby, be condemned, which would tend much to her dishonour and discredit.

To perform the king's pleasure, my lord said he was ready, and so prepared to go: 'But, quoth he, further to my lord of Wiltshire, you, and others of

'the lords of the council, have put fancies into the head of the king, whereby you trouble all the realm, but, at the length, you will get but small thanks, both of God and the world;' with many other earnest words and reasons, which did cause my lord of Wiltshire to be silent, kneeling by my lord's bedside, and, in conclusion, departed.

And then my lord rose, and took his barge, and went to Bath-house, to Cardinal Campaine's, and so went together to Bridewell, to the queen's lodgings, she being then in her chamber of presence; they told the gentleman-usher, that they came to speak with the queen's grace, who told the queen, the cardinals were come to speak with her; then she rose up, having a skain of red silk about her neck, being at work with her maids, and came to the cardinals, where they staid, attending her coming, at whose approach, quoth she: 'Alack, my lords, I am sorry that you have attended on me so long, What is your pleasure with me? If it please your grace, quoth the cardinal, to go to your privy-chamber, we will shew you the cause of our coming.'

'My lord, said she, if you have any thing to say to me, speak it openly before all these folk, for I fear nothing that you can say to me, or against me, but that I am willing all the world should both see and hear it, and, therefore, speak your minds openly.'

Then began my lord to speak to her in Latin: 'Nay, good my lord, speak to me in English, quoth she, although I do understand some Latin. Forsooth, quoth my lord, good madam, if it please your grace, we come both to know your mind, what you are disposed to do in this matter, and also to declare to you, secretly, our counsels and opinions, which we do, for very zeal and obedience to your grace.'

'My lords, quoth she, I thank you for your good-wills, but to make answer to your requests I cannot so suddenly; for I was set amongst my maids at work, little thinking of any such matter, wherein is requisite some deliberation, and a better head than mine to make answer; for I need counsel in this case, which concerns me so near, and friends here I have none, they are in Spain, in my own country: also, my lords, I am a poor woman, of too weak a capacity to answer such noble persons of wisdom as you are, in so weighty a matter. And, therefore, I pray you, be good to me, a woman destitute of friendship here in a foreign region, and your counsel I also shall be glad to hear;' and therewith she took my lord by the hand, and led him into her privy-chamber, with the other cardinal, where they staid a while, and I heard her voice loud, but what she said, I know not.

This done, they went to the king, and made a relation unto him of the passages, between the queen and them, and so they departed.

This strange case proceeded, and went forward from court-day to court-day, until it came to that, that every man expected to hear judgment given, at which time, all their proceedings were openly read in Latin; that

that done, the king's council, at the bar, moved for judgment; quoth Cardinal Campaine, 'I will not give judgment, until I have related the whole proceedings to the pope, whose counsel and commandment I will, in this case, observe: the matter is too high for us to give hasty judgment, considering the persons, and the doubtful occasions alledged, and also whose commissioners we are, by whose authority we sit.'

'It is good reason, therefore, that we make our chief lord of counsel acquainted with the same, before we proceed to judgment definitive: I came not to please for any favour, reward, or fear, of any person alive, be he king, or otherwise; I have no such respect to the person, that I should offend my conscience. And the party-defendant will make no answer here, but rather doth appeal from us; I am an old man, both weak and sickly, and look, every day, for death: what shall it avail me, to put my soul in danger of God's displeasure, to my utter damnation, for the favour of any prince in this world? My being here is only to see justice administered, according to my conscience.'

'The defendant supposeth that we be not indifferent judges, considering the king's high dignity and authority within this realm. And, we being both his subjects, she thinks we will not do her justice; and, therefore, to avoid all these ambiguities, I adjourn the court, for the time, according to the court of Rome, from whence our jurisdiction is arrived; for, if we should go further than our commission doth warrant us, it were but a folly, and blameworthy, because then we shall be breakers of the orders, from whom we have, as I said, our authority derived;' and so the court was dissolved, and no more done.

Thereupon, by the king's commandment, stepped up the duke of Suffolk, and, with a haughty countenance, uttered these words:

'It was never thus in England, until we had cardinals amongst us.'

Which words were set forth with such vehemency, that all men marvelled what he intended, the duke further expressing some opprobrious words.

My lord cardinal, perceiving his vehemency, soberly said, 'Sir, of all men in this realm, you have least cause to dispraise cardinals; for, if I poor cardinal had not been, you should not, at this present, have had a head on your shoulders, wherewith to make such a brag in despite of us, who with you no harm, neither have given you such cause to be offended with us. I would have you think, my lord, I, and my brother, wish the king as much happiness, and the realm as much honour, wealth, and peace, as you, or any other subject, of what degree soever he be, within this realm, and would as gladly accomplish his lawful desires.'

'And now, my lord, I pray you, shew me what you would do in such a case as this, if you were one of the king's commissioners, in a foreign region, about some weighty matter, the consultation whereof was very doubtful to be decided: would you not advertise the king's majesty, before you went through with the same? I doubt not but you would, and, therefore, abate your malice and spight, and consider that we are commissioners for a time, and cannot, by virtue of a commission, proceed to judgment, without the knowledge and consent of the head of the authority, and license obtained from him, who is the pope.'

'Therefore do we neither more or less, than our commission allows us; and, if any man will be offended with us, he is an unwise man; therefore pacify yourself, my lord, and speak like a man of honour and wisdom, or hold your peace; speak not reproachfully of your friends, you best know what friendship I have shewn you: I never did reveal to any person, till now, either to my own praise, or your dishonour.' Whereupon the duke went away, and said no more, being much discontented.

This matter continued thus a long season, and the king was in displeasure against my lord cardinal, because his suit had no better success to his purpose.

Notwithstanding, the cardinal excused himself, by his commission, which gave him no authority to proceed to judgment, without the knowledge of the pope, who reserved the same to himself. At last they were advertised, by a post, that they should take deliberation in the matter, until his council were opened, which should not be till Bartholomew-tide next.

The king, thinking it would be too long before it would be determined, sent an ambassador to the pope, to persuade him to shew so much favour to his majesty, as that it might be sooner determined.

On this ambassage went Dr. Stephen Gardiner, then called by the name of Dr. Steven, secretary to the king, afterwards bishop of Winchester. This ambassador staid there till the latter end of summer, of whose return you shall hereafter hear.

CHAP. XVII.

Of certain passages conducing to the Cardinal's fall.

NOW the king commanded the queen to be removed from the court, and sent to another place; and presently after the king rode on progress, and had in his company mistress Anne Bullen; in which time Cardinal Campaine made suit to be discharged, and sent home to Rome; and, in the interim, returned Mr. Secretary; and it was concluded, that my lord should come to the king to Grafton in Northamptonshire; as also Cardinal Campaine, being a stranger, should be conducted thither by my lord cardinal. And so, the next Sunday, there were divers opinions that the

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king

king would not speak with my lord ; whereupon there were many great wagers laid.

These two prelates being come to the court, and alighting, expected to be received of the great officers, as the manner was, but they found the contrary : nevertheless, because the cardinal Campaine was a stranger, the officers met him with staves in their hands in the outward court, and so conveyed him to his lodging prepared for him ; and, after my lord had brought him to his lodging, he departed, thinking to have gone to his chamber, as he was wont to do. But it was told him, he had no lodging or chamber appointed for him in the court ; which news did much astonish him.

Sir Henry Norris, who was then groom of the stool, came unto him, and desired him to take his chamber for a while, until another was provided for him ; for, I assure you, here is but little room in this house for the king, and therefore, I humbly beseech your grace, accept of mine for a season. My lord, thanking him for his courtesy, went to his chamber, where he shifted his riding apparel.

In the mean time came divers noblemen of his friends to welcome him to the court, by whom my lord was advertised of all things touching the king's favour or displeasure ; and, being thus informed of the cause thereof, he was more able to excuse himself.

So my lord made him ready, and went to the chamber of presence with the other cardinal, where the lords of the council stood all of a row in order in the chamber, and saluted them both : and there were present many gentlemen, which came on purpose to observe the meeting and countenance of the king to my lord cardinal. Then, immediately after, the king came into the chamber of presence, standing under the cloth of state.

Then my lord cardinal took cardinal Campaine by the hand, and kneeled down before the king, but what he said unto him, I know not, but his countenance was amiable, and his majesty stooped down, and with both his hands took him up, and then took him by the hand, and went to the window with him, and there talked with him a good while.

Then, to have beheld the countenance of the lords and noblemen that had laid wagers, it would have made you smile, especially those that had laid their money that the king would not speak with him.

Thus they were deceived, for the king was in earnest discourse with him, insomuch that I could hear the king say, How can this be, is not this your hand ? And pulled a letter out of his own bosom, and shewed the same to my lord. And, as I perceived, my lord so answered the same, that the king had no more to say ; but said to my lord, Go to your dinner, and take my lord cardinal to keep you company, and after dinner I will speak further with you, and so they departed. And the king that day dined with mistress Anne Bullen in her chamber.

Then was there set up in the presence-chamber a table for my lord, and other lords of the council, where

they dined together ; and sitting at dinner telling of divers matters, The king should do well, quoth my lord cardinal, to send his bishops and chaplains home to their cures and benefices. Yea, marry, quoth my lord of Norfolk, and so it were meet for you to do also. I would be very well contented therewith, if it were the king's pleasure to license me, with his grace's leave, to go to my cure at Winchester. Nay, quoth my lord of Norfolk, to your benefice at York, where your greatest honour and charge is. Even as it shall please the king, quoth my lord cardinal ; and so they fell upon other discourses. For, indeed, the nobility were loth he should be so near the king, as to continue at Winchester. Immediately after dinner they fell to council till the waiters had also dined.

I heard it reported by those that waited on the king at dinner, that mistress Anne Bullen was offended as much as she durst, that the king did so graciously entertain my lord cardinal : saying, Sir, Is it not a marvellous thing to see into what great debt and danger he hath brought you, with all your subjects ? How so ? quoth the king, Forsooth, quoth she, there is not a man in all your whole realm of England, worth a hundred pounds, but he hath indebted you to him, meaning of loan, which the king had of his subjects. Well, well, quoth the king, for that matter there was no blame in him, for I know that matter better than you, or any else.

Nay, quoth she, besides that, what exploits hath he wrought in several parts and places of this realm, to your great slander and disgrace ? There is never a nobleman, but, if he had done half so much as he hath done, were well worthy to lose his head. Yea, if my lord of Norfolk, my lord of Suffolk, my father, or any other man, had done much less than he hath done, they should have lost their heads before this.

Then I perceive, quoth the king, you are none of my lord cardinal's friends. Why, Sir, quoth she, I have no cause, nor any that love you. No more hath your grace, if you did well consider his indirect and unlawful doings.

By that time the waiters had dined, and took up the table, and so for that time ended their communication.

You may perceive by this, how the old malice was not forgotten ; but begins to kindle and be set on fire, which was stirred by his ancient enemies, whom I have formerly named in this treatise.

The king, for that time, departed from mistress Anne Bullen, and came to the chamber of presence, and called for my lord, and, in the great window, had a long discourse with him, but of what, I know not : afterwards the king took him by the hand, and led him into the privy-chamber, and sat in consultation with him all alone, without any other of the lords, till it was dark night ; which blanked all his enemies very sore, who had no other way but by mistress Anne Bullen, in whom was all their trust and affiance for the accomplishment of their enterprises ; for, without her, they feared all their purposes would be frustrated.

Now

Now at night was warning given me, that there was no room for my lord to lodge in the court; so that I was forced to provide my lord a lodging in the country, about Easton, at one Mr. Empston's house, where my lord came to supper by torch-light, being late before my lord parted from the king, who willed him to resort to him in the morning, for that he would talk farther with him about the same matter; and in the morning my lord came again, at whose coming the king's majesty was ready to ride, willing my lord to consult with the lords in his absence, and said he would not talk with him, commanding my lord to depart with Cardinal Campaine, who had already taken his leave of the king.

This sudden departure of the king's was the especial labour of mistress Anne Bullen, who rode with him purposely to draw him away, because he should not return till the departure of the cardinals. The king rode that morning to view a piece of ground to make a park of, which was afterwards, and is at this time, called Harewell Park, where mistress Anne had provided him a place to dine in, fearing his return before my lord cardinal's departure.

So my lord rode away after dinner with Cardinal Campaine, who took his journey towards Rome, with the king's reward, but what it was I am not certain.

After their departure, it was told the king, that Cardinal Campaine was departed, and had great treasure with him of my lord cardinal's of England, to be conveyed in great sums to Rome, whither they surmised he would secretly repair out of this realm. Insomuch, that they caused a post to ride after the cardinal to search him, who overtook him at Calais, and staid him until search was made; but there was found no more than was received of the king for a reward.

Now, after Cardinal Campaine was gone, Michaelmas term drew on, against which time my lord cardinal repaired to his house at Westminster; and, when the term began, he went into the hall in such manner as he was accustomed to do, and sat in the chancery, being then lord chancellor of England, after which day he never sat more; the next day he staid at home for the coming of my lords of Norfolk and Suffolk, who came not that day, but the next: and did declare unto my lord, that it was the king's pleasure he should surrender up the great seal of England into their hands, and that he should depart unto Ashur, which is a house near unto Hampton-Court, belonging unto the bishoprick of Winchester.

The cardinal demanded of them to see their commission that gave them such authority; who answered again, they were sufficient commissioners, and had authority to do no less from the king's own mouth. Notwithstanding, he would in no wise agree to their demand in that behalf, without further knowledge of their authority, telling them, that the great seal was delivered to him by the king's own person, to enjoy the ministration thereof, together with the chancellorship, during the term of his life, whereof, for surety,

he had the king's letters patent to shew; which matter was much debated between him and the dukes, with many great words, which he took patiently, insomuch that the dukes were fain to depart without their purpose at that time, and returned to Windsor to the king; and, the next day, they returned to my lord with the king's letters; whereupon, in obedience to the king's command, my lord delivered to them the broad seal, which they brought to Windsor to the king.

Then my lord called his officers before him, and took account of all things they had in their charge; and, in his gallery, were set divers tables, upon which were laid divers and great store of rich stuffs, as whole pieces of silk of all colours, velvets, sattins, musks, taffaties, grograms, scarlets, and divers rich commodities. Also, there were one thousand pieces of fine holland, and the hangings of the gallery with cloth of gold, and cloth of silver, and rich cloth of bodkin of divers colours, which were hanged, in expectation of the king's coming.

Also, of one side of the gallery, were hanged the rich suits of copes of his own providing, which were made for colleges at Oxford and Ipswich; they were the richest that ever I saw in all my life: then had he two chambers adjoining to the gallery, the one most commonly called the gilt-chamber, the other the council chamber, wherein were set two broad and long tables, whereupon were set such abundance of plate of all sorts, as was almost incredible to be believed, a great part being all of clean gold; and, upon every table and cupboard where the plate was set, were books, importing every kind of plate, with the contents, and the weight thereof.

Thus were all things furnished and prepared, giving the charge of the said stuff, with other things remaining in every office, to be delivered to the king, as he gave charge; all things being ordered as is before rehearsed, my lord prepared to depart, and resolved to go by water; but, before his going, Sir William Gascoigne, being his treasurer, came unto him, and said, Sir, quoth he, I am sorry for your grace, for I hear you are straight to go to the Tower: is this is the best comfort, quoth my lord, you can give to your master in adversity? It hath always been your inclination to be light of credit, and much lighter in reporting of lyes; I would you should know, Sir William, and all those reporters too, that it is untrue, for I never deserved to come there; although it hath pleased the king to take my house ready furnished, for his pleasure, at this time, I would all the world should know, I have nothing but it is of right for him, and of him I received all that I have; it is therefore convenient and reasonable to tender the same to him again.

Then my lord, with his train of gentlemen and yeomen, which was no small company, took his barge at his privy-stairs, and went by water to Putney, at which time, upon the water, were abundance of boats filled with people, expecting to have seen my lord cardinal go to the Tower, which they longed to see.

Oh! wondering and new-fangled world! Is it not a time to consider the mutability of this uncertain world? For the common people ever desire things for novelty's sake, which after, turn to their small profit or advantage. For, if you mark the sequel, they had small cause to rejoice at his fall; I cannot see, but all men in favour are envied by the common people, though they do minister justice truly.

Thus continued my lord at Ashur, three or four weeks, without either beds, sheets, table-cloths, or dishes to eat their meat in, or wherewith to buy any. But there were good store of all kind of victuals, and of beer, and wine plenty; but afterwards my lord borrowed some plate and dishes of the bishop of Carlisle.

Thus continued my lord in this strange state till after Allhallows-tide; and being one day at dinner, Mr. Cromwell told him, That he ought in conscience to consider the true and good service, that he and other of his servants had done him, who never forsook him in weal nor woe: then, quoth my lord, Alas! Tom, you know I have nothing to give you nor them, which makes me both ashamed and sorry that I have nothing to requite your faithful services: whereupon Mr. Cromwell told my lord, That he had abundance of chaplains, that were preferred by his grace to benefices of some one thousand pounds, and others five-hundred pounds, some more and some less; and we your poor servants, who take more pains in one day's service, than all your idle chaplains have done in a year; and therefore, if they will not impart liberally to you in your great indigence, it is pity they should live, and all the world will have them in indignation for their great ingratitude to their master.

Afterwards, my lord commanded me to call all his gentlemen and yeomen up in the great chamber, commanding all the gentlemen to stand on the right hand, and the yeomen on the left side; at last, my lord came out in his rochet, upon a violet gown, like a bishop, who went with his chaplains to the upper-end of the chamber, where was a great window, beholding his goodly number of servants, who could not speak to them, until the tears ran down his cheeks; which, being perceived of his servants, caused fountains of tears to gush out of their sorrowful eyes in such sort, as would cause any heart to relent.

At last my lord spoke to them to this effect and purpose, saying, Most faithful gentlemen, and true-hearted yeomen, I much lament that in my prosperity I did not so much for you as I might have done, and was in my power to do; I consider that, if in my prosperity I should have preferred you to the king, then should I have incurred the king's servants displeasure, who would not spare to report behind my back, that there could no office in the court escape the cardinal and his servants, and by that means I should have run into open slander of all the world; but now it is come to pass, that it hath pleased the king to take all that I have into his hands, so that I have now nothing to give you, for I have nothing left me

but the bare cloaths on my back: with many other words in their praise: and so he, giving them all hearty thanks, went away: and afterwards many of his servants departed from him, some to their wives, some to their friends, and Mr. Cromwell to London, it being then the beginning of the parliament.

CHAP. XVIII.

The Cardinal is accused of high-treason in the parliament-house, against which accusation, Mr. Cromwell (late servant to him) being a burges in the parliament, made defence.

THE afore said Mr. Cromwell, after his departure from my lord, devised with himself to be one of the burgeses of the parliament: and, being at London, he chanced to meet one Sir Thomas Russel, knight, a special friend of his, whose son was one of the burgeses of the parliament, of whom, by means, he obtained his room, and so put his feet into the parliament-house; and, three days after his departure from my lord, he came again to Ashur, and, I being there with my lord, he said unto me, with a pleasant countenance: I have adventured my feet where I will be better regarded, before the parliament be dissolved. And, after he had some talk with my lord, he made haste to London, because he would not be absent from the parliament, to the intent he might acquaint my lord what was there objected against him, thereby the better to make his defence, inasmuch, that there was nothing at any time objected against my lord, but he was ready to make answer thereunto; by means whereof, he, being earnest in his master's behalf, was reputed the most faithful servant to his master of all others, and was generally, of all men, highly commended.

Then was there brought a bill of articles into the parliament-house, to have my lord condemned of high-treason, against which bill, Mr. Cromwell did inveigh so discreetly, and with such witty persuasions, that the same would take no effect. Then were his enemies constrained to indict him of a *præmunire*, and all was to intitle the king to all his goods and possessions, which he had obtained and purchased for the maintenance of his colleges of Oxford and Ipswich, which were both most sumptuous buildings. To the judges that were sent to take my lords answer herein, he thus answered:

' My lords judges, quoth he, the king knoweth, whether I have offended or no in using my prerogative for the which I am indicted: I have the king's license in my coffer, to shew under his hand and broad-seal, for the executing and using thereof in a most large manner, the which now are in the hands of mine enemies; but, because I will not here stand to contend with his majesty in his own case, I will here presently before you confess the indictment, and put myself wholly to the mercy and grace of

of the king, trusting that he hath a conscience and reason to consider the truth, and my humble submission and obedience, wherein I might well stand to my trial with justice. Thus much may you say to his highness, That I wholly submit myself under his obedience in all things, to his princely will and pleasure, whom I never disobeyed or repugned, but was always contented and glad to please him before God, whom I ought most chiefly to have believed and obeyed, which I now repent: I most heartily desire you to have me commended to him, for whom I shall, during my life, pray to God to send him much prosperity, honour, and victory over his enemies.' And so they left him.

After which, Mr. Shelley, the judge, was sent to speak with my lord, who, understanding he was come, issued out of his privy-chamber, and came to him to know his business; who, after due salutation, did declare unto him, That the king's pleasure was, to demand my lord's house, called York Place, near Westminster, belonging to the bishoprick of York; and that you do pass the same according to the laws of this realm: his highness hath sent for all his judges and learned council, to know their opinions for your assurance thereof, who be fully resolved, that your grace must make a recognisance, and, before a judge, acknowledge and confess the right thereof to belong to the king and his successors, and so his highness shall be assured thereof.

Wherefore, it hath pleased the king to send me hither to take of you the recognisance, having in your grace such affiance, that you will not refuse to do so; therefore I do desire to know your grace's pleasure therein.

Master Shelley, quoth my lord, I know the king of his own nature is of a royal spirit, not requiring more, than reason shall lead him to by the law; and therefore I counsel you, and all other judges and learned men of his council, to put no more into his head, than law, that may stand with conscience; for, when you tell him, that, although this be law, yet it is not conscience; for law, without conscience, is not fit to be ministered by a king, nor his council, nor by any of his ministers; for every council to a king ought to have respect to conscience before the rigour of the law: *Laus est facere quod decet, non quod licet.* The king ought, for his royal dignity and prerogative, to mitigate the rigour of the law; and therefore, in his princely place, he hath constituted a chancellor to order for him the same; and therefore the court of *chancery* hath been commonly called the court of *conscience*, for that it hath jurisdiction to command the law, in every case, to desist from the rigour of the execution. And now I say to you, Master Shelley, Have I a power, or may I with conscience give that away, which is now mine, for me and my successors? If this be law and conscience, I pray you, shew me your opinion.

Forsooth, quoth he, there is no great conscience in it; but, having regard to the king's great power, it

may the better stand with conscience, who is sufficient to recompense the church of York with the double value.

That I know well, quoth my lord; but there is no such condition, but only a bare and simple departure of other rights: if every bishop should do so, then might every prelate give away the patrimony of the church, and so, in process of time, leave nothing for their successors to maintain their dignities; which would be but little to the king's honour.

Well, quoth my lord, let me see your commission; which was shewed to him; then, quoth my lord, Tell his highness, that I am his most faithful subject, and obedient beadle, whose command I will in no wise disobey, but will in all things fulfil his pleasure, as you the fathers of the law say I may. Therefore I charge your conscience to discharge me; and shew his highness, from me, that I must desire his majesty to remember, there is both heaven and hell: and thereupon the clerk took and wrote the recognisance, and, after some secret talk, they departed.

Thus continued my lord at Ashur, receiving daily messages from the court, some good and some bad, but more ill than good; for his enemies, perceiving the good affection the king bore always to him, devised a means to disquiet his patience, thinking thereby to give him occasion to fret and chafe, that death should rather ensue, than otherwise; which they most desired; for they feared him more after his fall, than they did in his prosperity; fearing, if he should, by reason of the king's favour, rise again, and be again in favour, and great at the court, they his enemies might be in danger of their lives, for their cruelty wrongfully ministered unto him, and, by their malicious surmises, invented and brought to pass against him: and did continually find new matters against him, to make him vex and fret; but he was a wise man, and did arm himself with much patience.

At Christmas he fell very sore sick, most likely to die: the king, hearing thereof, was very sorry, and sent Dr. Butts, his physician, unto him; who found him very dangerously sick in bed, and returned to the king: the king demanded, saying, Have you seen yonder man? Yes, Sir, quoth he, How do you like him? quoth the king. Sir, quoth he, if you will have him dead, I will warrant you, he will be dead within these four days, if he receive no comfort from you shortly.

Marry! God forbid, quoth the king, that he should die, for I would not lose him for twenty-thousand pounds; I pray you, go to him, and do your care to him.

Then must your grace, quoth Dr. Butts, send him some comfortable message. So I will, quoth the king, by you; therefore make speed to him again, and you shall deliver him this ring from me, for a token. [In the which ring was the king's image engraven, with a ruby, as like the king as might be devised.] This ring he knoweth well, for he gave me the same; and tell him, that I am not offended with him in my heart for any thing; and that shall be known shortly; therefore

therefore bid him pluck up his heart, and be of good comfort: and I charge you, come not from him, till you have brought him out of the danger of death, if it be possible.

Then spoke the king to Mrs. Anne Bullen: Good sweetheart, as you love me, send the cardinal a token at my request, and, in so doing, you shall deserve our thanks. She, being disposed not to offend the king, would not disobey his loving request, but took incontinently her tablet of gold, that hung at her side, and delivered it to Dr. Butts, with very gentle and loving words; and so he departed to Ashur with speed. And after him the king sent Dr. Cromer, Dr. Clement, and Dr. Wotton, to consult and advise with Dr. Butts for my lord's recovery.

Now, after Dr. Butts had been with him, and delivered him the tokens from the king and Mrs. Anne Bullen, with the most comfortable words he could devise, on the king's and Mrs. Anne's behalf, he advanced himself in his bed, and received the tokens very joyfully, giving him many thanks for his pains and good comfort. He told him further, That the king's pleasure was, that he should minister unto him for his health. And, for the better and more assured ways, he hath also sent Dr. Cromer, Dr. Clement, and Dr. Wotton, all to join for his recovery: Therefore, my lord, quoth Dr. Butts, it were well they were called to visit you, and to consult with me for your disease.

At which motion my lord was contented, and sent for them to hear their judgments; but he trusted more to Dr. Cromer than all the rest, because he was the very means to bring him from Paris to England, and gave him, partly, his exhibition in Paris. To be short, in four days they set him again upon his feet, and he had gotten him a good stomach to meat. All this done, and my lord in a right good way of amendment, they took their leaves, and departed: to whom my lord offered his reward; but they refused, saying, the king had given a special commandment, that they should take nothing of him, for, at their return, he would reward them of his own cost.

After this, my lord continued at Ashur till Candlemas; before, and against which feast, the king caused to be sent to my lord three or four loads of stuff; and most thereof, except beds and kitchen-stuff, was loaded in standers, wherein were both plate, and rich hangings, and chapel-stuff, which was done without the knowledge of the lords of the council; for all which he rendered the king most humble and hearty thanks, and afterwards made suit to the king, to be removed from Ashur to Richmond; which request was granted.

The house of Richmond, a little before, was repaired by my lord, to his great cost; for the king had made an exchange with him for Hampton-court. Had the lords of the council known of these favours from the king to the cardinal, they would have persuaded the king to the contrary; for they feared, lest his now abode near the king might move the king at some season to resort unto him, and to call him

home again, considering the great and daily affection the king bore unto him. Therefore they moved the king, that my lord might go down to the north, to his benefice there, where he might be a good stay, as they alledged, to the country. To which the king condescended, thinking no less, but that all had been true, according to their relation, being with such colour of deep consideration, that the king was straightway persuaded to their conclusion: whereupon, my lord of Norfolk ordered Mr. Cromwell, who daily did resort to my lord, that he should say to him, That he must go home to his benefice. Well, then, Thomas, quoth my lord, we will go to Winchester. I will, then, quoth Mr. Cromwell, tell my lord of Norfolk what you say. And so he did, at his next meeting of him. What should he do there? quoth the duke. Let him go to the rich bishoprick of York, where his greatest honour and charge lie; and so shew to him. The lords, who were not his friends, perceiving that my lord was disposed to plant himself so nigh the king, thought then to withdraw his appetite from Winchester; moved the king to give my lord a pension of four thousand marks out of Winchester, and all the rest to be distributed amongst the nobility and his servants; and so, likewise, to divide the revenues of St. Alban's; whereof some had two-hundred pounds; and all the revenues of his lands, belonging to his colleges at Oxford and Ipswich, the king took into his own hands; whereof Mr. Cromwell had the receipt and government before, by my lord's assignment. Wherefore it was thought very necessary, that he should have the same still, who executed all things so well and exactly, that he was had in great estimation for his behaviour therein.

Now it came to pass, that those, to whom the king had given any annuities, or fees for term of life, or by patent, could not be good, but only for and during my lord's life; forasmuch as the king had no longer estate therein, but what he had by my lord's attainder in the *præmunire*; and, to make their estate good and sufficient, there was no other way, but to obtain my lord's confirmation of their patents; and, to bring this about, there was no other means, but by Mr. Cromwell, who was thought the fittest instrument for this purpose; and, for his pains therein, he was worthily rewarded; and his demeanour, his honesty, and wisdom were such, that the king took great notice of him, as you shall hereafter hear.

Still the lords thought long, till my lord was removed further off the king's way; wherefore, among others of the lords, my lord of Norfolk said: 'Mr. Cromwell, methinks, the cardinal thy master makes no haste to go northwards; tell him, if he go not away, I will tear him with my teeth; therefore I would advise him to prepare away with speed, or else I will set him forward.' These words reported Mr. Cromwell to my lord at his next repair, which was then at Richmond, having obtained licence of the king to remove from Ashur to Richmond. And, in the evening, my lord being accustomed to walk in the

the garden, and I being with him standing in an alley, I espied certain images of beasts, counterfeited in timber; which I went nearer, to take the better view of them; among whom I there saw stand a dun cow, whereat I most mused of all those beasts: my lord then suddenly came upon me unawares, and, speaking to me, said, What have you espied there, whereat you look so earnestly?

Forsooth, quoth I, if it please your grace, I here behold these images, which, I suppose, were ordained to be set up in the king's palace; but amongst them all I have most considered this cow, which seems to me the artificer's master-piece. Yea, marry, quoth my lord, upon this cow hangs a certain prophecy, which perhaps you never heard of; I will shew you, there is a saying,

*When the cow doth ride the bull,
Then, priest, beware of thy scull.*

Which saying, neither my lord that declared it, nor I that heard it, understood the effect, although the compass thereof was working, and then like to be brought to pass; this cow the king gave by reason of the earldom of Richmond, which was his inheritance. This prophecy was afterwards expounded in this manner: the dun cow, because it is the king's beast, betokens the king, and the bull betokens Mrs. Anne Bullen, who after was queen; her father gave the black bull's head in his cognisance, which was his beast; so that, when the king had married Queen Anne, it was thought of all men to be fulfilled, for what a number of priests, religious and secular, lost their heads for offending of those laws made, to bring this matter to pass, is not unknown to all the world; therefore it may well be judged that this prophecy is fulfilled.

You have heard what words the duke of Norfolk spoke to Master Cromwell touching my lord's going into the north; then said my lord, Tom, it is time to be going; therefore I pray you, go to the king, and tell him, I would go to my benefice at York, but for lack of money, desiring his grace to help me to some; and you may say, that the last money I had from his grace was too little to pay my debts, and to compel me to pay the rest of my debts were too much extremity, seeing all my goods are taken from me: also shew my lord of Norfolk, and the rest of the council, that I would depart, if I had money. Sir, quoth Mr. Cromwell, I shall do my best, and so after other communication departed, and came to London; then, in the beginning of Lent, my lord removed his lodging into the Charter-house at Richmond, where he lay in a lodging that Dr. Collet made for himself; and every afternoon, for the time of his residence, there would he sit in contemplation, with some one of the most ancient fathers there, who converted him to despise the vain-glory of this world, and they gave unto him shirts of hair to wear next his body, which he wore divers times after.

The lords assigned, that my lord should have a thousand marks pension out of Winchester, for his going down into the north; which when the king heard of, he commanded that it should be forthwith paid unto Mr. Cromwell. And the king commanded Mr. Cromwell to repair to him again, when he had received the said sum, which he accordingly did: to whom his majesty said, Show your lord that I have sent him ten thousand pounds of my benevolence, tell him he shall not lack, and bid him be of good comfort. Mr. Cromwell, on my lord's behalf, thanked the king for his royal liberality towards my lord, and with that departed to Richmond, to whom he delivered the money, and the joyful tidings, wherein my lord did not a little rejoice; forthwith there was a preparation made for his going. He had with him, in his train, one hundred and sixty persons, having with him twelve carts to carry his goods, which he sent from his college at Oxford, besides other carts of his daily carriage, of his necessaries for his buildings; he kept his solemn feast of Easter at Peterborough, and upon Palm Sunday he bore his palm, and went in procession with the monks, and upon Thursday he made his Maunday, having fifty-nine poor people whose feet he washed and kissed, and after he had dried them, he gave every one of them twelve-pence, and three ells of good canvas, to make them shirts, and each of them a pair of new shoes, and a cask of red-herrings: on Easter-day, he rose to the resurrection, and that day he went in procession in his cardinal's vestments, having his hat on his head, and sung the high mass there himself solemnly; after his mass, he gave his benediction to all the hearers, with clean remission. From Peterborough he took his journey into the north, but made some stay by the way, and many passages happened in his journey too tedious here to relate. At the last he came to Stoby, where he continued till after Michaelmas, exercising many deeds of charity; most commonly every Sunday, if the weather served, would he go to some poor parish church thereabouts, and there would say the divine service, and either said or heard mass, and then caused one of his chaplains to preach the word of God to the people, and afterwards he would dine in some honest house in the town, where should be distributed to the poor alms, as well of meat and drink, as money to supply the want of meat and drink, if their number did exceed; thus with other good deeds practising himself, during the time of his abode there, between party and party, being at variance: about Michaelmas, after he removed from thence to Cawood castle, within seven miles of the city of York, where he had much honour and love from all men, high and low, and kept a plentiful house for all comers; also he built and repaired the castle, which was much decayed, having at the least three hundred persons daily at work, to whom he paid wages lying there: where all the doctors and prebends of the church of York did repair to my lord, according to their duties, as unto the chief head, patron, and father of their spiritual dignities, who did most joyfully welcome him

into those parts, saying: It was no small comfort unto them, to see their head among them, who had been so long absent from them, being like unto fatherless and comfortless children for want of his presence; and that they trusted shortly to see him amongst them in his own church. To whom he made answer, That it was the most special cause of his coming, to be amongst them as a father, and a natural brother.

Sir, quoth they, you must understand the ordinances and rules of our church, whereof, although you be the head and sole governor, yet you are not so well acquainted as we be therein: therefore, if it please your grace, we shall, under favour, open unto you some part of our ancient laws and customs of our church, that our head, prelate, and pastor, as you now are, might not come above our choir door, until by due order he be installed. And if you should happen to die before your installation, you should not be buried above in the choir, but below in the nether part of the body of the church. Therefore we humbly desire and beseech you, in the name of all our brethren, that you would vouchsafe to do therein, as our ancient fathers, your predecessors, have done, and that you will not break the laudable customs of our church; to the which we are obliged by oath at our first admittance to observe that, and divers others, which in our chapter do remain upon record.

These records, quoth my lord, would I fain see, and then shall you know further of my advice and mind in this business.

A day was signed to bring their records to my lord, at which time they resorted to my lord with their register and books of records, wherein were fairly written their institutions and rules, which every minister of their church was most principally and chiefly bound to observe, and infallibly keep and maintain.

When my lord had read the records, he did intend to be at the cathedral church of York, the next Monday after Allhallows-day, against which time due preparation was made for the same; but not in so sumptuous a wise, as were his predecessors before him: nor yet in such sort, as the fame and common report was afterwards made of him, to his great slander. And to the false reporters no small dishonesty, to become divulgers of such notorious lyes, as I am sure they were: for I myself was sent by my lord to York, to see that all things there should be ordered and provided for that solemnity, in a very decent form, to the honour of that ancient and worthy monastery of York.

It came to pass, that upon Allhallows-day, one of the head and principal officers of the said cathedral church, which should have had most doing at my lord's installation, was with my lord at Cawood, and sitting at dinner, they fell into communication of this matter, and the order and ceremony thereof: he saying that my lord cardinal should go a foot from a chapel, which stands without the gates of the city, called St. James's chapel, unto the minster upon cloth, which should be distributed to the poor, after his said passage to the

church. Which my lord hearing, replied and said, Although, perhaps, our predecessors have gone upon cloth, yet we intend to go on foot without any such pomp, or glory, in the vamps of our hose. And, therefore, he gave order to his servants, to go as humbly thither as might be, without any sumptuous apparel; for I intend, on Sunday, to come to you to be installed, and to make but one dinner for you at the close, and the next day to dine with the mayor, and so return again hither.

The day being not unknown to all the country, the gentlemen, abbots, and priors, had such provision sent in, that was almost incredible for store and variety.

The common people held my lord in great estimation for his purity and liberality, and also for his familiar gesture, and good behaviour amongst them. By means whereof, he gained much love of all the people in the north parts of England.

CHAP. XIX.

Of the Cardinal's fall, and how he was arrested of high treason.

WHAT chanced before his last troubles at Cawood, as a sign or token from God of that which should follow, I will now, God willing, declare. My lord's enemies being then at court about the king, in good estimation, and honourable dignities; seeing now my lord in great favour, and fearing the king would now call him home again, they therefore did plot amongst themselves to dispatch him by means of some sinister treason, or to bring him into the king's great indignation, by some other means.

This was their daily study and consultation, having, for their special help and furtherance, as many vigilant attendants upon him, as the poets feign Argus had eyes.

The king, with these their continual complaints, was moved to much indignation, and thought it good that the cardinal should come up, and to stand to his trial in his own person; which his enemies did not like. Notwithstanding, he was sent for, and after this sort:

First, they devised that Sir Walter Welch, knight, one of the king's privy-chamber, should be sent down with a commission into the north; and the earl of Northumberland, who was sometime brought up in the house of my lord, being joined in commission with him, should arrest my lord of high-treason. This being resolved upon, Sir Walter Welch prepared for his journey, with his commission and certain instruments annexed to the same, and took horse at the court gate upon Allhallows-day, towards my lord of Northumberland's.

Now will I declare what I promised before of a certain sign or token of my lord's troubles ensuing.

Upon Allhallows-day, my lord sitting at dinner, having, at his board's end, divers of his chaplains to bear

bear him company for want of other guests; you shall now understand, that my lord's great cross which stood by fell, and in the fall broke Doctor Bonner's head, inasmuch that some blood ran down. My lord, perceiving the fall thereof, demanded of those that stood by him, what was the matter that they stood so amazed; I shewed him, of the fall of his great cross upon Dr. Bonner's head: Quoth my lord, hath it drawn any blood? Yea, quoth I. With that he cast his head aside, and soberly said, *Malum omen*, and thereupon suddenly said grace, and rose from table, and went to his bed-chamber, but what he did there I cannot tell. Now mark how my lord expounded the meaning thereof, in his fancy, to me at Pontefract, after his fall: First, that the great cross that he bore as archbishop of York betokened himself, and Doctor Austin the physician, who overthrew the cross, was he that accused my lord, whereby his enemies caught an occasion to overthrow him; it fell on Dr. Bonner's head, who was then master of my lord's faculties, and spiritual jurisdiction, who was then damned by the fall thereof; and moreover the drawing of blood betokeneth death, which did suddenly after follow.

Now the appointed time drew near for the installation and sitting at dinner; the Friday before the Monday, that he should have been installed at York, the earl of Northumberland, and Mr. Welch, with a great company of gentlemen of the earl's house, and of the country, whom they had gathered in the king's name, to accompany them, yet not knowing to what end, came to the hall of Cawood (the officers being at dinner) and my lord not fully dined, not knowing any thing of the earl's being come.

The first thing that the earl did, after he had set the hall in order, he commanded the porter to deliver the keys of the gates to him; which he would in no wise do, although he was threatened and commanded in the king's name, to make deliverance thereof to one of the earl's servants; which he still refused, saying to the earl, that the keys were delivered to him by his lord and master, both by oath and other command.

Now some of the gentlemen that stood by the earl, hearing the porter speak so stoutly, said, 'He is a good fellow, and a faithful servant to his master, and speaks like an honest man; therefore give him your charge, and let him keep the keys still;' then said my lord, You shall well and truly keep the keys to the use of our sovereign lord the king, and you shall let none pass in nor out of the gates, but such as from time to time you shall be commanded by us, being the king's commissioners during our stay here; and with that oath he received the keys of the earl and Mr. Welch's hands; but of all these doings knew my lord nothing, for they had stopped the stairs that none should go to my lord's chamber, and they that came down could not go up again. At the length, one escaped up, and shewed my lord, that the earl of Northumberland was in the hall; whereat my lord wondered, and, at the first, believed him not, till he heard it con-

firmed by another: then saith my lord, I am sorry we have dined; for I fear our officers have not provided fish enough for the entertainment of him, with some honourable cheer fitting his estate and dignity: and with that my lord arose from the table, and commanded to let the cloth lie, that the earl might see how far forth they were at their dinners; and, as he was going down stairs, he encountered with my lord of Northumberland; to whom my lord said, You are heartily welcome, my lord, and so they embraced each other: then saith my lord cardinal, If you had loved me, you would have sent me word before of your coming, that I might have entertained you according to your honour. Notwithstanding, you shall have such cheer as I can make you for the present, with a right good-will; trusting you will accept thereof in good part, and hoping hereafter to see you oftener, when I shall be more able to entertain you; this said, my lord took him by the hand, and led him to his chamber, whom followed all the earl's servants; and, they being there all alone, saving I, which kept the door, as my office required, being gentleman-usher, and these two lords standing at a window, the earl trembling said: I arrest you of high-treason; with which words my lord was well nigh astonished, standing still a good while without speaking one word.

But, at the last, saith my lord, What authority have you to arrest me? The earl saith, I have a commission so to do. Shew it me, saith my lord, that I may see the contents thereof. Nay, sir, that you may not, saith the earl. Then saith my lord, hold you contented, for I will not obey your arrest, for there have been between your ancestors, and my predecessors, great contentions and debates, and, therefore, unless I see your authority I will not obey you.

Even as they were debating the matter in the chamber, so likewise was Master Welch busy in arresting Dr. Austin at the door, saying, Go in, you traitor, or I shall make thee: with that I opened the portal door, and did thrust in Dr. Austin before him with violence. The matter on both sides astonished me very much, marvelling what all this should mean, until, at the last, Master Welch being entered my lord's chamber, began to pluck off his hood, being of the same cloth his cloke was, which hood he wore, to the intent he should not be known, who kneeled down to my lord; to whom my lord said, Come hither, gentleman, and let me speak with you, commanding him to stand up, and said thus: My lord of Northumberland hath arrested me, but by what authority I know not; if you be privy thereunto, joined with him therein, I pray you shew me. Indeed, my lord, if it please your grace, says Master Welch, I pray have me excused; there are annexed to our commission certain instructions, as you may not see nor be privy to. Why, saith my lord, be your instructions such as I may not see nor be privy thereunto? yet, peradventure, if I be privy unto them, I may help you the better to perform them, for it is not unknown to you, that I have been of counsel, in as weighty matters as these

these are ; and I doubt not but I shall do well enough, for my part, and prove myself a true man against the expectations of my cruel enemies ; I see the matter, whereupon it groweth. Well, there is no more to do I trow, thou art of the privy-chamber, your name is Mr. Welch ; I am contented to yield to you, but not to the earl, unless I see his commission, and also you are a sufficient commissioner in this behalf, being one of the privy-chamber : therefore, put your commission in execution, spare me not, I will obey you and the king, for I fear not the cruelty of mine enemies, no more than I do the truth of my allegiance, wherein, I take God to witness, I never offended his majesty in word or deed, and therein I dare stand face to face with any, having a difference without partiality.

Then came my lord of Northumberland, and commanded me to avoid the chamber : and, being loth to depart from my master, I stood still, and would not remove ; to whom he spoke again and said, There is no remedy, you must depart ; with that I looked upon my master, as who would have said, Shall I go ? and, perceiving by his countenance, that it was not for me to stay, I departed and went into another chamber, where were many gentlemen and others to hear news ; to whom I made a report of what I heard and saw, which was great heaviness to them all.

Then the earl called into his chamber divers of his own servants, and, after he and Master Welch had taken the keys from my lord, he committed the keeping of my lord unto five gentlemen, and then they went about the house, and put all things in order, intending to depart the next day, and to certify the king, and the rest of the lords, what they had done.

Then went they busy about to convey Dr. Austin away to London with as much speed and privacy as they could possibly, sending with him divers persons to conduct him, who was bound to his horse like a traitor.

And this being done, when it was near night, the commissioners sending two grooms of my lord's to attend him in his chamber, where he lay all night, the rest of the earl's men watched in the chamber, and all the house was watched, and the gates safe kept, that no man could pass or repass until next morning.

About eight of the clock next morning, the earl sent for me into his chamber, and commanded me to go to my lord ; and, as I was going, I met with Master Welch, who called me unto him, and shewed me how the king's majesty bore unto me his principal favour for my love and diligent service, that I had performed to my lord : wherefore, saith he, the king's pleasure is, that you shall be about him as chief, in whom his highness putteth great confidence and trust ; and thereupon gave me in writing the articles : which when I had read, I said I was content to obey his majesty's pleasure, and would be sworn to the performance thereof ; whereupon he gave me my oath.

That done, I resorted to my lord, whom I found sitting in a chair, the table being ready spread for him. But, so soon as he perceived me to come in, he fell

into such a woful lamentation, that would have forced a flinty heart to mourn.

I then comforted him as well as I could, but he would not : ' For, quoth he, I am much grieved that ' I have nothing to reward you, and the rest of my ' true and faithful servants, for all the good service ' that they and you have done me, for which I do ' much lament.'

Upon Sunday following, the earl and Mr. Welch appointed to set forward ; for my lord's horse and ours were brought ready into the inner court, where we mounted, and coming towards the gate, ready to ride out, the porter had no sooner opened the same, but we saw without, ready attending, a great number of gentlemen and their servants, such as the earl had appointed for that service, to attend and conduct my lord to Pontefract that night.

But, to tell you the truth, there were also many of the people of the country assembled at the gate, lamenting his departure, in number above three thousand, who, after the opening of the gate, that they had a sight of him, cried out with a loud voice, ' God save ' your grace, God save your grace, the foul evil take ' them that have taken you from us ; we pray God, ' that vengeance may light upon them.' And thus they ran after him through the town of Cawood, for he was there very well beloved both of rich and poor.

CHAP. XX.

Of the Cardinal's entertainment at the Earl of Shrewsbury's, and of his death and burial at Leicester.

AFTER our departure from Cawood, we came to Doncaster ; the third day we came to Sheffield-park, where my lord of Shrewsbury lived, within the lodge, and the earl and his lady, and a great company of gentlewomen and servants stood without the gate, to attend my lord's coming ; at whose alighting, the earl received him with much honour, and embraced him, saying these words : ' My lord, you are most ' heartily welcome to my poor lodge, and I am glad ' to see you.'

Here my lord staid a fortnight, and was most nobly entertained ; he spent most of his time, and applied his mind to prayers continually, in great devotion. It came to pass, as he sat one day at dinner, I, being there, perceived his colour, divers times, to change ; I asked him if he was not well ; who answered me with a loud voice, ' I am suddenly taken with a thing at ' my stomach as cold as a whetstone, and am not well ; ' therefore take up the table, and make a short dinner, ' and return to me again suddenly.' I made but a little stay, but came to him again, where I found him still sitting very uneasy : he desired me to go to the apothecary, and ask him if he had any thing would break wind upwards ; he told me he had : then I went and shewed the same to my lord, who did command me to give him some thereof, and so I did, and

it made him break wind exceedingly: 'Lo, quoth he, you may see it was but wind, for now, I thank God, I am well eased;' and so he arose from the table, and went to prayers, as he used, every day after dinner.

In the afternoon, my lord of Shrewsbury sent for me to him, to whom he said, 'Forasmuch as I have always perceived you to be a man, in whom your lord putteth great affiance, and I myself, knowing you to be a man very honest;' with many words of commendations and praise, more than becometh me to rehearse, he said, 'Your lord and master hath often desired me to write to the king, that he might answer his accusations before his enemies: and this day I have received letters from his majesty, by Sir William Kingston, whereby I perceive, that the king hath him in good opinion, and, upon my request, hath sent for him, by the said Sir William Kingston.'

'Therefore, now I would have you play your part wisely with him, in such sort, as he may take it quietly, and in good part, for he is always full of sorrow, and much heaviness, at my being with him, that I fear he would take it ill, if I bring him tidings thereof; and therein doth he not well, for I assure you, that the king is his very good lord, and hath given me most hearty thanks for his entertainment; and, therefore, go your way to him, and persuade him, that I may find him quiet at my coming, for I will not tarry long after you.'

'Sir, quoth I, and, if it please your lordship, I shall endeavour, to the best of my power, to accomplish your lordship's command; but, sir, I doubt, when I name this Sir William Kingston, that he will mistrust some ill, because he is constable of the Tower, and captain of the guard, having in his company twenty-four of the guard to accompany him. That is nothing, quoth the earl; what if he be constable of the Tower, and captain of the guard, he is the fittest man, for his wisdom and discretion, to be sent about such a business; and, for the guard, it is only to defend him from those that might intend him any ill: besides that, the guard are, for the most part, such of his old servants, as the king hath took into his service, to attend him most justly. Well, sir, quoth I, I shall do what I can,' and so departed, and went to my lord, and found him in the gallery, with his staff and his beads in his hands; and seeing me, he asked me what news: 'Forsooth, quoth I, the best news that ever you heard, if you can take it well.' 'I pray God it be true, then,' quoth he. My lord of Shrewsbury, said I, your most assured friend, hath so provided, by his letters to the king, that his majesty hath sent for you, by Master Kingston, and twenty-four of the guard, to conduct you to his highness.' 'Master Kingston!' quoth he, and clapped his hand on his thigh, and gave a great sigh.

'May it please your grace, quoth I, I wish you would take all things well, it would be much better

for you; content yourself, for God's sake, and think that God and your good friends have wrought for you, according to your own desires: and, as I conceive, you have much more cause to rejoice, than lament or mistrust the matter; for, I assure you, that your friends are more afraid of you, than you need be of them: and his majesty, to shew his love to you, hath sent Master Kingston to honour you, with as much honour as is your grace's due, and to convey you in such easy journies as is fitting for you, and you shall command him to do, and that you shall have your request. And I humbly intreat you, to imprint this my persuasion in your highness's discretion, and to be of good cheer; wherewith you shall comfort yourself, and give your friends, and poor servants, great comfort and content.

'Well, quoth he, I perceive more than you can imagine, or do know.' Presently after came my lord, to acquaint him with that I had so lately related; my lord cardinal thanked the earl for his great love, and called for Master Kingston, who came to him presently, and, kneeling down before him, saluted him in the king's behalf, whom my lord, bareheaded, offered to take up, but he would not. 'Then, quoth my lord, Master Kingston, I pray you stand up, and leave your kneeling to me, for I am a wretch replete with misery, not esteeming myself, but as a meer abject, utterly cast away, but without desert, God knows; therefore, good Master Kingston, stand up.'

Then Master Kingston said, 'The king's majesty hath him commended unto you.' 'I thank his highness, quoth my lord, I hope he is in good health. Yes, quoth Master Kingston, and he hath him commended unto you, and commanded me to bid you be of good cheer, for he beareth you as much goodwill as ever he did.'

'And whereas report hath been made unto him, that you should commit against his majesty certain heinous crimes, which he thinketh to be; but yet he, for administration of justice, in such cases requisite, could do no less than send for you, that you might have your trial, mistrusting nothing your truth and wisdom, but that you shall be able to acquit yourself of all complaints and accusations extended against you; and you may take your journey to him at your pleasure, commanding me to attend you.'

'Master Kingston, quoth my lord, I thank you for your good news; and, sir, hereof assure yourself, if I were as able and lusty as ever I was to ride, I would go with you post: but, alas! I am a diseased man, having a flux,' (at which time it was apparent that he had poisoned himself) 'it hath made me very weak; but the comfortable news you bring is of purpose, I doubt, to bring me into a fool's paradise, for I know what is provided for me: notwithstanding, I thank you for your good-will, and pains taken about me, and I shall, with speed, make ready to ride with you.'

After this, I was commanded to make all things ready for our departure the morrow after.

When my lord went to bed, he fell very sick of the flux, which caused him to go to stool, from time to time, all that night; insomuch that, from that time till morning he had fifty stools; and the matter that he voided was very black, which the physicians called *adust*, whose opinions were, that he had not above four or five days to live.

Notwithstanding, he would have ridden with Mr. Kingston the next day, had not the earl of Shrewsbury advised him to the contrary; but, the next day, he took his journey with Master Kingston, and them of the guard, who, espying him, could not abstain from weeping, considering he was their old master, and now in such a miserable case; whom my lord took by the hand, and would, as he rode by the way, sometimes talk with one, and sometimes with another, till he came to a house of my lord's, standing in the way, called Hardwick-hall, where he lay all that night, extremely ill. The next day he came to Nottingham, and, the next day, to Leicester-abbey, and, the next day, he waxed very sick, that he had almost fallen from his horse, so that it was night before he got to Leicester-abbey; where, at his coming in at the gates, the abbot, with all their convent, met him with many lighted torches, whom they honourably received, and welcomed with great reverence.

To whom my lord said, 'Father abbot, I am come to lay my bones amongst you.' Riding still on his mule, till he came to the stairs of his chamber, where he alighted; Master Kingston, holding him by the arm, led him up the stairs, who told me afterwards, that he never felt so heavy a burden in all his life; and, as soon as he was in his chamber, he went straight to bed; this was upon Saturday, and so he continued.

On Monday in the morning as I stood by his bedside, about eight of the clock in the morning, the windows being close shut, and having wax-lights burning upon the cupboard, I thought I perceived him drawing on towards death. He, perceiving my shadow upon the bed-side, asked who was there. Sir, quoth I, it is I. How do you, quoth he, well? Ay, sir, quoth I, if I might see your grace well: What is it o'clock? quoth he: I answered, it was about eight of the clock: Quoth he, that cannot be, rehearsing eight of the clock so many times: Nay, quoth he, that cannot be, for at eight of the clock you shall see your master's time draw near, that I must depart this world. With that, Dr. Palmes, a worthy gentleman, standing by, bid me ask him if he would be shriven, to make him ready for God, whatever chanced to fall out, which I did: but he was very angry with me, and asked, What I had to do to ask him such a question? Till, at the last, the doctor took my part, and talked with him in Latin, and pacified him.

After dinner, Mr. Kingston sent for me, and said, Sir, the king hath sent unto me letters by Mr. Vincent, our old companion, who hath been in trouble in the Tower, for money that my lord should have at

his departure: a great part of this money cannot be found; wherefore the king, at Mr. Vincent's request, for the declaration of the truth, hath sent him hither with his grace's letters, that I should examine my lord, and have your counsel therein, that he may take it well and in good part. And this is the cause of my sending for you, therefore I desire your counsel therein, for acquittal of this poor gentleman, Mr. Vincent.

Sir, quoth I, according to my duty you shall; and, by my advice, you shall resort unto him in your own person to visit him, and, in communication, break the matter unto him: and, if he will not tell you the truth, then you may certify the king thereof; but in any case, name not, nor speak of my fellow Vincent: also I would not have you to detract the time, for he is very sick, and I fear that he will not live past a day or two; and accordingly Mr. Kingston went to my lord, and demanded the money, saying, that my lord of Northumberland found a book at Cawood-house, that you had but lately borrowed ten thousand pounds, and there is not so much as one penny to be found, who hath made the king privy to the same; wherefore, the king hath written to me, to know what is become thereof, for it were pity that it should be holden from you both. Therefore, I require you, in the king's name, to tell me the truth, that I may make a just report unto his majesty, of your answer.

With that, quoth my lord, Oh good Lord, how much doth it grieve me that the king should think any such thing in me, that I should deceive him of one penny, seeing I have nothing, nor ever had, God be my judge, that I ever esteemed so much mine own as his majesty's, having but the bare use of it, during my life, and after my death, to leave it wholly to him; wherein his majesty hath prevented me. But for this money you demand of me, I assure you, it is none of my own, for I borrowed it of divers of my friends to bury me, and to bestow amongst my servants, who have taken great pains about me; notwithstanding, if it be your pleasure to know, I must be content; yet I beseech his majesty, to see it satisfied for the discharge of my conscience to them that I owed it to. Who be they, quoth Mr. Kingston? That shall I tell you, quoth my lord, I borrowed two hundred pounds of John Allen of London, another two hundred pounds of Sir Richard Gresham, and two hundred pounds of the master of the Savoy; and also two hundred of Dr. Higden, dean of my college at Oxford; two hundred pounds of the treasurer of the church; and two hundred pounds of Mr. Ellis my chaplain; and another two hundred pounds of a priest. I hope the king will restore it again, forasmuch as it is none of mine.

Sir, quoth Mr. Kingston, there is no doubt in the king, whom you need not distrust, but, Sir, I pray you, where is the money? Quoth he, I will not conceal it, I warrant you, but I will declare it unto you before I die, by the grace of God; have a little patience with me, I pray you, for the money is safe enough in an honest man's hands, who will not keep one penny thereof from the king.

So

So Mr. Kingston departed, for that time, my lord being very weak, and about four of the clock, the next morning, as I conceived, I asked him how he did. Well, quoth he, if I had any meat, I pray you give me some.

Sir, quoth I, there is none ready; then he said, you are much to blame, for you should have always meat for me in readiness, whensoever that my stomach serves me; I pray you get some ready for me; for I mean to make myself strong to-day, to the intent I may go to confession, and make me ready for God; quoth I, I will call up the cooks to prepare some meat, and also I will call Mr. Palmer, that he may discourse with you, till your meat be ready. With a good-will, quoth my lord, and so I called Mr. Palmer, who rose and came to my lord.

Then I went and acquainted Mr. Kingston, that my lord was very sick, and not like to live. In good faith, quoth Mr. Kingston, you are much to blame, to make him believe he is sicker than he is. Well, sir, quoth I, you cannot say, but I gave you warning, as I am bound to do; upon which words he arose, and came unto him, but before he came, my lord cardinal had eaten a spoonful or two of callis made of chicken, and after that he was in his confession, the space of an hour: and then Mr. Kingston came to him, and bad him good-morrow, and asked him how he did, Sir, quoth he, I watch by God's pleasure, to render up my poor soul to him. I pray you have me heartily commended unto his royal majesty, and beseech him on my behalf to call to his princely remembrance all matters that have been between us from the beginning and the progress: and especially between good Queen Catharine, and him, and then shall his grace's conscience know whether I have offended him, or not.

He is a prince of a most royal carriage, and hath a princely heart, and, rather than he will miss or want any part of his will, he will endanger the one half of his kingdom.

I do assure you, I have often kneeled before him, sometimes three hours together, to persuade him from his will and appetite, but could not prevail: and, Master Kingston, if I had but served God, as diligently as I have served the king, he would not have given me over in my grey hairs. But this is the just reward that I must receive for my diligent pains and study, not regarding my service to God, but only to my prince. Therefore, let me advise you, if you be one of the privy-council, as by your wisdom you are fit, take heed what you put in the king's head, for you can never put it out again.

And I desire you further, to request his grace in God's name, that he have a vigilant eye to suppress the hellish Lutherans, that they increase not through his great negligence, in such a sort, as he be compelled to take up arms to subdue them, as the king of Bohemia was; whose commons being infected with Wickliff's heresies, the king was forced to take that course.

Let him consider the story of King Richard the Second, the second son of his progenitor; who lived in

the time of Wickliff's seditions and heresies: Did not the commons, I pray you in his time, rise against the nobility and chief governors of this realm; and, at the last, some of them were put to death, without justice or mercy, and, under pretence of having all things common, did they not fall to spoiling or robbing, and, at last, took the king's person, and carried him about the city, making him obedient to their proclamations?

Did not also the traitorous heretick, Sir John Oldcastle, Lord Cobham, pitch a field with hereticks against King Henry the Fourth, where the king was in person, and fought against them, to whom God gave the victory?

Alas! If these be not plain precedents and sufficient persuasions to admonish a prince: then God will take away from us our prudent rulers, and leave us to the hands of our enemies. And then will ensue mischief upon mischief, inconveniences, barrenness and scarcity, for want of good orders, in the commonwealth, from which God of his tender mercy defend us.

Master Kingston farewell, I with all things may have good success, my time draws on; I may not tarry with you, I pray you remember my words.

Now, began the time to draw near, for he drew his speech at length; his tongue began to fail him, his eyes perfectly set in his head, and his sight failed him. Then we began to put him in mind of Christ's passion, and caused the yeoman of the guard, to stand by privately, to see him die, and bear witness of his words and departure, who heard all his communications.

And then presently the clock struck eight, at which time he gave up the ghost; and thus departed he this life, one of us looking upon another, supposing he prophesied of his departure.

We sent for the abbot of the house to anoint him, who speedily came as he was ending his life, who said certain prayers before that the life was out of his body.

Here is the end and fall of pride; for, I assure you, he was the proudest man alive, having more regard to the honour of his person, than to his spiritual function, wherein he should have expressed more meekness and humility: for pride and ambition are both linked together; and ambition is like choler, which is an humour that makes men active, earnest, and full of alacrity and stirring, if it be not stopped or hindered in its course; but, if it be stopped, and cannot have its way, it becometh dust, and thereby malign and venomous. So ambitious and proud men, if they find the way open for their rising and advancement, and still get forwards, they are rather busy than dangerous; but, if they be checked in their desires, they become secretly discontented, and look upon men and matters with an evil eye, and are best pleased when things go backwards: but I forbear to speak any further therein.

The cardinal being departed, Mr. Kingston sent post to London one of the guard; then were Mr. Kingston and the abbot in consultation about the funeral, which was solemnised the day after, for Mr. Kingston would not stay the return of the post.

They

They thought good, that the mayor of Leicester and his brethren should see him personally dead, to prevent false reports that he was alive. And, in the interim, whilst the mayor was sent for, his bones were laid in the coffin, and his shirt of hair, and his overshirt of fine holland, were taken off, and put into the coffin together, with all such ornaments wherewith he was invested, when he was made archbishop, as mitre, cross, ring, and pall, with all other things due to his orders.

Thus he lay all that day with his coffin open and bare-faced, that all that desired might see him; and about three of the clock he was buried by the abbot with great solemnity. And being in the church, his corpse was set in the Lady's-chapel with many tapers, and poor men about him, holding torches in their hands, who watched the corpse all that night, whilst the canons sung divers dirges, and other divine orisons.

And, at four of the clock the next morning, the cardinal's servants and Mr. Kingston came to the church to the execution of many ceremonies, in such manner as is usual at a bishop's burial; and so he went to mass, where the abbot did offer, and divers others; and then went to bury the corpse in the middle of the said chapel; by this time it was six of the clock, being St. Andrew's day.

Then we prepared for our journey to the court, where we attended his majesty. The next day I was sent for to the king, conducted by Mr. Norris, where the king was in his night-gown of Rochet velvet, furred with fables, before whom I kneeled the space of an hour, during which time his majesty examined me of divers particulars concerning my lord cardinal, wishing, rather than twenty thousand pounds, that he had lived.

He asked me concerning the fifteen hundred pounds, which Mr. Kingston moved to my lord. Quoth I, I think I can perfectly tell your grace where it is, and who hath it. Can you, quoth the king, I pray you tell me, and you shall not be unrewarded?

Sir, quoth I, after the departure of Mr. Vincent from my lord at Scrooby, who had the custody thereof, leaving it with my lord in divers bags, he delivered it to a certain priest, safely to be kept for his use. Is this true, quoth the king? Yea, quoth I, without doubt, the priest will not deny it before me, for I was at the delivery thereof, who hath gotten divers other rich ornaments, which are not registered in the book of my lord's inventory; or other writings, whereby any man is able to charge him therewith, but myself.

Then said the king, Let me alone for keeping this secret between me and you. Howbeit, three may keep counsel, if two be away; and, if I knew my cap was privy to my counsel, I would cast it into the fire and burn it; and, for your honesty and truth, you shall be our servant in our chamber, as you were with your master.

Therefore, go you your ways to Sir John Gage, our vice-chamberlain, to whom we have spoken already, to admit you our servant in our chamber, and then go to the lord of Norfolk, and he shall pay you your whole year's wages, which is ten pounds: Is not it so, quoth the king? Yea, forsooth, and if it please your grace, quoth I: and withal, said the king, you shall receive a reward from the duke of Norfolk.

So I received ten pounds of the duke for my wages, and twenty pounds for my reward; and his majesty gave me a cart and six horses, the best that I could chuse out of my lord's horses, to carry my goods, and five marks for my charges homewards.

An epistle of the moste myghty and redoubted prince, Henry the Eighth, by the grace of God, kyng of England, and of Fraunce, lorde of Irelande, defender of the faithe, and supreme heed of the church of England, nexte vnder Christe, writen to the emperours maiestie, to all Christen princes, and to all those that trewly and syncerely professe Christes religion.

In this epistle bothe the causes are playnely declared, why the kynges hyghenes owght neyther to sende nor go to the counsell indicted at Uincence, and also how perylouse a thing it is for all suche, as professe the trewe doctrine of Christe, to come thether.

Herevnto also is annexed the protestation made the last yere, by the kynges hyghenes, his holle counsaile and clergie, as touchinge the counsell indicted at Mantua, &c.

Rede bothe o Christen reader, truthe is comynge home, longe afore beyng in captyuytye, steppe forth and meete her by the waye: yf thou see her presente, embrace hir, and shewe thy selfe gladde of here retourne.

As the following small piece is one, if not the very first publick declaration of King Henry the Eighth, against the pope, now extant, I apprehend, that it will be doing great service to the English history, to preserve it in this collection.

The occasion was the king's being cited by the pope, in concert with the emperor, to appear before a general council, as he pretended, to be held at Mantua, to answer to such accusations there to be laid against him.

The king communicated this summons to the convocation, then sitting, and demanded their advice; who answered in writing, that, before a general council could be called, it was necessary to consider, Who had authority to call it. 2dly, Whether the reasons for calling it were weighty. 3dly, Who should assist as judges. 4thly, What should be the order of proceeding. 5thly, What doctrines were to be discussed. And lastly, That neither the pope nor any other prince, without the consent of all the sovereigns in Christendom, had power to call a general council. And, Henry, well knowing that he must lose his cause before such a council, as proposed, he had been unwise to submit to its decisions: Therefore,

Pursuant to this declaration of his clergy, the king protested against this council, in which protestation he speaks very plainly and freely of the designs and conduct of the pope; being informed of the council's being moved to Vicenza, he repeated the same protestation to the emperor in this letter following.

Henry the VIII. By the Grace of God, Kynge of Englande, and of Fraunce, &c. saluteth the Emperour, Christen Princes, and all true Christen Men, desyringe Peace and Concorde amonges them.

WHERE as not long sithens a boke came forth in oure and all oure counsayles names, whyche bothe conteyned many causes, why we refused the councylle, than by the byshoppe of Romes vsurped power fyrste indycted atte Mantua, to be kepte the xxiii. daye of May, after proroged to Nouember, noo place appoynted where it shulde be kepte. And where as the same boke doth sufficiently proue, that oure cause coulde take no hurt, neyther with any thyng doone or decreed in such a companye of addicte men to one secte, nor in any other councille called by his vsurped power, we thynke it nothyng necessarye so ofte to make new protestations, as the byshop of Rome and his courtes, by subtyltye and crafte, doo inuente wayes to mocke the worlde by newe pretended generall councilles. Yet not withstandyng, bycause that some thynges haue nowe occurred, eyther vpon occasion gyuen vs, by chaunge of the place, or els throughe other confyderations, whyche, nowe beyng knowne to the worlde, maye do moche good, we thought we shulde do, but euen as that loue enforceth vs, which we owe vnto Christis fayth and relygion, to adde this epistell: and yet we proteste, that we neyther put forth that boke, neyther that we wolde this epistle to be set afore it, that thereby we shulde seme lesse to desyre a generall councille, than any other prynce or potentate, but rather more desyring of it, so it were free for all partes, and vniuersall.

And further we desyre al good princes, potentates, and people, to esteeme and thynke that noo prynce

wolde more wyllingly be present at suche a councille than we, suche a one, we meane, as we speake of in our protestatyon, made concernyng the councille of Mantua. Trewely as our forefathers inuented nothyng more holier than generall councils, vsed as they ought to be, so there is almost nothyng, that may do more hurt to the Christian common welth, to the faith, to our religion, than generall councils, if they be abused, to luker, to gaynes, to the establisshment of errorrs. They be called generall, and euen by their name doo admonyshe vs, that all Christen men, which do discent in any opinion, maye in them openly, frankely, and without feare of punysshment or displeasure, say theyr mynde. For seynge suche thynges, as are decreed in generall councils, touche egally all men that gyue assent therevnto, it is mete that euery man maye boldely saye there that he thinketh. And verely we suppose, that it ought not to be called a generall councylle, where alonely those men are harde, which are determined for euer, in all poyntes, to defend the popyshe part, and to arme theym selves to fyght in the byshoppe of Romes quarelle, though it were against God and his scriptures. It is no generall councill, neyther it ought to be called generall, where the same men be onely aduocates and aduersaries, the same accused and iuges. No it is agaynst the lawe of nature, eyther that we shulde condescende to so vnresonable a lawe against our selves, eyther that we shuld suffre our selves to be leste withoute all defence, and, beyng oppressed with greattest iniuries, to haue

no refuge to succour our selves at. The byshop of Rome*, and his, be our great ennemyes, as we and all the worlde may well perceyue by his doynges. He desyreth nothinge more than our hurte, and the destruction of oure realme: do not we than violate the iudgement of nature, yf we gyue hym power and auctoritie to be our iudge? His pretended honour fyrste gotten by superstition, after encreased by vyolence, and other wayes, as euylle as that: his power sette uppe by pretense of relygyon, in dede, both agaynste relygyon, and also contrary to the worde of God: his primacye, borne by the ignorancye of the worlde, nourysht by the ambition of byshops of Rome, defended by places of scripture, falsely vnderstande. These iii. thynges we saye, whiche are fallen with vs, and are lyke to fall in other realmes shortly, shall they not be establisht again, yf he maye decyde our cause as hym lysteth? Yf he may at his pleasure oppresse a cause mooste ryghtuouse, and set vp his, mooste agayne truth? Certaynely, he is verye blynde, that seeth not, what ende we maye loke for of our controuersie, if suche our enemye maye gyue the sentence.

We desyre, yf it were in any wyse possible, a councill, where some hope may be, that those thynges shall be restored, which, nowe beinge deprauate, are lyke, if they be not amended, to be the vtter ruine of Christen relygyon. And as we do desyre suche a councyll, and thinke it mete, that all men, in all their prayers, shoulde craue and desyre it of God; euen so we thinke it pertayneth vnto oure office, to prouyde bothe that these popyshe subtylties hurt none of our subiectes, and also to admonyshe other Christen princis, that the byshoppe of Rome maye not by their consent abuse the auctoritie of kynges, eyther to the extynguyshing of the true preaching of scripture, that now begynneth to spryng, to grow, and spred abrode, eyther to the troubling of princes liberties, to the dimynishyng of kynges auctorities, and to the great blemyshe of theyr princely maiestie. We dout nothing but a reder, not parciall, wyll soone approue suche thynges, as we write in the treatyse folowyng, not soo moche for oure excuse, as that the worlde maye perceyue both the sondry deceytes, craftes, and subtylties of the papistes, and also, how moche we desyre, that controuersyes in relygyon maye ones be taken awaye. All that we sayde there of Mantua, maye here well be spoken of Uincence. They do almooste agree in all poyntes. Neyther it is lyke, that there wolle be any more at this councille at Uincence, than were the laste yere atte Mantua. Trewelye he is worthy to be deceyued, that, beyng twyse mocked, wolle not beware the thyrde tyme. Yf any this last yere made forth towarde Mantua, and, beyng halfe on their waye, thanne perceyued, that they hadde taken vpon them that iourney in vayne, we do not thinke them so foolyshe that they wolle hereafter ryde farre oute of towne to be mocked. The tyme also, and the state of thynges is suche, that

matters of relygyon maye rather nowe be broughte farther in trouble, as other thynges are, than be commodiously intreated of and decyded. For where as, in maner, the hole worlde is after suche sorte troubyd with warres, so incombred with the great preparations that the Turke maketh, Canne there be any manne so agaynste the setlyng of relygyon, that he wolle thinke this tyme mete for a generall councille? Undoubtedlye it is mete that such controuersies, as we haue with the byshoppe of Rome, be taken as they are; that is moche greater, than that they maye eyther be discussd in this soo troublefome a tyme, or elles be committed vnto proctours, without our greate ieopardie, all be it the tyme were neuer so quiete. What other princes wyll do, we can not tell, but we wyll neyther leaue our realme at this tyme, neyther we wyll truste any procour with oure cause, wherein the holle staye and welth of our realme standeth, but rather we wyll be atte the handlyng therof our selfe. For excepte both an other iudge be agreed vpon for those matters, and also a place more commodious be prouyded, for the debating of our causes, all be it al other thynges were as we wolde haue them, yet maye we lawfully refuse to come or sende any to his pretended councylle. We wolle in noo case make hym our arbyter, whyche, not many yeres paste, oure cause not harde, gaue sentence agaynste vs. We wolle that suche doctrine, as we, folowyng the scripture, do professe, rytely to be examynyed, discussyd, and to be brought to scripture, as to the onely touche stone of true lernyng. We wyll not suffre them to be abolyshd, ere euer they be discussyd, ne to be oppressed, before they be knowen: moche lesse we wyll suffre theym to be troden downe beinge so clerely trewe. No, as there is no iote in scripture, but we wolle defende it, though it were with ieopardie of oure lyfe, and peryll of this our realme: so is there no thyng, that doeth oppresse this doctrine, or obscure it, but we wolle be at continuall warre therwith. As we haue abrogated all olde popishe tradicions in this oure realme, whiche eyther dyd helpe his tyranny or increase his pryde: soo, yf the grace of God forsake vs not, we wyll wel forsee, that no newe naughtye tradicions be made with our consente, to bynde vs or our realme. Yf men wyll not be willyngely blynde, they shall easily see euen by a due and euident profe in reson, though grace dothe not yet by the worde of Christ enter into theym, howe small thauctorytie of the byshop of Rome is, by the lawfull denyall of the duke of Mantua for the place. For yf the byshoppe of Rome dydde earnestly intende to kepe a councyll at Mantua, and hath power, by the lawe of God, to calle prynces to what place hym lyketh: Why hath he not also auctoritie to chose what place hym lysteth? The byshop chose Mantua, the duke keppe hym out of it. Yf Paule the byshoppe of Romes auctoritye be so great, as he pretendeth, Why coulde not he compel Fredericus, duke of Mantua, that the councille myghte be keppe there?

* Published a bull of excommunication against him; and tried to excite all princes of Christendom, against Henry, and offered his kingdom to the king of Scotland, &c.

The duke wolde not suffre it. No, he forbadde hym his towne. Howe chaunceth it, that here excommunicacyons flye not abroode? Why dothe he not punyshe this duke?

Why is his power, that was wonte to be more than fulle, here emptye; wonte to be more than all, here nothyng? Dothe he not calle men in vayne to a counccille, yf they, that comme at his callinge, be excluded the place, to the whyche he callethe theym? Maye not kynges iustelye refuse to come at his call, whan the duke of Mantua maye denye hym the place, that he choseth? Yf other prynces order hym as the duke of Mantua hath doone, What place shall be lefte hym, where he maye kepe his generall counccill? Again, if prynces haue gyuen hym this auctoritie, to calle a counccille, Is hit not necessarye, that they gyue hym allso all those thynges, withoute the whyche he canne not exercyse that his power? Shall he call men, and wolle ye let hym fynde no place to call them vnto? Truly he is not wonte to appoynte one of his owne cyties, a place to keepe the counccill in. No, the good manne is so faythefull and frendely towarde other, that seldome he desyreth prynces to be his gestis. And admytte he shulde calle vs to one of his cyties, shulde we safely walke within the walles of suche oure ennemyes towne? Were it mete for vs there to dyscusse controuersyes of relygyon, or to kepe vs out of our ennemyes trappes? Mete to studie for the defence of suche doctrine as we professe, or rather howe we myghte in suche a thronge of perylles be in sauegarde of our lyfe? Well, in this one acte the byshoppe of Rome hathe declared, that he hathe none auctorytie vppon places in other mennes domynions, and therefore, yf he promysse a counccille in any of those, he promyseth that that is in an other man to perfourme, and so may he deceyue vs agayne. Nowe, if he calle vs to one of his owne townes, we be a frayde to be at suche an hostes table. We saye, Better to ryse a hungred, then to goo thense with oure bellies fulle. But they saye, The place is founde, we neede noo more seke where the counccill shall be kepte. As who saythe, That, that chaunced at Mantua, maye not also chaunce at Uyncence. And as thoughe it were very lyke, that the Uenecians, menne of suche wysedome, shoulde not bothe forsee and feare also that, that the wyse duke of Mantua semed to feare. Certes, whanne

we thynke vppon the state, that the Uenecians be in nowe, hit seemeth noo verye lykely thyng that they wolle eyther leaue Uyncence, theyr cytye, to so many nations, without some greate garrison of souldyers, or elles that they, beyng elles where so fore charged all redy, wyll nowe noryshe an armye there. And, if they wolde, dothe not Paulus hym selfe graunt, that it shulde be an euill presydent, and an euill exauple, to haue an armed counccille: how so euer it shal be, we mooste hartely desyre you, that ye wolde vouchefase to rede those thynges that we wrote this last yere touchyng the Mantuan counccille. For we nothyng doubte, but you, of youre equitye, wyll stande on our syde agaynste theyr subtyltye and fraudes, and iudge, excepte we be deceyued, that we, in this busynesse, neyther gaue soo moch to oure affectyons, neyther withoute greatte and mooste iuste causes, refused theyr counccylles, theyr censures, and decrees. Whyther these oure wrytynges please all menne, or noo, we thynke, we ought not to passe moche. Noo, yf that, that indyfferently is wrytten of vs, may please indyfferente reders, oure desyre is accomplyshed. The false and mystakynge of thynges, by men parcyall, shall moue vs nothyng, or elles very lytel. Yf we haue sayd aughte agaynste the deceytes of the byshop of Rome, that maye seme spoken to sharpely, we praye you, impute it to the hatredde we bare vnto vices, and not to any euylle wyll that we bare hym. Noo, that he, and all his, maye perceyue, that we are rather at stryfe with his vices, than with hym and his: oure prayer is, bothe that it maye please God at the laste to open theyr eyes, to make softe theyr harde hartes, and that they ones maye with us, theyr owne glorye set aparte, study to set forthe the euerlastyng glorie of the euerlastyng God.

Thus, myghtye emperoure, fare ye mooste hartely well, and ye Christen princes, the pylors and staye of Christendome, fare ye hartely well. Also all ye, what people so euer ye are, whiche doo desyre, that the gospel and glory of Christ maye floryshe, fare ye hartely well.

Gyuen at London oute of oure palace at Westmynster, the eyghte of Apryll, the nyne and twentye yere of our reygne.

Love-letters from King Henry the Eighth, to Anne Boleyn: And two letters from Anne Boleyn, to Cardinal Wolsey; with her last to Henry the Eighth.

As these letters, with a few reflections on them, may give those, that have not leisure to turn over large volumes, just notions of the grounds of King Henry the Eighth's divorce, and arm them against the calumnies of the papists on that subject, I shall give you a faithful copy of them from the originals,

originals, now preserved in the Vatican library, where they are usually shewn to all strangers, and a true translation of those that were written in French, introducing them with a short view of the most remarkable transactions which preceded, and gave occasion to them. To which end, it may first be observed*, that, in King Henry the Seventh's time, his eldest son, Prince Arthur, being † past fifteen years of age, was married to the Princess Catherine of Spain, who was elder than himself; that they lived together as man and wife for several months, and then, Prince Arthur dying ‡, it was resolved, for reasons of state, that Prince Henry should marry his brother's widow. This was opposed by Warham, archbishop of Canterbury, as absolutely unlawful, but advised by Fox, bishop of Winchester, who thought all difficulties would be removed by a dispensation from Rome; accordingly a bull was obtained || to that effect, and they were married, the prince being yet under age. But Warham had so possessed the king with scruples against this marriage, that, the day § on which the prince was of age, he, by his father's order, protested against it, as null and void; and Henry the Seventh, with his dying breath, persisted in charging his son to break it off intirely. However, when Henry the Eighth came to the crown, it was resolved in council, that he should renew his marriage; which was done ** publickly, and he had several children by the queen, who all died young, except the Lady Mary ††.

After this there appeared no farther disquiet in the king's mind, nor any sign of an intended divorce, till the year 1524, when Cardinal Wolsey, by his legantine mandate, published a bull of the pope's against those that contracted marriage within the forbidden degrees. This mandate is yet extant in the register of Fisher, bishop of Rochester. What followed makes this justly suspected to have been done, on the king's account. To confirm which suspicion, there is a concurring circumstance, in a letter from Simon Grineus to Bucer, dated September 10, 1531, where he says ††. The king had declared to him, that he had abstained from Queen Catherine, for seven years, upon scruples of Conscience.

However, though the king had scruples at that time, yet he concealed them carefully from the world, for some years; and the immediate occasion of their breaking out seems to have been given by the French ambassadors, who came ||| to England to treat of several matters, and particularly of a marriage between the Princess Mary and the French king, or the duke of Orleans, his second son. This alternative was at last agreed §§, though it remained sometime in suspence***, because the president of the parliament of Paris doubted, whether the marriage between the king and her mother, being his brother's wife, were good or no. ††† The bishop of Tarbe made the same objection, and renewed it to the king's ambassadors in France, as appears by King Henry's speech to the mayor and citizens of London concerning his scruples, where he says, When our ambassadors were last in France, and motion was made, that the duke of Orleans should marry our said daughter, one of the chief counsellors to the French king said, It were well done to know, whether she be the king of England's lawful daughter, or not; for well known it is, that he begat her on his brother's wife, which is directly contrary to God's law, and his precept. That this counsellor was the bishop of Tarbe, is affirmed ††† by the bishop of Bayonne, in the account he gives of this speech to the court of France, in a letter dated the 27th of November, 1528; yet this very bishop of Tarbe was afterwards advanced to be a cardinal, and was so far from retracting his opinion, that, when he was cardinal of Grandemont, in a letter dated the 27th of March, 1530, he writes to the French court, That he had served the Lord Rochford (Anne Boleyn's father) all he could, and that the pope had three several times said to him in secret, that he wished the marriage had been already made in England, either by the legate's dispensation, or otherwise; provided it was not done by him, nor in diminution of his authority, under pretence of the laws of God. The conduct shews, That it was not religion, but political views, that turned the court of Rome against the king's cause, which they at first plainly favoured. And

* Hist. Reform. Part I.

† November 14, 1501.

‡ April 2, 1502.

|| December 26, 1503.

§ June 22, 1505.

** June 3, 1509.

†† Afterwards queen of England.

†† See Hist. Reform. Part I.

||| March 2, 1527.

§§ April 30, 1527.

*** Hall.

††† Herbert.

††† Hist. Reform. Part III.

Now as to the arguments by which the king fortified himself in these scruples. These, as he himself owned*, were, that he found by the law of Moses, If a man took his brother's wife, they should die childless; this made him reflect on the death of his children, which he now looked on as a curse from God, for that unlawful marriage. He found Thomas Aquinas (whom he chiefly valued of all the casuists) of opinion, That the laws of Leviticus, about the forbidden degrees of marriage, were moral and eternal, such as obliged all Christians; and that the pope could only dispense with the laws of the church, but not with the laws of God: and, when the validity of the marriage came afterwards to be thoroughly canvassed, it appeared that the whole tradition of the church and the opinions of its doctors were against the marriage.

In the year 1527, before Cardinal Wolsey's journey to France, which he began on the 3d of July, to promote the King's marriage with the duchess of Alençon, the king's scruples were become publick, as two writers† testify almost in the same words: This season, says Hall, began a fame in London, that the king's confessor, the bishop of Lincoln, called Dr. Langland, and divers other great clerks, had told the king, that the marriage between him and the Lady Catherine, late wife to his brother Prince Arthur, was not good, but damnable.

And this suspicion, of the cardinal's going to promote a second match in France, is confirmed‡ by a letter of his, dated Feversham, July the 5th, 1527, where he says, Archbishop Warham had warned him of the great jealousies which Queen Catherine had of his || journey. And by another letter dated August the 1st, 1527, where he labours to satisfy the king, that the pope's dispensation was in itself null and void. All these particulars will be the stronger proofs of the cardinal's intention, when it shall be proved that the cardinal could then have no thoughts of Anne Boleyn; whose father, the Lord Rochford, came over to England from France with the duchess of Alençon's picture§ to shew it to King Henry; and it was then, in all probability, that Anne Boleyn came over with him; for, though she had been in England in 1522, yet she did not stay long**, but returned into the service of Claude queen of France, where she continued till that queen died, which was in 1524, and then went into the duchess of Alençon's service, which she left probably at this time. Soon after her coming into England, she was taken into Queen Catherine's court, where the Lord Piercy courted her, and was upon the point of marrying her††; had not Cardinal Wolsey, by the king's order, prevented it; and as the same author assures us, it was not till after the cardinal's return from France, which was on the last day of September 1527, that the king opened his affection for Anne Boleyn to him.

Why then do the papists pretend to say, that the king would never have had thoughts of a divorce, or scruples against his first marriage, had not his unlawful passion for Mrs. Boleyn prompted him to them? Whereas it is plainly proved, that the king's scruples were infused in him from his infancy, on the justest grounds; that they were revived in him three years‡‡ before they were made publick, and that they were commonly talked of, and a new match contrived for him to the duchess of Alençon, before Anne Boleyn appeared at court. All which will still appear more clearly in the ensuing letters. But, before I make any remarks on these, I must first give a short account of the king's negotiations at Rome, without which some of them cannot be understood. In the end of 1527|||, the king solicited the pope for a commission to judge the validity of his marriage with Queen Catharine§§, which after some time was obtained in a bull, dated the 13th of April, 1528***, empowering Cardinal Wolsey, with the archbishop, or any other English bishop, to judge the marriage. But this was not made use of; perhaps because it was thought, that a stranger ought to be employed, that the proceeding might be more impartial. So a new commission††† was desired, and obtained, bearing date the 6th of June, in which the cardinals Wolsey and Campegio (an Italian) were appointed joint legates to judge the marriage.

And, to make this the surer, there was a pollicitation (or promise) procured on the 23d of July, 1528, That the pope would never inhibit or revoke this commission to judge the marriage; and a

* Hist. Reform. Part I.

† Stow, Hall.

‡ Herbert.

|| Hist. Reform. Part I.

§ Hist. Reform. Part I.

** Camden.

†† Cavendish.

‡‡ Viz. 1524.

||| Hist. Reform. Part I.

§§ Hist. Reform. Part III.

*** Rymer, Tom. xiv.

††† Herbert.

decretal bull, which contained an absolute decision of the cause, which was only shewn to the king, and Cardinal Wolsey, by Campegio; but all these precautions which were admitted of, when the pope was in a distressed condition, did not restrain his holiness from sending one Campana before the end of the year, to see the decretal bull secretly burnt; and from recalling the legate's commission, and avocating the cause to Rome the next year, when his affairs were more flourishing, and the emperor (who was Queen Catherine's nephew) had granted all his demands.

Now as to the letters themselves. It may be presumed reasonably, that, if there had been any thing in them that had reflected on the king's honour, or on Anne Boleyn's, they would certainly have been published by the papists at that very time; for they were in their hands soon after they were written, as appears from this passage in Lord Herbert's history.

'When Cardinal Campegio came to take ship, the searchers, upon pretence he carried either money or letters from England to Rome, ransacked all his coffers, bags, and papers, not without hope, certainly, to recover that decretal bull our king so much longed for. I find also (some relation) that divers love-letters between our king and Mistress Boleyn, being conveyed out of the king's cabinet, were sought for, though in vain; they having been formerly sent to Rome.'

To explain this account, it must be supposed, that they were taken, not out of the king's, but out of Anne Boleyn's cabinet: this is the more probable, because, in fact, they are all letters from the king to her; whereas, if his cabinet had been rifled, her answers to him would have been more likely to be found there.

As to the time in which the king's letters to Anne Boleyn were written, in all probability, it was immediately after her dismissal from the court*, which was done to silence the clamours of the people on her account; but she was sent away in so abrupt a manner, that she determined to absent herself altogether; which made the king soon repent of his severity, and press her to come back; but this was not obtained for a long time, nor without great difficulty; as appears by some of the following letters. The time of her dismissal was not till May 1528, for there is a letter extant † from Fox to Gardiner, at Rome, dated London, May the 4th, 1528, where he writes, Of his landing at Sandwich, May the 2d,—His coming that night to Greenwich, where the king lay,—His being commanded to go to Mistress Anne's chamber in the Tilt-yard—And declaring to her their expedition in the king's cause, and their hastening the coming of the legate—To her great rejoicing and comfort—Then came the king, to whom he delivered his letters,—and opened his negotiations—Then he went to the cardinal, &c.

Soon after the date of this letter, she was dismissed; for, in the first of the letters that follow, the king makes excuses for the necessity of their being asunder; and, in the second, complains of her unwillingness to return to court. In neither of these, is a word of the sweating sickness, which raged violently in June; and, of which, he speaks in his third letter, as of a thing that had lasted some time, and, of which, he had formed many observations from experience. Between this letter, which seems to have been writ in July, and the sixth, which, mentioning the legate's arrival at Paris, must have been written in the end of September, there are two letters, which by the earnestness of the business, were plainly written within a few days of one another. Probably, soon after the latter‡ of these were sent by the king, where he expressed how much he was pleased with her answer to his earnest desire in the former||, in the heat of his gratitude, he paid a visit to his mistress, in which time they wrote a joint letter to Cardinal Wolsey, which is added in the Appendix, where the king expresses his wonder, that he has not yet heard of the legate Campegio's arrival at Paris; which makes it probable this happened in September. The king stayed not long with her after this; for, when she had received the cardinal's answer, she writes a second letter, without mentioning the king's being there; and again shews impatience to hear of the legate's coming, of which, the king gave her the first news soon after. But,

* Herbert.

† Lately in the earl of Oxford's library, 39. B. 4.

‡ Letter the fifth.

|| Letter the fourth.

To return to the fourth letter, which from all these particulars may be supposed to have been written in August; it is the most important in all the collection, for it fixes the time when his affection to Anne Boleyn began. He complains in it, That he had been above a whole year struck with the dart of love, and not yet sure whether he shall fail, or find a place in her heart or affection. Now, by the nature of his complaint, it is visible, that he pleads all the merit that a long attendance could give him; and, therefore, if, instead of a year, he could have called it a year and a half, or two years, he would certainly have done it, to make his argument the stronger. It may likewise be probably concluded from the same words, that he had not then known her much above half a year; for it would have been an ill compliment in him, to let her understand that he had seen her some time, before he was at all in love with her.

These remarks confirm the account already given, of her coming from France with her father, and, by that means, serve to establish the king's vindication from the scandal thrown on him by the papists, that he had no scruples about his marriage, till he saw Anne Boleyn.

Though it may be here questioned, how the time of any particular letter can be known, since they have no date, and therefore may have been put out of their order. But those, that will read them with any attention, will find a chain of circumstances referred to, that plainly shew they were laid together by one that knew the order in which they were written, very likely by Anne Boleyn herself; and whoever stole them, as he took them all together, so would be careful, no doubt, to keep them in the order he found them in, that the discoveries to be made from them might be the more complete.

It will not be doubted by any that read these letters, that the king's affection to Anne Boleyn was altogether upon honourable terms. There appears no pretension to any favours, but when the legates shall have paved the way. There is but one offence that can be taken at these letters, which is, that there are indecent expressions in them. But this is to be imputed to the simplicity and unpoliteness of that age, which allowed too great liberties of that sort; and it must be owned by his enemies, that there are but three or four of these sallies, in all the collection, and that there are letters which make much more for the king's piety and virtue, than those irregularities can sully his character.

In the fifth letter he tells her, God can do it, if he pleases; to whom I pray once a day for that and, and hope, that, at length, my prayers will be heard.

In the sixth, I trust shortly to enjoy, what I have so long longed for, to God's pleasure, and our both comforts.

In the ninth, praying God, that (and it be his pleasure) to send us shortly togydder. Surely, these religious expressions would have been very improper, to make an unlawful passion succeed.

In the thirteenth, speaking of the ill character of one that was proposed to be made abbess of Wilton, he writes, I would not, for all the gold in the world, clog your conscience nor mine, to make her ruler of a house, which is of so ungodly demeanour; nor I trust you would not, that, neither for brother nor sister, I should so destain mine honour or conscience. The whole letter is of an excellent strain, and would have been a very improper exhortation to one against whose virtue he had a design.

The last of the letters mentions the legate's illness, as a reason why he had not yet entered upon his office; which shews, that the correspondence ended at least in May 1529, when the process began.

There is but one thing after the letters, that it seems very material to add here in the king's defence, and that is, the approbation of his cause by the learned men of Europe.

During the trial, Warham and Fisher, who were advocates for the queen, declared, That they having been lately consulted by the king, &c. had answered, that the king's conscience was disturbed and shaken, not without the weightiest and strongest reasons*.

After the legates had trifled some months, and at last, Campegio, under a pretence of the rules of the court of Rome, had adjourned the court for three months; during which time he obtained an avocation from the pope; the king was advised by Cranmer, not to depend longer on the decisions of the see of Rome, but to consult the several universities of Europe, as well as his own, about the validity of his marriage.

* Rymer. Tom. xiv.

One Crook was employed in this negotiation, and he obtained the opinion of almost all the universities * whither he went, for the nullity of the marriage; yet he complains in his letters that he was in great straits from the small allowance he had. And in an original bill of his accounts it appears, that he never gave above a few crowns to any that writ on the king's side; whereas the emperor gave a benefice of five hundred ducates to one, and of six hundred crowns to another, that writ for the queen. Yet, though on the one side men were poorly paid for their trouble, and on the other richly rewarded, yet the most eminent men were universally for the king.

It may here be added, that Erasmus, whose name was in the greatest esteem at that time, though he could not be prevailed with to write for the king, for fear of the pope and the emperor, in whose dominions he lived; yet he went so far as to give great encomiums of the worth and virtues of Sir Thomas Boleyn, then earl of Wiltshire, in his book, *De Præparatione ad Mortem*, which he dedicates to him; and this was all the approbation that his circumstances made it convenient for him to shew of the king's cause.

On this general consent of the learned in his favour, the king was told, he might proceed to a second marriage, the first being of itself null and void; and, accordingly, he married Anne Boleyn, the twenty-fifth of January, 1533 †.

* See Hist. Reform. Part I.

† Hist. Reform. Part III.

Letters written by KING HENRY the Eighth to ANNE BOLEYN.

* LETTER I.

Translated from the French, as follows.

MY mistress and friend, I and my heart put ourselves in your hands, begging you to recommend us to your favour, and not to let absence lessen your affection to us. For it were great pity to increase our pain, which absence alone does sufficiently, and more than I could ever have thought; bringing to my mind a point of astronomy, which is, † That, the farther the Moors are from us, the farther too is the sun, and yet his heat is the more scorching; so it is with our love,

we are at a distance from one another, and yet it keeps its fervency, at least on my side. I hope the like on your part, assuring you, that the uneasiness of absence is already too severe for me; and when I think of the continuance of that which I must of necessity suffer, it would seem intolerable to me, were it not for the firm hope I have of your unchangeable affection for me; and now, to put you sometimes in mind of it, and seeing I cannot be present in person with you, I send you the nearest thing to that possible, that is, my picture set in bracelets, with the whole device, which you know already, wishing myself in their place, when it shall please you. This from the hand of

Your servant and friend,

H. Rex.

* LETTRE I.

MA maitresse & amie, moy & mon coeur s'en remettent en vos mains, vous suppliant les avoir pour recommander a votre bonne grace, & que par absence votre affection ne leur soit diminuée. Car pur augmenter leur peine ce seroit grande pitié, car l'absence leur fait assez, & plus que jamais je n'eusse pensé, en nous faisant rementevoir un point d'astronomie qui est tel. Tant plus loing que les mores sont, tant plus éloigné est le soleil, & non obstant plus fervent, aussi fait il de notre amour, par absence nous sommes éloignez, & néanmoins il garde sa ferveur au moins de notre costé. Ayant en espoir la pareille du votre, vous asseurant que de ma part l'ennuye de l'absence déjà m'est trop grande. Et quand je pense a l'augmentation diceluy que par force faut que je souffre, il m'est presque intolérable, sil n'estoit la ferme espoir que j'aye de votre indissoluble affection vers moy; & pur le vous rementevoir aucune fois cela, & voyant que personnellement je ne puis estre en votre presencé, chose la plus approchante a cela qui m'est possible au present je vous envoie, cest a dire ma picture, mise en brasselettes a toute la devise que déjà savez, me souhaitant en leur place quant il vous plairoit, c'est de la main de

Votre serviteur & amy,

H. R.

† This is a literal translation of this sentence, but the meaning does not appear.

† LETTER II.

Translated from the French, as follows.

To my Mistress,
BECAUSE the time seems to me very long, since I have heard from you, or concerning your health; the great affection I have for you has obliged me to send this bearer to be better informed, both of your health and pleasure, particularly, because, since my

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† LETTRE II.

A ma Maitresse,
POUR ce qui me semble le temps estre bien long depuis avoir ouy de votre bonne santé, & de vous. La grande affection que j'ay vers vous, m'a persuadé de vous envoyer ce porteur pour estre mieux assesté de votre santé & volonté, & pour ce que depuis mon partement de avec vous, on m'a averti que l'opinion

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last parting with you, I have been told, that you have intirely changed the opinion in which I left you, and that you would neither come to court with your mother, nor any other way; which report, if true, I cannot enough wonder at, being persuaded in my own mind, that I have never committed any offence against you; and it seems a very small return for the great love I bear you, to be kept at a distance from the person and presence of a woman in the world that I value the most; and, if you love me with as much affection as I hope you do, I am sure, the distance of our two persons would be a little uneasy to you. Though this does not belong so much to the mistress as the servant. Consider well, my mistress, how greatly your absence grieves me; I hope it is not your will that it should be so; but, if I heard for certain, that you yourself desired it, I could do no other than complain of my ill fortune, and by degrees abate my great folly; and so, for want of time, I make an end of my rude letter, desiring you to give credit to this bearer in all he will tell you from me. Written by the hand of your intire servant.

* LETTER III.

Translated from the French, as follows.

THE uneasiness, my doubts about your health gave me, disturbed and frightened me extremely, and I should not have had any quiet without hearing a certain account. But now, since you have yet felt nothing, I hope it is with you as with us; for, when we were at Walton, two ushers, two valets de chambre, and your brother, master-treasurer, fell ill, and are now quite well; and since we are returned to your

en quoy le vous laissez est de tout aesteure changé, & que vous vouliez venir en cour ni avec madame votre mere ny autrement aussi. Lequel raport estant vray, je ne sauroy assez emerveillier veus que depuis je m'assure de vous n'avoir jamois faite faute, & il me semble bien petite retribution pour le grand amour que je vous porte de me eloigner & la personne & le personnage de la femme du monde, que plus j'estime, & si, vous m'aymez de si bonne affection comme j'espere, je suis sure que la eloignement de notre deux personnes vous seroit un peu ennuyeuse, toute fois qu'il n'appartient pas tant a la maitresse comme au serviteur. Pensez bien ma maitresse que l'absence de vous fort me grief, esperant qu'il n'est pas votre volonté, que ainsi ce soit, mais si je entendoy pur verité que volonterement vous la desiriez, je non puis mais faire si non plaindre ma mauvaise fortune en rebattant peu a peu ma grande folie, & ainsi faulte de temps fay fin de ma rude lettre, suppliant de donner foy a ce porteur a ce qu'il vous dira de ma part. Escrit de la main du tout votre serviteur.

* LETTRE III.

L'ENNUYE que j'avois du doute de votre santé me troubla & egarra beaucoup, & n'eusse esté gère quiete sans avoir sue la certainté, mais puisque n'ancors n'avez rien sentu, j'espere qu'il est comme de nous. Car nous estant a Waltan, deux vusyres, deux verles de chambre, votre frere meste tresorere ont tombé malades, & sont d'asture de tout sains, & depuis nous nous sommes

house at Hondson, we have been perfectly well, God be praised, and have not, at present, one sick person in the family; and, I think, if you would retire from the Surrey side, as we did, you would escape all danger. There is another thing that may comfort you, which is, that in truth in this distemper few or no women have been taken ill, and besides, no person of our court, and few elsewhere have died of it. For which reasons I beg you, my intirely beloved, not to frighten yourself, nor to be too uneasy at our absence. For, wherever I am, I am yours, and yet we must sometimes submit to our misfortunes, for, whoever will struggle against fate, is generally but so much the farther from gaining his end; wherefore, comfort yourself, and take courage, and make this misfortune as easy to you as you can, and I hope shortly to make you sing for joy of your recall. No more at present for lack of time, but that I wish you in my arms, that I might a little dispel your unreasonable thoughts. Written by the hand of him, who is, and always will be yours,

My, H. Rex, Lovely.

+ LETTER IV.

Translated from the French, as follows.

BY turning over in my thoughts the contents of your last letters, I have put myself into a great agony, not knowing how to understand them, whether to my disadvantage, as I understood some others, or not; I beseech you now, with the greatest earnestness, to let me know your whole intention, as to the love between us two. For I must of necessity obtain this answer of you,

rebutés en votre mesons de Hondson, la ou nous nous sommes bien trouves, sans aucun malade pour steure, Dieu soit loué & je pense que si vous vous voulez retirer du lieu Surye, comme nous fimes, vous le passerez sans danger, & aussi une autre chose vous peut comforter, car a la verité comme il visist, peu ou nulle fame ont esté malade & que encore plus est nul de nostre cort & peu ailleurs en meurit, par quoy je vous supplie ma entiere aymée de non avoir point de peure, ni de nostre absence vous trop ennuyere. Car ou que je soye, votre suis, & non obstant il faut aucune fois a telles fortunes obeyer. Car qui contre fortune veut luter en tel endroit est bien souvent tant plus eloigné, par quoy recomfortez vous & soyez hardy, & vuidez le mal tant que vous pourrez. Et j'espere bientot de vous faire chanter le renvoye non plus pour aesteure de faute du temps, si non que je vous souhaite entre mes bras, pour vous oster ung peu de vos deresonable penes. Escrite de la main de iceluy, qui est & toujours sera votre,

Ma H. R. aimable.

+ LETTRE IV.

EN debatant de par moy le contenu de vos lettres, me suis mis en grande agonie non sachant comment les entendre ou a mon desavantage comme en des aucunes autres je les entendre, vous suppliant de bien bon cœur me vouloir certifiere appresent votre intention entiere touchant l'amour entre nous deux. Car necessité me contraint de pourchasser cette reponce, ayant esté plus

you, having been above a whole year struck with the dart of love, and not yet sure whether I shall fail, or find a place in your heart and affection. This uncertainty has hindered me of late from naming you my mistress, since you only love me with an ordinary affection; but if you please to do the duty of a true and loyal mistress, and to give up yourself, body and heart, to me, who will be, as I have been your most loyal servant (if your rigour does not forbid me) I promise you that not only the name shall be given you, but also that I will take you for my mistress, casting off all others that are in competition with you, out of my thoughts and affection, and serving you only. I beg you to give an intire answer to this my rude letter, that I may know on what and how far I may depend. But, if it does not please you to answer me in writing, let me know some place, where I may have it by word of mouth, and I will go thither with all my heart. No more for fear of tiring you. Written by the hand of him, who would willingly remain yours,

H. Rex.

* LETTER V.

Translated from the original, as follows.

FOR a present so valuable that nothing could be more (considering the whole of it) I return you my most hearty thanks, not only on account of the costly diamond, and the ship in which the solitary damsel is tossed about; but chiefly for the fine interpretation, and too humble submission which your goodness hath made to me. For I think it would be very difficult for me to find an occasion to deserve it, if I was not assisted by your great humanity and favour, which I have sought, do seek, and will always seek to preserve by all the services in my power; and this is my firm intention and hope, according to the motto, *Aut illic aut nullibi* (either here or no where). The demonstrations of your affection are such, the fine thoughts of your letter so

plus qu'un annee atteinte du dard d'amour, non estant assure de s'aliere ou trouver place en votre cœur & affection. Certain le quel dernier point m'en a gardé depuis peu temps en ça de vous point nommer ma maitresse avec ce que si vous ne m'aymes d'autre sort, que d'amour commune; mais si'l vous plait de fair l'office d'une vraye loyalle mestres & amye, & de vous donner corps & cœur a moy qui veus estre & a este votre tres-loyal serviteur (si par riguer ne me defendes) je vous promes que non seulement le nom vous sera deu, mais aussi vous prendray pour ma mestresse en rebuttant tres tantes autres aupres de vous hors de pense & d'affection, & de vous seulement servir; vous suppliant me faire entiere responce a cette ma rude lettre, a quoy & en quoy me puis fier, & si'l ne vous plait de me faire responce par escrete assure moi quelque lieu la ou je la pourroy avoir de bouche, & je m'y trouveray de bien bon cœur. Non plus de peur de vous enuyer. Escrete de la main de celuy, qui volontiers de meureroit votre,

H. R.

* LETTRE V.

DE l'etrene si belle que rien plus (notant le tout) je vous remercy tres cordialement, non seulement pour le beau diamant & navire en quoy la seulette damoiselle est tourmentée,

cordially expressed, that they oblige me for ever to honour, love, and serve you sincerely, beseeching you to continue in the same firm and constant purpose; and assuring you, that, on my part, I will not only make you a suitable return, but out-do you in loyalty of heart, if it be possible. I desire you also, that, if at any time before this I have in any sort offended you, you would give me the same absolution which you ask, assuring you, that hereafter my heart shall be dedicated to you alone, I wish my body was so too, God can do it, if he pleases; to whom I pray once a day for that end; hoping that at length my prayers will be heard. I wish the time may be short, but I shall think it long, till we shall see one another. Written by the hand of the secretary, who in heart, body, and will, is

Your loyal

And most assured servant.

H. no other (AB) seeks Rex.

LETTER VI. Original.

THE reasonable request of your last letter, with the pleasure I also take to know them, causes me to send you now this news. The legat, which we most desire, arrived at Paris on Sunday or Monday last past; so that I trust, by the next Monday, to hear of his arrival at Calais: and then, I trust, within a while after, to enjoy that which I have so long longed for, to God's pleasure, and our both comforts. No more to you, at this present, mine awne darling, for lake of time; but that I would you were in myne arms, or I in yours; for I think it long since I kyst you. Written after the killing of an hart, at XI of the clock: minding with God's grace to-morrow, mightily tymely to kill another, by the hand of him, which I trust shortly shall be yours,

Henry R.

mais principalement pour la belle interpretation, & trop humble submission, par votre benignité en cette casse use, bien pensant, que meriter cela per occasion me seroit fort difficile, si me n'estoit en ayde votre grande humanité & faveur pour laquelle j'ay cherché, cherché, & chercheray par toutes bontes à moy possibles d'y demeurer en quelle mon espoir a mis son immuable intention qui dit, *aut illic aut nullibi*. Les demonstrations de votre affection sont telles, les belles mots de lettre si cordialement couchés qui m'obligent a tout jamais vrayement de vous honorer, aymer & servir, vous suppliant le vouloir continuer en ce mesme ferme & constant propos, vous assurant que de ma part je l'augmenteray plustot que la faire reciproque, si loyauté du cœur le peut avancer. Vous priant aussi que si aucunement je vous ay per cy devant offensé que vous me donnez la mesme absolution que vous demandes, vous assurant que d'oravant a vous seule mon cœur sera dedié, desirant fort que le corps aynsi pouvoit, Dieu le peut faire si luy plait, a qui je supplie une fois le jour pour ce faire. Esperant que a la long ma priere sera ouye, desirant le temps bref, pensant le long jusques au reveüe d'entre nous deux. Escrete de la main du secretaire qui en cœur, corps, & volonte est

Votre loyal & plus assure serviteur,

H. autre (AB) ne cherche R.

LET-

LETTER VII. Original.

DARLING, though I have skant leasure, yet, remembering my promise, I thought it convenient to certifie you breevly, in what case our affaires stand. As touching a lodging for you, we have gotten wone by my lord cardinal's means, the like whereof could not have been found hereabouts for all causes, as this bearer shall more shew you. As touching our other affairs, I ensure you there can be no more done, or more diligence used, nor all manner of dangers better both foreseen and provided for, so that I trust it shall be hereafter to both our comforts, the specialities whereof were both to long to be writne, and hardly by messenger to be declared. Wherefor till you repaire hydder, I keep something in store, trusting it shall not be long to. For I have caused my lord your father to make his provisions with speed. And thus, for lake of tyme, darling, I make an end of my letter, writeing with the hand of him, which I would were yours,

H. R.

* LETTER VIII.

Translated from the French, as follows.

THOUGH it does not belong to a gentleman to take his lady in the place of a servant, however, in following your desires, I willingly grant it, that so you may be more agreeably in the place that you yourself have chosen, than you have been in that which I gave you. I shall be heartily obliged to you, if you please to have some remembrance of me. 6. N. R. 1. de. R. O. M. V. E. Z.

Henry Rex.

LETTER IX. Original.

THE cause of my writeing at this time (good sweetheart) is wonly to understand off your good health and prosperity, whereof to know I would be as glad

* LETTRE VIII.

NEANMOINS qu'il n'appartienne pas a ung gentilhomme pour prendre sa dame au lieu de servante toute fois en suivant vos desirs volontiers le vous outroyeray si per cela vous pussies trouver moins ingrate en la place per vous choyse, qui avez este 'en la place par moy donne en vous merçant trescordialement si vous plete encore avoir quelque sovenance de moy, 6. N. R. 1. De R. O. M. V. C. Z.

Henry R.

+ LETTRE X.

TOUTE fois ma mestres qu'il ne vous pleu de souvenir de la promesse que vous me fites quant je esloy dernièrement vers

in manner myne awne, praying God, that and it be his pleasure, to send us shortly togydder, for I promise you I long for it, howbeit, trust it shall not be long to; and seeing my darling is absent, I can no less do, than to send her some fleshe representing my name, which is harts fleshe for Henry, prognosticating, that hereafter God willing you must enjoy some of mine, which if he pleased I wolde were now. As touching your sisters matter, I have caused Walter Welche to write to my lord mine mind therein, whereby I trust that Eve shall not have power to deceave Adam. For surely, whatsoever is said, it cannot so stand with his honour, but that he must needs take her his natural daughter now in her extream necessity. No more to you at this tyme, mine own darling, but that with a wishe I would we were togydder one evening with the hand of your,

H. R.

+ LETTER X.

Translated from the French, as follows.

ALTHOUGH, my mistress, you have not been pleased to remember the promise which you made me when I was last with you, which was, that I should hear news of you, and have an answer to my last letter; yet I think it belongs to a true servant (since otherwise he can know nothing) to send to enquire of his mistress's health; and, for to acquit myself of the office of a true servant, I send you this letter, begging you to give me an account of the state you are in, which I pray God may continue as long in prosperity, as I wish my own; and, that you may the oftener remember me, I send you by this bearer, a buck killed late last night by my hand, hoping, when you eat of it, you will think on the hunter; and thus for want of more room I will make an end of my letter. Written by the hand of your servant, who often wishes you in your brother's room.

H. Rex.

vous, c'est a dire de sçavoir de vos bonnes nouvelles & de sçavoir responce de ma derniere lettre, neanmoins il me semble quil app' artienne au vray serviteur (voyant que autrement il ne peut rien sçavoir) d'envoyer sçavoir la salute de sa mestres & pur me acquitter de l'office du vray serviteur, je vous envoie cette lettre, vous suppliant de me avertir de votre prosperite, la quelle je prie a Dieu qu'il soit aussi long comme je voudroy la mienne; & pur vous faire en corps plus souvent souvenir de moy, je vous envoie par ce porteur ung boucke tue heir soir bien tarde de ma main: esperant que quand vous en mangerez il vous souviendra du chasseur & ainsi a faute d'espace je feray fin a ma lettre. Escrite de la main de votre serviteur qui bien souvent vous souhaite au lieu de votre frere.

H. R.

U

LET-

* LETTER XI.

Translated from the French, as follows.

THE approach of the time, which I have so long expected, rejoices me so much, that it seems almost ready come. However, the intire accomplishment cannot be till the two persons meet, which meeting is more desired by me than any thing in this world; for what joy can be greater upon earth, than to have the company of her who is my dearest friend? Knowing likewise that she does the same on her part, the thinking on which gives great pleasure. You may judge what an effect the presence of that person must have on me, whose absence has made a greater wound in my heart than either words or writing can express, and which nothing can cure, but her return: I beg you, dear mistress, to tell your father from me, that I desire him to hasten the appointment by two days, that he may be in court before the old term, or at farthest on the day prefixed; for otherwise I shall think, he will not do the lover's turn, as he said he would, nor answer my expectation. No more at present, for want of time; hoping shortly that by word of mouth I shall tell you the rest of my sufferings from your absence. Written by the hand of the secretary, who wishes himself at present privately with you, and who is, and always will be,

Your loyal

And most assured servant.

H. no other (AB) seeks Rex.

† LETTER XII.

Translated from the French, as follows.

THERE came to me in the night the most afflicting news possible. For I have reason to grieve upon

* LETTRE XI.

APPROCHANT du temps qui m'a si longement duré me rejouye tant qu'il me semble presque déjà venu. Néanmoins l'entier accomplissement ne se perfera tant que les deux personnes se assemblent, laquelle assemblée est plus désiré en mon endroit que nulle chose mondaine, car que rejoyement peut estre si grand en ce monde comme d'avoir la compagnie de celle qui est la plus chere amye, sachant aussi qu'elle fait la pareille de son côté, la pensée du quel me fait grand plaisir: jugez adonque, que fera le personnage l'absence du quel m'a fait plus grand mal au cœur que ni langue ni esécriture peuvent exprimer, & que jamais autre chose excepté cela peut remedier, vous suppliant ma mestresse de dire a monsieur votre pere de ma part que je luy prie d'avancer de deux jours le temps assigné, qu'il peut estre en court devant le vieille terme, ou au moins sur le jour presché, car autrement, je penseray qu'il ne feroit point le tour des amoureux qu'il disoit, ni accordant a mon expectation. Non plus d'astéure de faulte de temps. Esperant bientot que de bouche vous diray le reste des peines par moy en votre absence soutenues. Escrite de la main du secretaire qui se souhaite d'astéure privement apres de vous, & qui est & qui a jamais sera

Votre loyal & plus assuré serviteur

H. autre (AB) ne cherche R.

three accounts. First, Because I heard of the sickness of my mistress, whom I esteem more than all the world, whose health I desire as much as my own, and the half of whose sickness I would willingly bear to have her cured. Secondly, Because I fear I shall suffer yet longer that tedious absence which has hitherto given me all possible uneasiness, and, as far as I can judge, is like to give me more. I pray God he would deliver me from so troublesome a tormentor. The third reason is, because the physician, in whom I trust most, is absent at present, when he could do me the greatest pleasure. For I should hope by him, and his means, to obtain one of my principal joys in this world, that is, my mistress cured; however, in default of him, I send you the second, and the only one left, praying God that he may soon make you well, and then I shall love him more than ever. I beseech you to be governed by his advices with relation to your illness; by your doing which I hope shortly to see you again, which will be to me a greater cordial than all the precious stones in the world. Written by the secretary who is, and always will be,

Your loyal

And most assured servant,

H. (AB) R.

LETTER XIII. Original.

SINCE your last letters, myne awne darling, Water Welche, Master Brown, John Carre, Yrion of Brearton, John Cocke the pothecary, be fallen of the swett in this house, and thenkyed be God all well recovered, so that as yet the plague is not fully ceased here; but I trust shortly it shall by the mercy of God; the rest of us yet be well, and I trust shall passe it, either not to have it, or at the least as easily as the rest have don. As touching the matter of Wylton, my lord cardinal hath had the nunys before him, and ex-

† LETTRE XII.

NOUVELLES me font en nuit soudonement venues les plus deplesantes qui me pourroient avenir. Car pour trois causes touchant icelle faut il que je lamente: la premiere pour entendre la maladie de ma mestresse, laquelle je estime plus que tout le monde, la santé de quelle je desire autant comme la mienne, & vouloys volontiers porter la moitié du votre pour vous avoir guery. La seconde pour la crainte que j'ay d'estre encore plus longement presé de mon ennuyeux absens qui jusques icy m'a fait toute l'ennuie a lui possible, & quand encore puis juger & deliberer de pys faire, priant Dieu qu'il m'en defasse de si importune rebelle. La troisieme pour ce que le medecin en qui plus me fie est absens astéure quant il me pourroit plus grand plaisir. Car j'espereroy par luy & ses moyens de obtenir une de mes principales joyes en ce monde; cest a dire, ma mestresse guerrie. Néanmoins en faute de luy je vous envoie le seconde & le tout, priant Dieu que bientot il vous peut rendre saine, & adunques je l'aymeray plus que jamais, vous priant estre gouverné par ses avis touchant votre maladie, en quoy faisant j'espere bientot vous revoir qui me fera plus grand cordiale que toutes les pierres pretieuses du monde. Escrite du secretaire qui est, & a jamais sera

Votre loyal & plus assuré serviteur.

H. (AB) R.

amined

amined them, Master Bell being present, which hath certified me that for a truth, that she hath confessed her self (which we would have had abbess) to have had two children by two sundry priests; and, furdre, since hath been kept by a servant of the Lord Broke, that was, and that not long ago. Wherefor I would not for all the world clog your conscience nor mine to make her ruler of a house which is of so ungodly demeanour; nor I trust you would not, that neither for brother nor sister I should so destain mine honour or conscience: and as touching the pryoresse, or Dame Ellenors eldest sister, though there is not any evident case proved against them, and that the pryoresse is so old, that of many years she could not be as she was named; yet notwithstanding, to do you pleasure, I have don that neither of them shall have it, but that some other good and well disposed woman shall have it: whereby the house shall be the better reformed (whereof, I ensure you, it had much need) and God much the better served: as touching abode at Hever, do therein as best shall like you, for you know best what aire doth best with you; but I would it were come thereto (if it pleased God) that neither of us need care for that, for I ensure you I think it long. Suche is fallen sick of the swett, and therfor I send you this bearer, because I think you long to hear tydings from us, as we do in likewise from you. Writeing with the hand,

De votre feul

(of yours only)

H. R.

LETTER XIV. *Original.*

D Arling, these shall be only to advertise you, that this bearer, and his fellow, be dispatched with as many things to compasse our matter, and to bring it to passe as our wits could imagine or devise, which brought to passe, as I trust by their diligence, it shall be, shortly you and I shall have our desired end, which should be more to my hearts ease, and more quietnesse to my minde, than any other thing in this world, as with Gods grace shortly I trust shall be proved, but not so soon as I would it were, yet I will assure you there shall be no tyme lost, that may be wone, and further cannot be done, for *ultra posse non est esse*: keep him not too long with you, but desire him for your sake to make the more speed, for, the sooner we shall have word from him, the sooner shall our matter come to passe; and thus, upon trust of your short repair to London, I make an end of my letter, mine awne sweetheart. Writne with the hand of him which desyreth as much to be yours, as you do to have him.

H. R.

LETTER XV. *Original.*

D Arling, I heartily recommend me to you, assuring you, that I am not a little perplexed with such things as your brother shall on my part declare unto you, to whom I pray you give full credence, for it were too long to write. In my last letters I writ to you that I trusted shortly to see you, which is better known at London than with any that is about me, whereof I not a little mervelle, but lake of descreet handling must needs be the cause thereof. No more to you at this tyme, but that I trust shortly, our meeting shall not depend upon other mens light handlings but upon your awne. Writne with the hand of him that longeth to be yours,

H. R.

LETTER XVI. *Original.*

M Yne awne sweetheart, this shall be to advertise you of the great ellingness that I find here since your departing, for I assure you, methinketh the tyme longer since your departing now last then I was wont to do a whole fortnight; I think your kindness and my fervence of love causeth it, for otherwise I would not thought it possible, that for so little a while it should have grieved me, but now that I am coming towards you, methinketh my pains been half released, and also I am right well comforted, insomuch that my book maketh substantially for my matter, in writing whereof I have spent above 1111 hours this day, which caused me now to write the shorter letter to you at this tyme, because of same payne in my head, wishing myself (specially an evening) in my sweethearts armes whose pritty duckys I trust shortly to kyffe. Writne with the hand of him that was, is, and shall be yours by his will,

H. R.

LETTER XVII. *Original.*

T O informe you what joye it is to me to understand of your conformableness with reasone, and of the suppressing of your inutile and vain thoughts and fantasies with the bridle of reasone, I assure you all the good of this world could not counterpoise for my satisfaction the knowledge and certainty thereof; wherefore, good sweetheart, continue the same not only in this, but in all your doings hereafter, for thereby shall come both to you and me the greatest quietnesse that may be in this world. The cause why this bearer stayeth so long, is the busyness that I have had to dresse up geer for you, which I trust ere long to see you occupye, and then I trust to occupye yours, which shall be recompence enough to me for all my pains and labours. The unfayned sickness of this well-willing legate doth somewhat retard his accessse to your person, but I trust
U 2
veryly

veryly, when God shall send him health, he will with diligence recompence his demurre, for I know well where he hath said (lamenting the saying, and brute (Noyse) that he shall be thought imperial) that it shall be well

known in this matter, that he is not imperial. And this for lake of tyme farewell. Writne with the hand which faine would be yours, and so is the heart.

H. R.

A P P E N D I X.

Two Letters from *Anne Boleyn*, to Cardinal *Wolsey*.*

LETTER I.

MY lord, in my most humblest wise that my heart can think, I desire you to pardon me that I am so bold, to trouble you with my simple and rude writing, esteeming it to proceed from her, that is much desirous to know that your grace does well, as I perceive by this bearer that you do. The which I pray God long to continue, as I am most bound to pray; for I do know the great pains and troubles that you have taken for me, both day and night, is never like to be recompenced on my part, but alonely in loving you, next unto the king's grace, above all creatures living. And I do not doubt, but the daily proof of my deeds shall manifestly declare and affirm my writing to be true, and I do trust you do think the same. My lord, I do assure you, I do long to hear from you news of the legate; for I do hope, and they come from you, they shall be very good, and I am sure you desire it as much as I, and more, and it were possible, as I know it is not; and thus, remaining in a stedfast hope, I make an end of my letter, written with the hand of her that is most bound to be,

Postscript by King Henry.

THE writer of this letter would not cease till she had caused me likewise to set to my hand; desiring you, though it be short, to take it in good part. I ensure you, there is neither of us, but that greatly desireth to see you, and much more joyous to hear that you have scaped this plague so well, trusting the fury thereof to be passed, specially with them that keepeth good diet, as I trust you do. The not hearing of the legate's arrival in France, causeth us somewhat to muse; notwithstanding, we trust by your diligence and vigilancy (with the assistance of Almighty God) shortly to be eased out of that trouble. No more to you at

this time; but that I pray God send you as good health prosperity, as the writer would.

By your
loving sovereign and friend,
Henry K.

Your humble servant,
Anne Boleyn.

LETTER II.

MY lord, in my most humble wise that my poor heart can think, I do thank your grace for your kind letter, and for your rich and goodly present, the which I shall never be able to deserve without your help, of the which I have hitherto had so great plenty, that, all the days of my life, I am most bound, of all creatures, next the king's grace, to love and serve your grace; of the which, I beseech you, never to doubt, that ever I shall vary from this thought, as long as any breath is in my body. And, as touching your grace's trouble with the sweat, I thank our lord, that them that I desired and prayed for are scaped, and that is the king and you; not doubting, but that God has preserved you both for great causes known alonely of his high wisdom. And as for the coming of the legate, I desire that much; and, if it be God's pleasure, I pray him to send this matter shortly to a good end, and then I trust, my lord, to recompence part of your great pains. In the which, I must require you, in the mean time, to accept my good will in the stead of the power, the which must proceed partly from you, as our Lord knoweth; to whom I beseech to send you long life, with continuance in honour. Written with the hand of her that is most bound to be

Your humble and
obedient servant,

Anne Boleyn.

* Hist. Ref. Part I. p. 55.

Queen Anne Boleyn's last Letter to King Henry.*

S I R,

YOUR grace's displeasure, and my imprisonment, are things so strange unto me, as what to write, or what to excuse, I am altogether ignorant. Whereas you send unto me (willing me to confess a truth, and so obtain your favour) by such an one whom you know to be mine antient professed enemy; I no sooner received this message by him, than I rightly conceived your meaning; and if, as you say, Confessing a truth indeed may procure my safety, I shall with all willingness and duty perform your command.

But let not your grace ever imagine that your poor wife will ever be brought to acknowledge a fault, where not so much as a thought thereof preceded. And to speak a truth, never prince had wife more loyal in all duty, and in all true affection, than you have ever found in Anne Boleyn, with which name and place I could willingly have contented myself, if God and your grace's pleasure had been so pleased. Neither did I at any time so far forget myself in my exaltation, or received queenship, but that I always looked for such an alteration as now I find; for the ground of my preferment being on no surer foundation than your grace's fancy, the least alteration, I knew, was fit and sufficient to draw that fancy to some other subject. You have chosen me, from a low estate to be your queen and companion, far beyond my desert or desire. If then you found me worthy of such honour, good your grace let not any light fancy, or bad counsel of mine enemies, withdraw your princely favour from me; neither let that stain, that unworthy stain of a disloyal heart towards your good grace, ever cast so foul a blot on your most dutiful wife, and the infant princess your daughter: try me, good king, but let me have a lawful trial, and let not my sworn enemies sit as my accusers and judges; yea, let me receive an open trial, for my truth shall fear no open shame; then shall you see, either mine innocence cleared, your suspicion and conscience satisfied, the

ignominy and slander of the world stopped, or my guilt openly declared. So that, whatsoever God or you may determine of me, your grace may be freed from an open censure; and mine offence being so lawfully proved, your grace is at liberty, both before God and man, not only to execute worthy punishment on me as an unlawful wife, but to follow your affection already settled on that party, for whose sake I am now as I am, whose name I could some good while since have pointed unto: your grace being not ignorant of my suspicion therein.

But, if you have already determined of me, and that not only my death, but an infamous slander must bring you the enjoying of your desired happiness; then I desire of God, that he will pardon your great sin therein, and likewise mine enemies, the instruments thereof; and that he will not call you to a strict account for your unprincely and cruel usage of me, at his general judgment-seat, where both you and myself must shortly appear, and in whose judgment, I doubt not, (whatsoever the world may think of me) mine innocence shall be openly known, and sufficiently cleared.

My last and only request shall be, that myself may only bear the burthen of your grace's displeasure, and that it may not touch the innocent souls of those poor gentlemen, who (as I understand) are likewise in strait imprisonment for my sake. If ever I have found favour in your sight; if ever the name of Anne Boleyn hath been pleasing in your ears, then let me obtain this request; and I will so leave to trouble your grace any further, with mine earnest prayers to the Trinity to have your grace in his good keeping, and to direct you in all your actions. From my doleful prison in the Tower this sixth of May.

Your most loyal and ever
faithful wife,

Anne Boleyn.

* Records of Hist. Ref. Part I. Page 154.

The very Beggars petition against *Popery*; wherein they lamentably complain to King Henry the Eighth of the clergy: 1. Of their abominable covetousness and oppression, in several particulars, from § 3 to § 13. 2. Of their insatiable lechery, *being devils at women*; and how they apply themselves, by all sleights they may, to have to do with every man's wife, daughter, and maid (*as well ladies, as meaner persons, when they come in their way*) from § 13 to § 17. 3. They brought in theft with them, and nourished it under them, § 17. 4. That they baffled all laws, that none could take hold of them, though they ravished men's wives and daughters (*which that cursed crew would be at again, tho' not in that seeming holy method, but now in an open, odious, debauched way, like infernal incubusses, who now have naturalised succubusses for their turn, &c.*) for the law was too weak to hold them; they making such as begin with them quickly to cease prosecuting them, § 18. 5. An example hereof, see in the bishop of London, § 19. 6. Tho' the statute of Mortmain was made to prevent giving them any more, yet still they got more than any duke, § 20 and 21. 7. Their yearly exactions came by cursed pretensions of praying people's souls out of purgatory, &c. § 22. 8. This doctrine of purgatory was always opposed by godly, learned men, § 23 and 24. 9. Their hellish policy, in not suffering the New Testament to be translated in the mother-tongue, lest their hypocrisy and cheating should be discovered, § 25, 26. 10. The impudence of Dr. Allen, and Dr. Horsey, fined to the king, but afterwards therefore amply rewarded by the clergy, § 27. 11. The reason of this was, because the chancellor was one of them, *viz.* a clergyman, § 28. 12. The cheat of giving lands, or money, to the church for the poor, or masses, § 30. 13. They petition to turn these blood-suckers out to labour and get them wives of their own, § 31. 14. The benefits and advantages of so doing, &c. § 31, 32. *These arguments, and the like, prevailed with this king to cast off the pope's authority, and why any should be so foolishly wicked, as to think to return us to it, I know not; most certainly they will find themselves deceived, with a vengeance, &c.*

Presented to King Henry the Eighth, in the twenty-ninth year of his reign, *Anno Dom.* 1538, eight years before his death, and now printed, *verbatim*, from a very old copy, only mending the authography, for the ease of the reader, making the several sections, and collecting the foregoing contents. *Worth perusing by both Papist and Protestant, for the one to see how his forefathers and he have been, and are, gulled; and the other to see how he is like to be eternally abused, if he either through fear of death, or otherwise, embrace Popery.* Folio, containing six pages, with a wooden cut in the title, representing King Henry the Eighth on his throne, and a committee of Beggars presenting their petition.

To the KING, our Sovereign Lord.

MOST lamentably complaineth, their woful misery unto your highness, your poor daily Bedemen*, the wretched, hideous monsters (on whom scarcely for horror any eye dare look) the foul, un-

happy sort of lepers, and other fore people, needy, impotent, blind, lame, and sick, that live only by alms; how that their number is daily so sore increased, that all the alms of the well disposed people of this your realm is not half enough to sustain them; but that, for very constraint, they die for hunger.

* This is an ancient word, signifying poor alms-men, who pray daily for their benefactors, derived from the Saxon word *Bidden*, to pray.

2. And this most pestilent mischief is come upon your said poor bede-men, by the reason that there is (in the times of your noble predecessors passed) craftily crept into this your realm another sort* (not of impotent but) of strong, puissant, and counterfeit-holy, and idle beggars, and vagabonds, which, since the time of their first entry, by all the craft and wiliness of satan, are now increased under your sight, not only into a great number, but also into a kingdom.

3. These are not the herds (or sheep) but the ravenous wolves, going in herds-clothing, devouring the flock; the bishops, abbots, priors, deacons, archdeacons, suffragans, priests, monks, canons, friars, pardoners and somners: and who is able to number this idle, ravenous sort, (which setting all labour aside) have begged so importunately that they have gotten into their hands more than the third part of all your realm: the goodliest lordships, manors, lands, and territories are theirs. Besides this, they have the tenth part of all the corn, meadow, pasture, grafs, wool, colts, calves, lambs, pigs, geese, and chickens. Over and besides the tenth part of every servant's wages, the tenth part of the wool, milk, honey, wax, cheese, and butter. Yea, and they look so narrowly upon their profits, that the poor wives must be accountable to them for every tenth egg, or else she getteth not her rights at Easter, shall be taken as an heretick; hereto have they their four offering-days.

4. What money pull they in by probates of testaments, privy tithes, and by men's offerings to their pilgrimages, and at their first masses. Every man and child that is buried must pay somewhat for masses and dirges† to be sung for him, or else they will accuse the dead's friends and executors of heresy. What money get they by mortuaries‡, by hearing of confessions (and yet they will keep thereof no counsel) by hallowing of churches, altars, super-altars§, chapels, and bells, by cursing of men, and absolving them again for money.

5. What multitude of money gather the pardoners§ in a year? How much money get the somners (i. e. Parators) by extortion in a year? By citing the people to the commissaries court, and afterwards releasing the appearance for money. Finally, the infinite number of beggars friars, what get they in a year?

6. Here, if it please your grace to mark, we shall see a thing far out of joint; there are, within your realm of England fifty-two thousand parish churches; and this standing, that there be but ten households in every parish, yet are there five hundred thousand, and twenty thousand households; and of every of these households hath every of the five orders of friars a penny a quarter for every order, that is, for

all the five orders five-pence a quarter for every house; that is, for all the five orders twenty-pence a year for every house: *summa*, five hundred thousand, and twenty thousand quarters of angels; that is, two hundred and sixty thousand half angels; *summa*, one hundred and thirty thousand angels; *summa totalis*, forty-four thousand pounds, and three hundred and thirty-three pounds, six shillings, and eight-pence sterling: whereof, not four hundred years passed, they had not one penny. Oh grievous and painful exactions, thus yearly to be paid, from the which the people of your noble predecessors, the kings of the ancient Britons**, ever stood free.

7. And this will they have, or else they will procure him that will not give it them to be taken as an heretick. What tyrant ever oppressed the people like this cruel and vengeable generation? What subjects shall be able to help their prince, that be after this fashion yearly polled? What good christian people can be able to succour us poor lepers, blind, fore, and lame, that be thus yearly oppressed? Is it any marvel that your people so complain of poverty? Is it any marvel that the taxes, fifteenths, and subsidies, that your grace, most tenderly of great compassion, hath taken among your people, to defend them from the threatened ruin of their common-wealth, might have been so slothfully, yea painfully, levied? Seeing that almost the uttermost penny that might have been levied, hath been gathered before, verily by this ravenous, cruel, and insatiable generation.

8. The Danes, neither the Saxons, in the time of the ancient Britons, should never have been able to have brought their armies, from so far, hither unto your land to have conquered it, if they had at that time such a sort of idle gluttons to find at home. The noble King Arthur had never been able to have carried his army to the foot of the mountains, to resist the coming down of Lucius the emperor, if such yearly exactions had been taken of his people. The Greeks had never been able to have so long continued at the siege of Troy, if they had had at home such an idle sort of cormorants to feed. The ancient Romans had never been able to put all the whole world under their obeisance, if their people had been thus oppressed.

9. The Turk, now in your time, should never be able to get so much ground of Christendom, if he had in his empire such a sort of locusts to devour his substance. Lay then these sums to the aforesaid third part of the possessions of the realm, that you may see whether it draw nigh unto the half of the whole substance of the realm, or not; so shall you find that it draweth far above.

* See them described in the second §.

† The dead office in the church of Rome, which begins with *Dirige me, Domine, &c.*

‡ A mortuary was a gift left by a man, at his death, to his parish-church, for the recompence of his personal tythes, and offerings, not duly paid in his life-time.

§ These are square stones, to be removed at the priest's pleasure, to lay mass upon; by some called *portable altars*.

§ Those employed by the pope to grant indulgences.

** Before the Conquest: for William the Conqueror, having engaged the pope to countenance his unjust invasion upon this isle, in return, oppressed the subjects in this manner, to gratify the pope.

10. Now let us then compare the number of this unkind, idle sort unto the number of the lay-people, and we shall see whether it be indifferently shifted or not, that they should have half? Compare them to the number of men, so are they not the hundredth person. Compare them to men, women, and children, then are they not the four hundredth person in number. One part therefore, in four hundred parts divided, were too much for them, except they did labour. What an unequal burden is it, that they have half with the multitudes, and are not the four-hundredth person of their number? What tongue is able to tell, that ever there was any commonwealth so sore oppressed, since the world began?

11. And what do all these greedy sort of sturdy, idle, holy thieves with these yearly exactions that they take of the people? Truly nothing, but exempt themselves from the obedience and dignity from your grace unto them; nothing, but that your subjects should fall into disobedience and rebellion against your grace, and be under them? As they did unto your noble predecessor King John, which, because that he would have punished certain traitors that had conspired with the French king to have deposed him from his crown and dignity (among the which a clerk called Stephen, whom, afterwards against the king's will, the pope made bishop of Canterbury was one) interdicted* his land. For the which matter your most noble realm wrongfully (alas for shame!) hath stood tributary, not to any kind, temporal prince, but unto a cruel, devilish blood-supper, drunken in the blood of the saints and martyrs of Christ ever since. Here were a holy sort of prelates, and thus cruelly could punish such a righteous king, all his realm, and succession, for doing right.

12. Here were a charitable sort of holy men, that could thus interdict an holy realm, and pluck away the obedience of the people from their natural liege lord and king, for his righteousness. Here were a blessed sort, not of meek herds, but of blood-suppers, that could set the French king upon such a righteous prince, to cause him to lose his crown and dignity, to make effusion of the blood of his people, unless this good and blessed king of great compassion, more fearing and lamenting the shedding of the blood of his people, than the loss of his crown and dignity, against all right and conscience, had submitted himself unto them. O case most horrible, that ever so noble a king's realm and succession should thus be made to stoop to such a sort of blood-suppers! Where was his sword, power, crown, and dignity become, whereby he might have done justice in this manner? Where was their obedience become, that should have been subject under his high power, in this matter? Yea, where was the obedience of all his subjects become, that, for maintenance of the commonwealth, should have holpen him manfully to have resisted these blood-suppers to the shedding of their blood? Was it not

altogether, by their policy, translated from this good king to them?

13. Yea, and what do they more? Truly, nothing but apply themselves, by all the sleights they may, to have to do with every man's wife, every man's daughter, and every man's maid; that cuckoldry should reign over all among your subjects; that no man should know his own child, that their bastards might inherit the possessions of every man, to put the right begotten children clear beside their inheritance, in subversion of all estates and godly order. These be they, that by their abstaining from marriage do let the generation of the people, whereby all the realm, at length, if it should be continued, shall be made desert and uninhabitable. *They mean, that for this sin of whoredom God's vengeance would fall on the land.*

14. These be they that have made an hundred thousand idle whores in your realm, which would have gotten their living honestly in the sweat of their faces, had not their superfluous riches elected them to unclean lust and idleness. These be they that corrupt the whole generation of mankind in your realm; that catch the pox of one woman, and bear it to another: yea, some one of them will boast among his fellows, that he hath meddled with an hundred women. These be they that, when they have once drawn men's wives to such incontinency, spend away their husbands goods, make the women run away from their husbands, yea, run away themselves both with wife and goods, bring both man, wife, and children to idleness, theft, and beggary.

15. Yea, who is able to number the great and broad bottomless Ocean sea-full of evils, that this mischievous and sinful generation may lawfully bring upon us unpunished? Where is your sword, power, crown, and dignity become, that should punish (by punishment of death, even as other men be punished) the felonies, rapes, murders, and treasons committed by this sinful generation? Where is their obedience become, that should be under your high power in this matter? Is it not altogether translated and exempted from your grace unto them? Yes truly. What an infinite number of people might have been increased, to have peopled the realm, if these sort of folk had been married like other men? What breach of matrimony is there brought in by them? Such truly, as was never since the world began among the whole multitude of the heathen.

16. Who is she that will set her hands to work to get three-pence a day, and may have at least twenty-pence a day, to sleep an hour with a friar, a monk, or a priest? What is he that would labour for a groat a day, and may have at least twelve-pence a day to be a bawd to a priest, a monk, or a friar? What a sort are there of them that marry priests, sovereign ladies, but to cloak the priests incontinency, and that they may have a living of the priests themselves, for their labour? How many thousands doth such lubricity

* Excommunicated.

bring to beggary, theft, and idleness, which should have kept their good name, and have set themselves to work, had not been this excessive treasure of the spirituality? What honest man dare take any man or woman in his service, that hath been at such a school with a spiritual man?

17. Oh the grievous shipwreck of the commonwealth! which in ancient time, before the coming in of these ravenous wolves, was so prosperous that then there were few thieves; yea, theft was at that time so rare, that Cæsar was not compelled to make penalty of death upon felony, as your grace may well perceive in his Institutes. There were also at that time but few poor people, and yet they did not beg; but there was given them enough unasked. For there were at that time none of these ravenous wolves to ask it from them, as it appeareth in the Acts of the Apostles. Is it any marvel, though there be now so many beggars, thieves, and idle people? No truly.

18. What remedy? Make laws against them? I am in doubt whether ye be able: are they not stronger in your own parliament-house than yourself? What a number of bishops, abbots, and priors are lords of your parliament? Are not all the learned men in your realm in fee with them, to speak in your parliament-house against your crown, dignity, and commonwealth of your realm, a few of your own learned council only excepted? What law can be made against them that may be available? Who is he (though he be grieved never so fore) for the murder of his ancestor, ravishment of his wife, of his daughter; robbery, trespass, maim, debt, or any other offence, dare lay it to their charge, by any way of action; and, if he do, then is he, by and by, by their wiliness, accused of heresy. Yea, they will so handle him, before he pass, that, except he will bear a faggot for their pleasure, he shall be excommunicated, and then be all his actions dashed! So captive are your laws unto them, that no man, that they list to excommunicate, may be admitted to sue any action in any of your courts. If any man in your sessions dare be so hardy to indict a priest of any such crime, he hath, before the year goeth out, such a yoke of heresy laid in his neck, that it makes him wish, that he had not done it.

19. Your grace may see what a work there is in London, how the bishop rageth for indicting of certain curates, of extortion and incontineny, the last year, in the warmol quest*. Had not Richard Hunne commenced an action of *præmunire* against a priest, he had been yet alive, and no heretick at all, but an honest man.

20. Did not divers of your noble progenitors, seeing their crown and dignity run into ruin, and to be thus craftily translated into the hands of this mischievous generation, make divers statutes for the reformation thereof? Among which the statute of Mortmain was one; to the intent, that, after that time,

they should have no more given unto them. But what availed it? Have they not gotten into their hands more lands since than any duke in England, the statute notwithstanding? Yea, have they not, for all that, translated into their hands from your grace half your kingdom thoroughly? The whole name, as reason is for the ancienty of your kingdom, which was before theirs, and out of the which theirs is grown, only abiding with your grace, and of one kingdom made twain; the *spiritual* kingdom (as they call it) for they will be named first, and your temporal kingdom: and which of these two kingdoms, suppose ye, is like to overgrow the other, yea, to put the other out of memory? Truly, the kingdom of the blood-suckers, for to them is given daily out of your kingdom. And that, that is once given them, cometh never from them again: such laws have they, that none of them may neither give, nor sell nothing.

21. What law can be made so strong against them, that they, either with money or else with other policy, will not break and set at nought? What kingdom can endure that ever giveth thus from him, and receiveth nothing again? O how all the substance of your realm, forthwith your sword, power, crown, dignity, and obedience of your people, runneth headlong into the insatiable whirlpool of these greedy goulafres to be swallowed and devoured.

22. Neither have they any other colour to gather these yearly exactions into their hands, but that they say, they pray for us to God to deliver our souls out of the pains of purgatory, without whose prayer, they say, or at least, without the pope's pardon, we could never be delivered thence: which, if it be true, then it is good reason, we give them all these things, *all*, were it a hundred times as much.

23. But there be many men of great literature and judgment, for the love they have unto the truth, and unto the commonwealth, have not feared to put themselves into the greatest infamy that may be, in abjection of all the world, yea, in peril of death to declare their opinion in this matter: which is, that there is no purgatory, but that it is a thing invented by the covetousness of the spirituality, only to translate all kingdoms from all other princes unto them, and there is not one word spoken of it in holy scripture. They say also, that, if there were a purgatory, and also if that the pope, with his pardons for money, deliver one soul thus, he may deliver him as well without money; if he may deliver one, he may deliver a thousand; if he may deliver a thousand, he may deliver them all, and also destroy purgatory. And then is he a cruel tyrant without all charity, if he keep them there in prison and in pain till men will give him money.

24. Likewise say they of all the whole sort of the spirituality, that, if they will not pray for no man, but for them that give them money, they are tyrants, and lack charity, and suffer those souls to be punished

* Or Wardmote Inquest, created 32 Henry VIII. 17.

and pained uncharitably, for lack of their prayers. These sort of folk, they call *hereticks*, these they burn, these they rage against, put to open shame, and make them bear faggots. But, whether they be hereticks or no, well I wot, that this purgatory, and the pope's pardons, is all the cause of translation of your kingdom so fast into their hands; wherefore, it is manifest, it cannot be of Christ; for he gave more to the temporal kingdom; he himself paid tribute to Cæsar, he took nothing from him, but taught that the high powers should be always obeyed; yea, himself (although he were most free lord of all, and innocent) was obedient unto the high powers, unto death.

25. This is the great scab, why they will not let the New Testament go abroad in your mother-tongue, lest men should espy, that their cloaked hypocrisy, do translate thus fast your kingdom into their hands; that they are cruel, unclean, unmerciful, and hypocrites; that they seek not the honour of Christ, but their own; that remission of sins is not given by the pope's pardon, but by Christ, for the sure faith and trust we have in him. Here may your grace well perceive, that, except ye suffer their hypocrisy to be disclosed, all is like to run into their hands, and, as long as it is covered, so long shall it seem to every man to be a great impiety not to give them. For this I am sure, your grace thinketh (as the truth is) I am as good a man as my father, why may I not give them as much as my father did? And of this mind I am sure are all the lords, knights, esquires, gentlemen, and yeomen in England: yea, and until it be disclosed, all your people will think that your statute of Mortmain was never made with a good conscience, seeing that it taketh away the liberty of your people, in that they may not as lawfully buy their souls out of purgatory, by giving to the spirituality, as their predecessors did in time past.

26. Wherefore, if you will eschew the ruin of your crown and dignity, let their hypocrisy be uttered, and that shall be more speedful in this matter, than all the laws that may be made, be they never so strong. For, to make a law, for to punish any offender, except it were more for to give other men an ensample to beware to commit such like offence, what should it avail? Did not Dr. Allen, most presumptuously, now in your time, against all his allegiance, all that ever he could to pull from you the knowledge of such pleas, as belong unto your high courts, unto another court, in derogation of your crown and dignity.

27. Did not also Dr. Horsey and his complices most heinously, as all the world knoweth, murder, in prison, that honest merchant, Richard Hunne? For that he sued your writ of *præmunire* against a priest, that wrongfully held him in plea, in a spiritual court, for a matter whereof the knowledge belongeth unto your high courts: and what punishment was there done, that any man might take example of, to beware of like offence? Truly none, but that the one paid five hundred pounds (as it is said, to the building of your star-chamber) and, when that payment was once pas-

sed, the captains of his kingdom (because he fought so manfully against your crown and dignity) have heaped to him benefice upon benefice, so that he is rewarded ten times as much. The other, as it is said, paid six hundred pounds for him and his complices, which, because that he had likewise fought so manfully against your crown and dignity, was immediately as he had obtained your most gracious pardon, promoted by the captains of his kingdom, with benefice upon benefice, to the value of four times as much. Who can take example of this punishment to beware of such like offence? Who is he of their kingdom that will not rather take courage to commit like offence, seeing the promotions that fell to these men for their so offending? So weak and blunt is your sword, to strike at one of the offenders of this crooked and perverse generation.

28. And this is, by reason that the chief instrument of your law, yea, the chief of your council, and he which hath your sword in his hand, to whom also all other instruments are obedient, is always a spiritual man, which, hath ever such an inordinate love unto his own kingdom, that he will maintain that, though all the temporal kingdoms and commonwealths of the world should utterly therefore be undone.

29. Here leave we out the greatest matter of all, lest we, declaring such an horrible carrion of evil, against the ministers of iniquity, should seem to declare the one only fault, or rather the ignorance of our best beloved minister of tightwiseness, which is to be hid, till he may be learned, by these small enormities that we have spoken of, to know it plainly himself. But what remedy to relieve us, your poor, sick, lame, and sore bedemen? To make many hospitals for the relief of the poor people; nay truly, the more the worse; for ever the fat of the whole foundation hangeth on the priests' beards.

30. Divers of your noble predecessors, kings of this realm, have given lands to monasteries, to give a certain sum of money yearly to the people, whereof, for the ancient of the time, they give never one penny. They have likewise given to them to have certain masses said daily for them (*the dead*) whereof they never said one: if the abbot of Westminster should sing every day as many masses for his founders, as he is bound to do by his foundation, a thousand monks were too few.

31. Wherefore, if your grace will build a sure hospital, that shall never fail to relieve us, your bedemen, so take from them all those things: set their sturdy loobies abroad in the world to get them wives of their own, to get their living with their labour, in the sweat of their faces, according to the commandment of God, *Gen. iii.* to give other idle people, by their example, occasion to go to labour: tie these holy, idle thieves to the carts to be whipped naked about every market-town till they will fall to labour, that they may, by their importunate begging, not take away the alms that the good christian people would give unto us fore, impotent, miserable people, your bedemen.

Then

Then shall as well the number of our foresaid monstrous sort, as bards, whores, thieves, and idle people decrease: then shall these great yearly exactions cease: then shall not your sword, power, crown, dignity, and obedience of your people be translated from you: then shall you have full obedience of your people: then shall the idle people be set to work.

32. Lastly, Then shall matrimony be much better kept: then shall the generation of your people be increased: then shall your commons increase in riches:

N. B. Then shall the gospel be preached: then shall none beg our alms from us: then shall we have enough, and more than shall suffice us, which shall be the best hospital that ever was founded for us. Then shall we daily pray to God for your most noble estate long to endure.

Domine, saluum fac Regem,

Or,

God save the King.

The Life and Death of the illustrious Robert, Earl of Essex, &c. Containing, at large, the wars he managed, and the commands he had in Holland, the Palatinate, and in England: together with some wonderful observations of himself, and his predecessors, and many most remarkable passages, from his infancy, unto the day of his death.

The author, Mr. Codrington, was born of an antient and genteel family in Gloucestershire, elected demy of Magdalen College in Oxford, the twenty-ninth of July, 1619, about seventeen years old, and took the master's degree in 1626. After that, he travelled into several foreign lands; and, at his return, lived a gentleman's life, first in Norfolk, where he married; and finished his life at London, by the plague in the year 1665, having published many pieces of different taste in his life-time, and left several manuscripts prepared for the press.

As for the history before us, it is true, that he plainly declares himself a parliamenteer; yet, so far as it goes, it is the least exceptionable, and the most comprehensive, of any writings on the same subject, in those times: for, besides the character of his hero, the earl of Essex, he gives us the general opinion, and the ground of the first part of the civil war; seems to relate the natural facts without aggravation, and always speaks of the king's majesty with respect, ascribing the ill conduct of his affairs, and bad success, to the wickedness and heat of his counsels; and heartily wishing a good and lasting reconciliation and peace between the king and his parliament.

BEFORE we do begin with the discourse of the life and death of this illustrious earl, it will not be impertinent to speak one word of the renowned earl, his father, who, as he rendered himself admirable, by the many great and glorious actions which he performed both by land and sea; so I may call it his master-piece, that he did beget so brave a son, and I may call it his son's master-piece, that he did lively resemble so brave a father, in the height and perfection of his virtues, which he did express in his love unto his country, and in his achievements for the honour and safety of it; and this shall enoble both their names unto all posterity.

To give you a parallel of these two worthies, is a

task almost as impossible as impertinent; for if you will excuse in them the priority of time, we may, in the course of their lives and honours, make a parallel, as soon, betwixt two beams of the sun, who are the same in heat, in glory, and in influence, and who do differ in nothing but in number only; we will therefore save that art and labour, and, as succinctly as we can, we will address ourselves to the great task we have undertaken.

This most noble earl was born in London, in the year of our Lord 1592, and almost in the evening of the reign of Queen Elisabeth, who, for his excellent endowments, did countenance his father living, and did lament him, being dead. His mother had the

happinefs to be espoufed to three of the moft gallant perfonages which that age did know. Her firft husband was Sir Philip Sidney, whose virtues are too high for the praifes of other men to reach them, and too modeft to defire them; his pen and his fword have rendered him famous enough; he died by the one, and by the other he will ever live. This is the happinefs of art, that although the fword doth atchieve the honour, yet the arts do record it, and no pen hath made it better known than his own. Her fecond husband was the renowned father of this moft noble earl, who died beloved, and honoured, as well by his foes, as by his friends, and whose lofs even heaven might lament, did not heaven enjoy him. Her third husband was the earl of Clanrickard, a gallant gentleman, who exceeded the wildnefs of his native country, by his fecond education, and who exceeded his education by the happinefs of his wedlock; and though, peradventure, fome vain men do account it but as two threads put together, he did make it his band, by the advantage of which, he did fo twift himfelf into the Englifh virtues, that nothing remained in him as spun from Ireland, as Ireland now doth ftand.

To omit the prefages, and the unfaithful kifles of the promifing madams who rocked his cradle, I will not fay, that in that moving wicker [like another Hercules] he ftangled in each hand the two invading dragons of tranfceding prerogative and fuperftition: this was the bufinefs of his life to come; a bufinefs which did grow up with his youth in hope, and which, in the event, did crown his age with glory.

Though the laurels, that crown the brows of conquerors, are the thickeft and the heaviest, yet I believe, the wreaths that court the brows of art are the greeneft; we conquer, in our age, our foes in the field, but we overcome our greateft foe, which is ignorance, in our youth; to conquer which, he received hereditary courage from his father, who not only overcame; but triumphed over it, and did accept the formality of two degrees, and with great reputation, performed the exercifes belonging to them in the univerfity of Cambridge.

It is moft certain, that illuftrious and extraordinary perfonages have oftentimes extraordinary illuminations of the events, both good and bad, which fhall befall them; of this we can give you remarkable inftances in this family. When Sir Walter Devereux was created viscount of Hereford, and earl of Effex, about the twelfth year of the reign of queen Elifabeth, becaufe he was defcended, by his mother's fide, from the antient and honourable family of the Bouchiers, it was the deliberate pleafure of the queen and ftate to increafe his honours, by the knowledge of the fulnefs of his merit, and to make him governor of Ireland; and this place being preferred unto him [for, indeed, he was a gentleman of incomparable indowments] he did manage the affairs of that kingdom with great honour and judgment; and, by a fecret power of attraction, which is natural and inherent to that family,

he gained the approbation and applaufe of all men, and did much advance the affairs of England in the kingdom of Ireland; but the ambition and policy of the earl of Leicefter, who would have no man more eminent than himfelf, did fo prevail at court, that, upon no caufe at all, but that he was as good as great, he muft be difhonoured from his dignity, and the government of that kingdom conferred on Sir Henry Sidney, a deferving gentleman, indeed, and the more meritorious, becaufe he was the father of Sir Philip. This indignity did ftick fuch an impreffion on this noble earl, who had now only a charge of fome empty regiments of horfe and foot, that his melancholy brought a fever on him; and the fooner, becaufe his friend was the author of this injury, for the earl of Leicefter did pretend to no man greater affection than to himfelf. After fome days, his ficknefs did confine him to his chamber, and afterwards to his bed. His dying words were remarkable; He defired that his fon, who was then not above ten years of age, might refrain from the court, and not truft his ear with the flatteries, nor his eye with the fplendor of it; and, above all things, that he fhould be mindful of the fix and thirtieth year of his age, beyond which, neither he, nor but few of his forefathers, lived. His inftructed fon did obey his father's will, and for many years did lead a contented and a retired life in Anglefey, until [I know not by what fpell] the earl of Leicefter did work him into the fatal circle, and betrayed him to deftruction. Being condemned to the block, he remembered his father's prediction, which now he could not avoid: and which is, indeed, moft wonderful, on the very fame hour, and [as it is believed] on the very fame minute, that he was beheaded, his fon, who at that time was a ftudent in Eton college, did fuddenly, and diftractedly, leap out of his bed, where he was faft afleep, and to the amazement of all, he cried out, that his father was killed, his father was dead; and not many hours after, the fad news was brought, which fo early in the morning, and fo ftangely, he prefaged.

His father being dead, this young earl was now looked on with more than ordinary obfervance; and the rather, becaufe it was generally reported, that his father had too fevere a trial, and that his life was made a facrifice, to fatisfy the ambition of fome great perfonages, high in favour at the court. Sure it is that there appeared fomething of injuftice in his death, for otherwife, why fhould Sir Walter Raleigh, and others, who were condemned, as acceffary to it, fo publickly afterwards, and in print, difclaim it?

Queen Elifabeth being deceafed, king James was no fooner eftablifhed in the poffeffion of the crown of England, but he reftored to this young earl his father's titles and eftate, and his eldeft fon (the mirror of his age, and the weftern world) Prince Henry, was pleafed to be very converfant and familiar with him, being near unto him in age, but more near in affection, than in years. Betwixt whom

and

and this earl, there happened a remarkable passage, which I conceive, in this place, not improper to insert.

Prince Henry, and this young earl, delighting themselves one morning, with the exercise and the pleasure of the tennis-court, after that a set or two were played, there did arise some difference upon a mistake: from banding of the ball, the prince, being raised into a choler, did begin to bandy words, and was so transported with his passion, that he told the earl of Essex, that he was the son of a traitor. The earl of Essex was then in the flourish of his youth, and full of fire and courage, and being not able to contain himself, he did strike the prince with his racket on the head, and that so shrewdly, that [as it is said] some drops of blood did trickle down. The news of this was presently brought to the king's ear, who having examined the business, and fully understood the manner, and the occasion of it, did dismiss the earl, without any great check, and (being a true peace-maker) he told his son, that he who did strike him then, would be sure, with more violent blows, to strike his enemy in times to come.

This being in this manner reconciled, the report of this young earl did arise every day higher and greater. His recreations were riding of the great horse, running at the ring, and the exercise of arms. His other hours were taken up in study, and in perusal of books, that yielded most profit, not most delight, and from these he would always arise better, than when he sat down unto them; his delights were hunting of the hare, or buck, and he would seldom fail to be amongst the foremost, at the fall of the stag, or when the falcon on his wing was stooping to his prey. He, from his infancy, was well affected to religion, and to the reformation of the church; and this he received by inheritance from his father, for when the bishops (that felt the smart of it) had cried out against that lashing pamphlet, called, *Martin-Mar-Prelate*, and there was a prohibition published, that no man should presume to carry it about him, upon pain of punishment, and the queen herself did speak as much, when the earl was present: why then, said the earl, what will become of me? And, pulling the book out of his pocket, he did shew it to the queen. I have heard grave men, and of great judgment, say, that he was the less inclined to Dr. Whitgift, a reverend divine, and his tutor also, because he was a bishop. But the ambition and pride of the prelates, and the clergy, were not then arrived to their utmost period; the suppressing of them must remain to be the work of my lord, his son, whom the parliament of England shall find to be their happy instrument, ordained for so great an end, by a greater power.

The earl of Essex being confirmed in his father's honours and possessions, that a perfect reconciliation might be made in all things, a marriage was contracted and concluded in the year 1606, betwixt him and

the Lady Frances Howard, daughter to the right honourable the earl of Suffolk. She was a lady as transcendent in her spirit as her beauty: they were much about one age when they were married, the Lady Frances being about thirteen, and the earl not above sixteen at the most; therefore for some few years, by reason of the nonage of the earl, they lived a-part until about the year 1610, at which time they enjoyed the society of one bed, and so continued until about the year 1613, when a complaint was made, and so closely prosecuted, that a way was contrived, and carried on with great power, for the procuring of a divorce betwixt the earl of Essex and this lady. I say it was carried on with great power, for both divinity and law did not only look on, but were enforced to be actors in it. And yet they, who so much laboured in it, had afterwards the leisure to repent it, for this divorce was no sooner made, but the earl of Somerset (who, at that time, was high in the king's favour) married this lady, the king himself and the archbishop being present, and allowing it: at that time there was a gentleman of excellent understanding, Sir Thomas Overbury by name, who, being beloved by the earl of Somerset, did compose a poem, intituled *The Wife*, to dissuade the earl of Somerset from this marriage; but the lady conceiving that it did reflect upon her honour, did so prevail with the earl, that she turned his love unto hatred, and wrought his hatred unto so great a height, that nothing but the death of Sir Thomas Overbury could satisfy their revenge. His death being resolved on, they put it to the question by what means it should be performed, and it was concluded on by poison. There was a woman in those days famous for those arts, Mrs. Turner by name; they propound it unto her, and she is easily drawn into any mischief. The lieutenant of the Tower, Sir Jervis Elwayes*, was also made acquainted with it: the tragedy was no sooner acted but discovered; the actors were apprehended. Sir Jervis Elwayes was examined, found guilty, condemned, and suffered on Tower-hill: there was also one Frankling hanged, who brought the poison. Mrs. Turner, that prepared it, did also lose her life at Tyburn. This is the woman who first invented, and brought into fashion the use of yellow starch. The earl of Somerset and his new-married lady were, upon pain of death, prohibited not to approach the presence of the king, nor to come within ten miles of his majesty's court. This did beget so great a discontent, that their love by degrees did begin to suffer diminution with their pomp: and the lady on her death-bed, being troubled in her mind, did much cry out upon the earl of Essex, whom she had so much injured.

The earl of Essex, perceiving how little he was beholden to Venus, is now resolved to address himself to the court of Mars; and to this purpose he descendeth into the Netherlands, which, at that time, was the school of honour for the nobility of England, in their

* Or, Yelvis.

exercise of arms: there he was no sooner arrived, but, with magnificent joy, he was entertained by grave Maurice, who saw both in his carriage, and his courage, the lively image of his father. He at first trailed a pike, and refused no service in the field, which every ordinary gentleman is accustomed to perform. This did much endear him to the soldiers, and his liberality and humanity did the more advance him. He not long after had there the command of a regiment. At the same time the earl of Oxford was in Holland, a great and gallant commander, from whose valour and whose actions, other soldiers may take example both to fight and overcome. With him, and some others, who also had the charge of regiments, the earl of Essex was very conversant; and the presence and command of these noblemen in the army did much add to the honour of the English regiment, and did enlarge and dilate their own fame into adjacent kingdoms.

He continued certain years in the Netherlands, and having gained renown by his experience and perfection in the feats of arms, he advanced thence to the Palatinate, to which place went also the earl of Southampton, the Lord Willoughby, the earl of Oxford, and Sir John Borlans, with their regiments; they arrived most welcome to the king and queen of Bohemia, the present condition of their affairs much wanting the presence of such brave commanders, who gave a new life and spirit to the soldiers wheresoever they came. At that time there were great hopes that the king of England would, out of his three kingdoms, send such a continued stock of men to the Palatinate, that the crown of Bohemia should be established on the head of the Elector Palatine, and that by no course sooner than by virtue of the English arms: but King James never stood greatly affected, either to this war, or to the cause thereof, and thereupon some regiments of unexperienced volunteers going over, instead of a well-composed army, it was one reason, amongst many others, that not only Bohemia, but the Palatinate were also lost, which were both invaded by so mighty an enemy as was then the emperor, and seconded by so puissant a potentate as was the king of Spain.

The earl of Essex having adventured all things for the relief of that distressed lady, and finding an impossibility, with such weak forces, to oppose so great a power, he resolved to return into England, but not without some hope that his majesty would be sensible of his daughter's sufferings, and of those illustrious and hopeful cradles, which grief and fear did rock, and that he would send over such full recruits of men, as might advance again his speedy return into Germany.

But God did otherwise ordain it, for not long after King James, by the privation of death, enjoyed the possession of a better life. And, Prince Charles being invested with the crown, he was so far from sending forces into Germany, that the German horse were called over into England.

The delight of King James was peace, but almost the first designs of King Charles were war. To this purpose, that he might make his kingdoms as terrible

by arms, as his father had left them flourishing in peace, he calleth a parliament, which (the sickness at the same time raging with great violence in the city of London) did meet at Oxford on the beginning of the month of August, in the first year of his reign; but this king was never fortunate either in his parliaments, or in his wars, for, the duke of Buckingham being questioned, the parliament was not long after dissolved. Howsoever, a design went on for a sudden expedition into Cadiz in Spain, which was committed to be managed by the Viscount Wimbleton, and by the earl of Essex. The earl of Essex did the more readily undertake it, because the judgment and the valour of Sir Edward Cecill, created by the king Viscount Wimbleton, was highly regarded by him, having had sufficient experience of it in the Low Countries, where Sir Edward Cecill also for a long time, and with great reputation, commanded a regiment for the service of the states: his other reason was, because that his father heretofore had taken Cadiz, and he believed that a more gallant action could never be imposed on him, than to be designed unto that place, where he might enlarge his own, and renew his father's glory. Being embarked for the prosecution of this service, which promised so much honour; being at sea, and by a fair wind brought almost as far as Cadiz, the chief commanders opened their commission, and finding, to their great grief, that they had not that power granted them which they expected, they had many consultations on it: Sir Edward Cecill was loth to exceed the bounds of the commission, well knowing what danger, on his return, might ensue thereby.

The earl of Essex was unwilling to return without effecting any thing: and the rather, because the Spaniards (according to the ostentation natural to that nation) did begin to dare him from their walls and battlements; insomuch that some of his men were landed, and entered some part of the town; and the earl found that it was no difficult matter for the English again to be masters of the town, had they but authority to fall on: howsoever the Spaniards had notice before hand that the English ships had a design upon that place; and some, withal, are of opinion, that they knew how far their commission did extend: all along the shore their horse and foot stood ready to entertain us at our landing, who wanted neither desire nor resolution to encounter them, had but the word been given. The earl of Essex, being sorry that he was employed on so unnecessary an expedition, and so unsuitable to the English temper, did resolve with himself, on his return to England, to adventure no more on such employments, but to repair again to Holland, where the courage of himself, and his soldiers, should be sure of action, and where their action should be attended with honour: he there resided a certain time, and by his exemplary virtue did much advance the affairs of that state. Being called back into England, by the importunity of his friends, he afterwards married with Mrs. Elisabeth Paulet, who (if I am not mistaken) had

had then some relation to the marchioness of Hertford, sister to this earl. This Mrs. Paulet was a young lady of a delicate temper; she was daughter of Sir William Paulet of Hedington in Wiltshire, and descended by the father's side, from the illustrious family of the Paulets, marquis of Winchester: by her, the earl of Essex had a son, who was christened Robert, after his father's name, and died in the year 1636, and lies buried at Drayton in the county of Warwick.

There is nothing born so happy, which is absolute in every part, for, much about the same time, there did arise some discontents betwixt the earl and this lady also, upon which this earl did ever after abandon all uxorious thoughts, and wholly applied himself to the improvement of those rules, which conduce to the soundness of church and state: and, if any unseverer hours of leisure offered themselves in his study, he would employ that time in the perusal of some laboured poem, and having great judgment, especially in the English verse, it was his custom to applaud the professors of that art, as high as their desert, and to reward them above it; and he was no way inclined to the sullen opinion of those men who disclaim the muses, and esteem all poems to be as unlawful as unprofitable.

When the ambition and the excess of the bishops did swell them up to such an uncompassed greatness, that they were not only become unwieldy to themselves, and intolerable to their dioceses, but endeavoured also to lay unconscionable burdens by compulsive ceremonies, on the kingdom of Scotland, the women there did first begin the coil, which was afterwards followed by their youth, who mustered themselves into arms for the defence of their religion, protesting themselves to be enemies to all thoughts, that had but the least relation to the church of Rome.

To this resolution (it being for the cause of God) the whole kingdom of Scotland did join their devoted hands. The king was seduced by the English bishops to make a war against them, and great preparations were in hand to that intent. In the first year that the king advanced against the Scots, the earl of Essex was one of his principal commanders, but it pleased God to make that year no year of blood. In the year following, a parliament was called, and, money being gained for the prosecution of the war, it was again broke off. To this war the bishops did contribute much, and Doctor Peirce, the bishop at that time of Bath and Wells, did not doubt to call it in his pulpit, *the bishops war*. But what had the bishops to do with the sword, and indeed it thrived with them accordingly, for the army of the king being beaten by the Scots, and the town of Newcastle being seized by them, it was thought expedient by the king's best counsellors that a parliament should be called again. This is the parliament which unto this day doth continue, and which have laboured so much to their perpetual glory, for the reformation of religion, for the liberty of the subject, and the safety of the kingdom.

On the beginning of this parliament, which represented the whole body of the kingdom, the king who, without all doubt, was inforced to summon it, to relieve the crying oppressions of his subjects, did appear like a man in a fever; sometimes very hot to give satisfaction to the complaints and desires of his subjects, and sometimes again cold and froward.

The most noble earl of Pembroke, and Montgomery, being dismissed from his place by the pleasure of his majesty, the parliament did move the king, that the earl of Essex might succeed him, to which (his majesty unwilling openly to deny them) did give his assent; he knew very well that received maxim that (during their time of sitting in parliament) subjects are greater than they are, and the king less.

The earl, although, for a long time, he had discontinued the court, yet did deport himself with so much honour and judgment, that the old courtiers, and those who were most intire unto his majesty, could not find the least subject of distaste. But the discontents betwixt the king and parliament increasing, and the king forsaking London, the noble earl of Essex (being a member of the house of peers) would not forsake the parliament, although there is no question but that he had instigation enough from the followers of the court to persuade him to it: of such a virtue is honour and conscience in the breast of true nobility.

The king beginning his jests towards the west, and afterwards wheeling in earnest towards the north, the parliament did send petition on petition to beseech his majesty to return unto the parliament; to which the king did return most plausible answers, there being no where to be found more art that suborned reason to attend it, or more accurate language. But the parliament finding a great disproportion betwixt the insinuations of his majesty to delude the people, and his actions to strengthen himself, and that his voice was the voice of Jacob, but the hands were the hands of Esau; and understanding withal that his majesty had summoned in the country about York, where there appeared many thousands that promised to adhere unto him, and that he had a resolution to besiege Hull, and force it to his obedience, they were compelled (though with hearts full of sorrow) to have recourse to arms.

Money is the sinew of war, to provide themselves with which, the city were desired to bring in their plate to make it sterling for that service. The publick faith of the kingdom was their security for it; and indeed what better security could any man expect than the faith of the whole kingdom, of which the parliament were the body representative, and, as it were, the feoffees in trust. You would admire what sums of ready money, what rings of gold, what store of massy plate, both silver and gilt, were brought in a few days to Guildhall. Guildhall did never deserve its name so properly as at this present. In the mean time, Moorfields and those places, where horses for service

service were to be listed, were almost thronged with excellent horse; and the youth of London, who devoted themselves to the service of the parliament, and to hazard their lives for the safety of the two kingdoms, did look with emulation on one another who should be the first should back them.

This being provided, in the next place care is taken for the raising of an army, and for a general to conduct them: there was no man could be possibly thought upon more able to undertake so great a charge than the illustrious earl of Essex, whose name in arms was great, and the love of the people to him did strive to be great as was that name. At the first appearance in the Artillery-garden, where the volunteers were to be listed, there came in no less than four thousand of them in one day, who declared their resolutions to live and die with the earl of Essex, for the safety and the peace of the kingdom; and every day, for a certain space, did bring in multitudes of such well affected people, who preferred their consciences above their lives, and who would hazard with them their dearest blood for the preservation of the reformed religion, and for the parliament that did reform it.

Not long after the earl of Essex, having sent before him his whole equipage of war, who were quartered and exercised in the country, and were now expert in their arms, did pass through the city of London towards them, being accompanied with many lords and gentlemen, as also with many colonels and commanders of the city, and many hundreds of horsemen, and the trained-bands, who guarded him through Temple-Bar unto Moorfields; from thence in his coach he passed to Highgate, the people, on each hand, having all the way made a hedge with their own bodies, and with loud acclamations all crying out, *God bless my lord general, God preserve my lord general.*

His excellency being now in his march to oppose the forces of the king, the high wisdom of the parliament (although they had often moved the king before by diverse petitions) did think it expedient to send one humble petition more unto his majesty, to beseech him to remove himself from those evil counsels and counsellors, who had fomented the horrid rebellion in Ireland, and had endeavoured the like bloody massacre in England, by inciting him to make war with the parliament, who were the best subjects in his kingdom: we will in this place deliver to you the petition of both the houses of parliament, which petition being so full of high concernment and humble addresses, and because it was to be delivered by his excellency the earl of Essex, we conceive it very requisite in this place to insert it.

TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

The humble Petition of the Lords and Commons,
now assembled in Parliament

WE your majesty's most loyal subjects, the lords and commons in parliament, cannot, without great grief,

and tenderness of compassion, behold the pressing miseries, the imminent danger, and the devouring calamities, which do extremely threaten, and have partly seized upon both your kingdoms of England and Ireland, by the practices of a party prevailing with your majesty; who by many wicked plots and conspiracies have attempted the alteration of the true religion, and of the ancient government of this kingdom, by the introducing of Popish superstition and idolatry into the church, and tyranny and confusion in the state, and, for the compassing thereof, have long corrupted your majesty's counsels, abused your power, and, by sudden and untimely dissolving of former parliaments, have often hindered the reformation and prevention of those mischiefs; who, being now disabled to avoid the endeavours of this parliament by any such means, have traiterously attempted to overawe the same by force, and, in prosecution of their wicked designs, have excited, encouraged, and fostered an unnatural rebellion in Ireland, by which, in a cruel and most outrageous manner, many of your subjects there have been destroyed; and by false slanders upon your parliament, and by malicious and unjust accusations, they have endeavoured to begin the like massacre here, but, being disappointed therein by the blessing of God, they have (as the most mischievous and bloody design of all) won upon your majesty to make war against your parliament and good subjects of this kingdom, leading in your own person an army against them, as if you intended by conquest to establish an absolute and an illimited power over them, and by the power and the countenancing of your presence, have ransacked, spoiled, imprisoned, and murdered diverse of your people: and, for their better assistance in these wicked designs, do seek to bring over the rebels of Ireland, and other forces from beyond the seas to join with them: and we finding ourselves utterly deprived of your majesty's protection, and the authors, counsellors, and abettors of these mischiefs in greatest power and favour with your majesty, and defended by you against the justice and authority of your high court of parliament, whereby they are grown to that height and insolence as to manifest their rage and malice, against those of the nobility and others who are any way inclined unto peace, not without great appearance of danger to your own royal person, if you shall not in all things concur with their wicked and traitorous courses, we have for the just and necessary defence of the Protestant religion, of your majesty's person, crown, and dignity, of the laws and liberties of the kingdom, and the power and privilege of parliament, taken up arms, and appointed and authorised Robert earl of Essex to be captain general of all the forces by us levied, and to lead and to conduct the same against these rebels and traitors, and them to subdue and to bring to condign punishment; and we do most humbly beseech your majesty to withdraw your royal presence and countenance from these wicked persons, and, if they shall stand out in defence of their rebellious and unlawful attempts, that your majesty will leave them to be suppressed by that power which we have sent against them, and that your majesty will not mix your own dangers with theirs, but in peace and safety (without your forces) forthwith return to your parliament, and by your faithful counsel and advice compose the present displeasures and confusions abounding in both your kingdoms, and pre-
vide

vide for the security and honour of yourself, your royal posterity, and the prosperous estate of all your subjects; wherein, if your majesty please to yield to our most humble and earnest desires, we do, in the presence of Almighty God, profess, that we will receive your majesty with all honour, yield you all due obedience and subjection, and faithfully endeavour to secure your person and estate from all danger; and to the uttermost of our power procure, and establish to yourself, and to your people, all the blessings of a most happy and glorious reign.

The earl of Essex having received this petition, he made use of the earl of Dorset, (who was then at Shrewsbury with his majesty) that it might find access unto him. And within a few days after the earl of Dorset sent a dispatch to the earl of Essex, signifying that (according to his desire) he had acquainted the king concerning such a petition to be presented, and the king returned this answer, *That he would receive any petition that should be presented to him from his parliament, from any that should bring the same; but that he would not receive a petition out of the hands of any traitor.*

His excellency, having received this answer, did conceive it expedient to acquaint the parliament with it. Whereupon, after a serious debate upon the business, it was voted by the house of commons, That his majesty refusing to receive any petition from those whom he accounted traitors, and withal, having proclaimed the earl of Essex, and his adherents, traitors, he had, in that word, comprehended both the houses of parliament, which is not only against the privileges of parliament, but the fundamental laws of the land. It was therefore agreed upon by both houses, That the earl of Essex should go forward in advancing his forces according to his instructions, with all convenient speed; and to lay by the petition which was to be preferred to his majesty.

Much about this time the king advanced from Shrewsbury, with an army consisting of six thousand foot, three thousand horse, and fifteen hundred dragoons; his design was to march towards London with all his forces; of which the earl of Essex being advertised, he advanced, with a resolution to encounter with them; and being a grave counsellor, as well as a great commander, he desired the parliament, that the trained-bands in and about the city of London, might be put in a readiness for their own defence; and that the city might be fortified, and an especial care taken to secure the persons of the chiefest of those malignant citizens, who were suspected to contrive mischief, and were able to perform it. Whereupon the house of parliament did order, That the trained-bands of London, Middlesex, and Surrey, should forthwith be put into a readiness, and that the close committee should make a diligent enquiry after the chief malignants of the city; and warrants were issued forth with power to apprehend them, and to bring them to the parliament.

On the 22d of October, his excellency the earl of Essex did march to Kinton, with about twelve regiments of foot, and above forty troops of horse; he

made haste to meet with the army of the king, and therefore was forced to leave behind him three regiments of foot, and ten troops of horse; for the country being destitute of provision, it was thought requisite that they should not follow the main body of the army, in so swift a march: on the next morning intelligence was received, that the king's army was drawing near, with a resolution to encounter with the forces of his excellency. They had got the advantage of Edge-hill, which served them for a place of safe retreat, it being of a high and steep ascent. The earl of Essex made a stand about half a mile from the hill, and did there draw forth his army into a body, and did set them in battalia: he marshalled the field with great judgment, having but little time to do it; which was no sooner done, but he beheld many regiments of the king's foot come down the hill, and there were a strong body of dragoons with them. The horse also came down in order, and placed themselves at the foot of the hill, on the right hand of our army. It was something long before their cannon and the rear of their foot could be brought down: our foot were marshalled a good space behind our horse; three regiments of horse were on the right wing of our army, namely, the lord general's regiment, commanded by Sir Philip Stapleton, who that day did excellent service; Sir William Belfore's regiment, who was lieutenant-general of the horse; and the Lord Fielding's regiment, which stood as a reserve unto them. In our left wing were twenty-four troops of horse, commanded by Sir James Ramsey, commissary-general.

The cannon on each side having discharged their cholerick errands, the enemy's foot advanced against our right wing, and they were gallantly received by Sir William Stapleton's and Sir William Belfore's regiments of horse, which were at that instant seconded by the noble Lord Roberts's and Sir William Constable's regiments of foot, who charged on the enemy's foot with so much resolution, that they forced them, in great disorder, to shroud themselves amongst their pikes. That day, Sir William Belfore shewed excellent demonstrations of his valour, for after this he charged a regiment of the enemy's foot, and broke quite through them, and cut many of them in pieces, and not long after, having received some assistance of foot, he defeated another regiment, and seized upon a part of the enemy's ordnance; but we did afterwards leave them, having none to guard them. The enemy's horse, on the left wing, had the better of ours; for, at the first shock, they routed them, and did beat them back upon our foot, and forced their way clean through Colonel Hollis's regiment; which struck such a terror to some other of our foot regiments, on the left wing, that four regiments, without striking one stroke, did run quite away, their officers being not able to stay them, who therefore came up to the van, in the right wing, and did extraordinary service, amongst which was Colonel Charles Essex, who, performing all the parts of a gallant soldier, was unfortunately shot in the thigh, of which, not long after, he died.

His

His excellency perceiving that four regiments of the left wing of his army were fled, and never fought with, it doubled his resolution on the right wing, where, with undaunted valour, he charged the king's regiment: once he charged with his own troop of horse, and often with his regiment of foot. An admirable man, who, for the safety of the kingdom, and to pluck the king from the hands of those that did mislead him, did this day admirable service. He was always at the head of his army, and, having at last got the advantage of the wind and ground, he charged the king's regiment so home (having the regiment of the Lord Brooks to assist him) that he utterly defeated it; he took the king's standard, and the earl of Lindsey, general of the king's army: his son was also taken prisoner, and lieutenant-colonel Vavafor, who commanded that regiment; Sir Edward Varney, who carried the king's standard, was slain; the Lord Aubigny was also slain; Colonel Munroe, a great commander on the king's side, was slain. Two regiments of the enemy's foot (the night coming on) retiring themselves towards the hill, found their ordnance without any guard at all, where they made a stand, and discharged many great shot against us. By this time the body of the enemy's horse, which had been pillaging the waggons at Kinton, had the leisure to wheel about, some on one hand of our army, and some on the other, and so at last they united themselves to the body of their foot; Sir Philip Stapleton, who did remarkable service this day, seeing in what disorder they came along, did ride forth with his troop, to charge four or five troops of theirs; which they perceiving, did put spurs unto their horses, and, with what speed they could, joined themselves with the rest of their broken troops, who had now recovered their foot that did guard their ordnance. Our horse were also gathered to our foot, and thus both armies of horse and foot stood one against another till night.

This great victory being obtained, the earl of Essex marched to Warwick, where he refreshed his army for a few days, where Mr. Marshall speaking of the admirable success of this battle, his excellency replied twice together, *That he never saw less of man in any thing than in this battle, nor more of God.*

Not long after his excellency the earl of Essex came to London, with several of his regiments of horse and foot, who, with much joy, were entertained by the citizens. And, on the Lord's-day following, many good ministers about the city of London, praised God for their safe return to their parents, friends, and masters.

About the 4th of November 1672, at a conference in the painted chamber, the earl of Northumberland, in the name of the whole house of peers, did acquaint the commons, that the committee for the safety of the kingdom had some thoughts to send certain propositions to his majesty, to prevent the farther effusion of blood, and to re-establish the peace of the kingdom, before which time they held it requisite to acquaint his

excellency with it, who returned an answer to the parliament to this effect:

That what he had done was in obedience to the commands of both houses, and what they should command further he would be careful to obey: that he was now with his army, and could not leave his charge to come in person to contribute any thing for his majesty's honour, and the safety of the kingdom. That he believed the committee had such reasons for those propositions, as were laid on sure grounds; but withal, that he hoped that they had no fear of any weakness of his army, or that the courage of those who stood to it so stoutly, in the late battle, would fail them, if nothing but a second encounter must decide the matter, and end the quarrel.

There was now a treaty for peace agreed upon on both sides, when behold, on a sudden, unexpected news is brought unto the parliament, that the king's and parliament's forces were engaged at Brentford, and that Prince Rupert, with about thirteen troops of horse, had (undiscovered to our scouts) taken the advantage of a misty morning, with a full resolution to cut off the forces of the parliament that were quartered thereabouts, and from thence to force his way to London, trusting that, upon their approach so near unto the city, the malignants would rise in arms, and declare themselves for the king; but it pleased God so in mercy to ordain it, that he fell short of his expectation; for he was so well entertained at Brentford and Turnham-green, by Colonel Hollis's regiment, and a part of the Lord Roberts's regiment, the regiment of Colonel Hampden coming also to their assistance, that Prince Rupert durst not adventure to make his approaches nearer to the city. And the parliament forthwith dispatched a committee to London, to raise all the forces both of horse and foot, to defend the city, and to secure the out-works. Immediately his excellency the earl of Essex departed from London, and marched against the enemy, who, at the first shock, overpowered our forces by their number, who were many of them destitute both of powder, and all furniture of war: we lost in that service serjeant-major Quarles and captain Lacy, and many soldiers of inferior quality. Captain Lilburn with some others were taken prisoners: there were diverse of the enemy slain, and many carts laden with their wounded and their dead; besides, they buried many very privately, to conceal the ignominy of their great loss.

Immediately after this the lord-general caused a bridge to be made of long and flat-bottomed boats, over the river of Thames, from Fulham unto Putney (a sudden work of war) to prevent, and the better to enable his men to assault the cavaliers in their march from Kingston into the county of Kent, and to oppose them in their further invading the county of Surry.

This bridge, at each end, was fortified with ordnance and musqueteers to defend it from the enemy, who, at that time, had miserably plundered Kingston and some villages adjacent thereunto, and now, being full

full of the pillage of the towns of Brentford, Kingston, and other places, and not daring to attempt further, they were retiring towards Maidenhead, and from thence to Reading and Oxford, the seat of the court, and the rendezvous of the malignant army during the war.

The parliament (as they had just cause so to do) did, on this, publish a declaration, to testify to the world the carriage of the matter at Brentford, in the time of a treaty for the peace of the kingdom, to the end that all men, discerning how far they had been deceived with fair shows and bare pretences, might now, at last, stand upon their own defence, and their strongest guard, and to associate themselves together to defend and preserve their religion, laws, and liberty of parliament and kingdom; yea, themselves, their wives, and children from rapine and ruin, who were all concerned in the common danger now round about them; on this the counties of this kingdom did begin, by degrees, to associate themselves.

The king having, after this, made another motion for peace, and the parliament having returned a fair answer to it; upon some new counsels, his majesty was so impatient as to reply:

That he looked on the parliament's answer, as penned by a malignant party in both houses, whose safety is built upon the ruin of this nation, who have chased his majesty, his peers, and commons from the parliament; the truth whereof, he said, might appear by the small number left; and, moreover, that they had raised an army to take away his life, and the life of his children, and that these rebels are now come to London; and, since they cannot snatch the crown from his head, they would invite him tamely to come up, and to lay it down. And, for the expressions of that accident at Brentford, his majesty hoped (if it be permitted by them to be published) that his declaration would satisfy his people.

The parliament, upon consideration of this, being compelled to look unto themselves, did resolve to forbear all further treaties, and gave order to his excellency forthwith to advance with his army; and the rather, because they understood, by an intercepted letter sent unto Sir Edward Nicholas, that many experienced commanders, and with them great provision of money, arms, and ammunition, were designed from Holland to land at Newcastle, for the service of the king, and the advancement of this unnatural war.

This did set so sharp an edge on the affections of the city, that, whereas the parliament did desire them to assist them with a loan of thirty-thousand pounds, to pay the army, they cheerfully subscribed to pay in threescore thousand pounds, and would have made it a far greater sum, to further the lord-general, the earl of Essex, to proceed with his army to rescue his majesty from the hands of those who detained him from his people and his parliament.

But the winter did now grow heavy, and immoderate showers of rain had so corrupted the ground, that the body of foot could not march, nor the train of

artillery move; therefore, the lord-general was enforced to continue in his winter-quarters at Windsor, until the spring; howsoever, our horse did excellent service in the west, under the command of Sir William Waller, and the right honourable the Lord Fairfax, and his renowned son, Sir Thomas Fairfax, achieved many glorious victories in the north, of which it is not so proper, in this place, to deliver the story, it being the task of this pen to express only those particular services in which his excellency was personally present.

The spring now coming on, his excellency, about the middle of April, did quit his winter-quarters, and advanced towards Oxford; he seemed to pass by Reading, to render that garrison more secure, and that, the chiefest strength being gone where the chiefest danger did appear, he might take Reading with the more ease and speed; having therefore wheeled about, he unexpectedly came and sat down before Reading, and sent his trumpeter to the governor to surrender that town unto him, for the service of the king and parliament. Colonel Ashton, who was governor of it, returned a stubborn answer, That he would either keep the town or starve and die in it. Thereupon his excellency, taking compassion of the women and children, which were to undergo the common danger, he sent unto the governor, that they might be suffered to come forth, but this also was refused by the colonel.

Hereupon our soldiers began to intrench themselves, and daily to make their approaches nearer and nearer to the town; his excellency incamped on the west part thereof betwixt Reading and Oxford, to hinder any relief that might come from Oxford to it. The enemy had many strong outworks, which were defended also by some main bulwarks; from those they continually plied us with their great and small shot, who were not remiss to answer them with advantage. They had in the garrison three thousand soldiers besides townsmen, many pieces of ordnance, and great store of provision and ammunition. The enemy had strongly fortified Causham-hill, which commands the whole town; from this place, by fine force, they were beaten and driven into their works nearer unto the town. This hill being gained, we instantly raised our batteries on it, which much annoyed the enemy, and by this means we got the opportunity, with the greater safety, to make our approaches nearer unto their works, and in many places within less than half a musquet-shot; hereupon the enemy endeavoured to make some sallies, but they were always beaten in with loss. They had planted some ordnance in a steeple, believing that from that height they might play upon our men with more advantage; but our cannon were levelled against it with such dexterity, that both the cannoniers and cannon were quickly buried under the ruins of the steeple. After this the enemies would not adventure themselves on towers, but kept for the most part in places more secure, our ordnance perpetually beating down the houses, and Colonel Ashton, the governor, being sorely wounded in the head,

by the fall of bricks from a battered chimney, which made him the more willing to offer the surrender of the town to my lord-general, if his soldiers might have the honour to march away with bag and baggage; but his excellency did send him word, that he came for men and not for the town only.

Whilst this was in agitation, intelligence was received that the king, Prince Rupert, and Prince Maurice, were on their advance towards Reading, for the relief of the town; whereupon his excellency did send out a strong party of horse and dragoons under the command of Colonel Middleton and Colonel Milles, who did beat up the enemies quarters at Dorchester, about seven miles from Oxford, and routed and surprised many of the king's horse, and a regiment of foot under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Vavasor, who was taken prisoner at Kinton, and afterwards released; he was absent in this service, but his captain-lieutenant was taken prisoner. The king's standard was again in danger, and about one hundred and forty gallant horse were taken. Howsoever, the king continued his resolution for the raising of the siege at Reading, and, being advanced to Wallingford, he marched from thence towards Reading, with about nine regiments of horse, and nine regiments of foot, and twelve pieces of ordnance. His regiments of foot were but thin and empty. His excellency understanding of the approach of this army, and that his majesty himself and the two German princes were there in person, he commanded that two regiments should be drawn forth to oppose them, which were the regiments of the Lord Roberts, and the regiment of Colonel Barclay; although the king's whole body of infantry were near, he only sent two regiments of his, the green and the red, to encounter these two regiments.

The fight was fiercely begun about Causham-bridge, and on both sides excellent demonstrations of valour and resolution were expressed; at the first charge the Lord Roberts was absent from his regiment, but, hearing that they were engaged with the enemy, he did ride up with all speed unto them, and by his courage and example did admirably serve to expedite and increase the victory; after less than half an hour's fight, the enemy began to give ground, and to leave many of their men behind them, and about three hundred arms; their horse also, which came down the hill to assist their foot, were gallantly repulsed, and forced to retreat to the hill from whence they came. There were about one hundred of the enemy slain upon the place, amongst whom Serjeant-major Smith was one, whose pockets being searched, there was found good store of gold. The number which were said to be slain on our side, are so few that I am afraid to name them, lest (being too short in my account) I should be accused to dissemble with the truth. I dare not grow too bold on the common report; there is undoubtedly a moderation with judgment to be used by all those who undertake to deliver to posterity the actions of their own, or foregoing times, which who-

soever either through faction or affection, shall wilfully transgress, shall lose the grace of a true historian, and the reputation of an honest man.

The enemy being thus beaten in the field, and retreated unto Wallingford, his excellency, the earl of Essex, did proceed in the treaty with the governor of Reading for the surrender of the town. Colonel Bolles, Lieutenant-Colonel Thelwell, and Serjeant-major Gilby, were sent forth to treat on the articles for the surrender of it, and the Lord Rochford, Lieutenant-Colonel Russel, and Serjeant-major King, were sent in as hostages for their safe return. It was desired, in the town, that some might go to the king's army, to acquaint the commander in chief with the terms. This was granted, and, upon the return, his excellency received a letter from Prince Rupert, and not long after it was concluded on, that the town of Reading should be surrendered on these conditions:

- I. *T* *HAT* the enemy should march away with arms and ammunition, with colours flying, bag and baggage.
- II. *That those persons, who are not inhabitants, should have liberty to go away with their Goods, except such who had been of the army of the parliament.*
- III. *That those goods be excepted from the baggage of the soldiers, which had been taken from those who were friends to the parliament, and from the western carriers.*
- IV. *That they should have liberty to march to Wallingford, or Oxford, without any molestation from our forces, provided they offer no assault to any in the way.*
- V. *That they shall carry but four pieces of ordnance, and the town not to be plundered either by them or by the forces of the parliament.*
- VI. *That four-and-twenty hours be allowed them for the performance of their articles, and that they give up their outworks immediately, and three persons of quality as pledges for the faithful performance of these articles.*

Not long after this, it pleased Almighty God to visit the army of the parliament with sickness, by which many of our young men perished, and the rest by reason of their weakness were disabled from doing any great service in the field. His excellency omitted nothing that might give redress unto them. Physick, and whatever else was thought expedient, was sent from London, and care was taken both for money and cloaths for the soldiers; and, to make our condition yet worse, Sir William Waller had received some loss not far from Bristol, and the marquis of Newcastle was grown very powerful in the north. In the mean time the king, having possessed himself of Bristol, was marching up to London with a puissant army; in his way he summoned Gloucester, unwilling to leave any town behind him to continue in the power of the parliament, and, Bristol being taken, disdained to sit down before a town and not to carry it; but the courage of the gallant governor, Colonel Maffey, was so remarkable, that he not only did put a stop to the furious march of the king, who, having gained Gloucester,

cester, would have forthwith advanced to London, but, by holding him in play, he gave an opportunity to his excellency to recruit his army, and, under God, was a principal instrument of the safety of this kingdom.

In extraordinary necessities, we do use extraordinary expedients; the trained-bands of the city of London, who before were never known to make so long a march out of the city, did now readily consent to lend their best assistance, and, to their eternal honour, preferring the publick before their private good, they resolved to adventure their own lives to preserve the city, state, and kingdom.

In this resolution they met his excellency on Hounslow-heath, who being right glad to see them, he thanked them for their love, and applauded them for their courage, and uniting the armies both into one, he forthwith marched to the relief of Gloucester, which at that time did much need the assistance of so brave an army. The king's forces, with great violence, did prosecute the siege, which continued from the tenth of August to the fifth of September; on which day, the enemy hearing of the approach of his excellency, did begin to send away their carriages, and their foot and horse did march after them, and the besieged (it being a day set apart for a public fast) did turn it into a day of joy, and paid unto God their humble thanks for so gracious a deliverance.

We have not the liberty to give unto you the discourse of this siege at large, because it does not so properly belong unto this subject: it may suffice, that as it was raised by the prowess of the most noble the earl of Essex, so it was most resolutely sustained by the valour, industry, and dexterity of the heroick governor, Colonel Massey, who contrived all stratagems, and occasioned all the sallies, for the ruin of his enemy, and the protection of the city.

The city of Gloucester being thus bravely relieved, and the siege raised, his excellency, the earl of Essex, did prepare to follow the enemy, who always fled before him, and refused to stand to the hazard of a battle. The earl perceiving that the main intent of the enemy was to cut off all provision from his army, he made a bridge over the river of Severn, as if he would march to Worcester to amuse the enemy, and to cause them to draw part of their forces that way, which accordingly they did; and, on a sudden, he wheeled about another way, and marched to Tewksbury, and from thence to Cirencester, where he found two regiments of the king's horse, which were but newly entered into service. In one of their standards, the invention was the effigies of the parliament-house, with two traitors heads fixed on two poles on the top thereof; the inscription was this, *Sicut extra sic intus*; which is, *As without, so within*. The indignity whereof left such a just impression of disdain in the breasts of the parliament, that it was voted, that the contriver of this ignominious invention should be strictly searched out, and, being known, that he should be for ever banished the kingdom, as being unworthy to live in

the English air. This good service was performed about two of the clock in the morning, the enemy, for the most part, being taken prisoners in their beds, and their horses feeding in the stables: there was also a magazine of victuals seized on, which was a welcome booty to our soldiers. There were taken in all four hundred prisoners, and as many soldiers.

From hence his excellency marched into Wiltshire; and, being advanced towards Auburn-hills, he had a sight of his majesty's horse, which appeared in several great bodies, and were so marshalled to charge our army of foot, being then on their march in several divisions; which caused our foot to unite themselves into one gross, our horse perpetually skirmishing with them, to keep them off from the foot. In the mean time, the dragoons on both sides gave fire in full bodies on one another, on the side of the hill, that the woods above, and the vallies below, did echo with the thunder of the charge. There were about fourscore slain upon the place, and more than as many more were forely wounded.

Our horse also made a great impression upon the queen's regiment of horse, and charged them again and again, and cut in pieces many of her life-guard. In this service, the marquis of Vivile was taken prisoner: it seems he would not be known who he was; but endeavouring to rescue himself from a lieutenant that took him prisoner, and thereupon having his head almost cloven asunder with a pole-ax, he acknowledged himself, in the last words he spoke, which were, *Vous voyez un grand marquis mourant*; that is, *You see a great marquis dying*. His dead body was carried to Hungerford, by the lord-general's command. It had not been long there, but the king did send a trumpet to his excellency, conceiving that the marquis had been wounded only, and taken prisoner, and desired that his chirurgeons and doctors might have free access unto him for his recovery. His excellency certified the trumpet that he was dead, and returned his body to the king, to receive those funeral rites as his majesty would give it. Some say, that his body was ransomed for three hundred pieces of gold.

His excellency being come to Hungerford, the army of his majesty, which was more numerous in horse, had got before him, and was advanced towards Newbury, and sweeping the country before them, had left it destitute of provision, insomuch that his excellency finding little or nothing at Hungerford, to satisfy the necessity of his army, he was forced to march away that night towards Newbury, to which place (although it is but seven miles distance) it was the next day before he came; when he was within two miles of it, he did understand, by his scouts, that the whole army of the king were at hand, and that they had not only possessed themselves of Newbury, but that they had made themselves masters of all advantages that could be desired, for the disposing of the battle.

Their main body did stand in a large plain, and were resolute and ready to receive our forces, which,
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in the van were to pass through a lane unto them, in which but six men could march on breast.

Besides, by this means, our foot were deprived in those places of the succours of our horse, and our cannon was made unprofitable. Neither was this all, for our army was also in great danger to be charged in the rear; and therefore, the most worthy Major Skippon was called off from the front, to provide a valiant remedy against all dangers that should invade the rear. All that night our army lay in the fields, impatient of the sloth of darkness, and wishing for the morning's light, to exercise their valour; and the rather, because the king had sent a challenge over night to the lord general, to give him battle the next morning. A great part of the enemy's army continued also in the field, incapable of sleep, their enemy being so nigh; and, sometimes looking on the ground, they thought upon the melancholy elements of which they were composed, and to which they must return; and sometimes looking up, they observed the silent marches of the stars, and the moving scene of heaven.

The day no sooner did appear, but they were marshalled into order, and advanced to the brow of the hill; and not long after the ordnance was planted, and the whole body of their horse and foot stood in battalia. The officers and commanders of their foot did many of them leave off their doublets, and, with daring resolution did bring on their men; and as if they came rather to triumph than to fight, they in their shirts did lead them up to the battle.

The first that gave the charge was the most noble Lord Roberts, whose actions speak him higher than our epithets. He performed it with great resolution, and by his own example, shewed excellent demonstrations of valour to his regiment: the cavalry of the enemy performed also their charge most bravely, and gave in with a mighty impression upon him. A prepared body of our army made haste to relieve him. Upon this, two regiments of the king's horse, with a fierce charge, saluted the blue regiment of the London trained-bands, who gallantly discharged upon them, and did beat them back; but they, being no whit daunted at it, wheeled about, and on a sudden charged them; our musqueteers did again discharge, and that with so much violence and success, that they sent them now, not wheeling, but reeling from them; and yet for all that, they made a third assault, and coming in full squadrons, they did the utmost of their endeavour to break through our ranks; but a cloud of bullets came at once so thick from our muskets, and made such a havock amongst them, both of men and horse, that in a fear full of confused speed, they did fly before us, and did no more adventure upon so warm a service.

In the mean time, Sir Philip Stapleton performed excellent service with the lord general's regiment of horse, and five times together did charge the enemy: but above all, the renown and glory of this day is most justly due unto the resolution and conduct of our general; for, before the battle was begun, he did ride from one regiment to another, and did inflame them

with courage, and perceiving in them all an eager desire to battle with their enemies, he collected to himself a sure presage of victory to come. I have heard, that when in the heat and tempest of the fight, some friends of his did advise him to leave off his white hat, because it rendered him an object too remarkable to the enemy: No, replied the earl, It is not the hat, but the heart, the hat is not capable either of fear or honour. He himself, being foremost in person, did lead up the city regiment, and when a vast body of the enemy's horse had given so violent a charge, that they had broken quite through it, he quickly rallied his men together, and with undaunted courage, did lead them up the hill. In his way, he did beat the infantry of the king from hedge to hedge, and did so scatter them, that hardly any of the enemy's foot appeared at that present to him, to keep together in a body. After six hours long fight, with the assistance of his horse, he gained those advantages which the enemy possessed in the morning, which were the hill, the hedges, and the river.

In the mean time, a party of the enemy's horse, in a great body wheeled about, and about three quarters of a mile below the hill, they did fall upon the rear of our army, where our carriages were placed. To relieve which, his excellency sent a selected party from the hill to assist their friends, who were deeply engaged in the fight. These forces, marching down the hill, did meet a regiment of horse of the enemy's, who, in their hats, had branches of furz and broom, which our army did that day wear for distinction-sake, to be known by one another from their adversaries, and they cried out to our men, *Friends, Friends*; but they being discovered to be enemies, our men gave fire upon them, and having some horse to second the execution, they did force them farther from them: our men being now marched to the bottom of the hill, they increased the courage of their friends, and after a sharp conflict, they forced the king's horse to fly with remarkable loss, having left the ground strewed with the carcases of their horses and riders.

In the mean time, his excellency having now planted his ordnance on the top of the hill, did thunder against the enemy, where he found their numbers to be thickest; and the king's ordnance (being yet on the same hill) did play with the like fury against the forces of his excellency: the cannon on each side did dispute with one another, as if the battle was but new begun. The trained-bands of the city of London endured the chiefest heat of the day, and had the honour to win it; for being now upon the brow of the hill, they lay not only open to the horse, but the cannon of the enemy; yet they stood undaunted, and conquerors against all; and, like a grove of pines in a day of wind and tempest, they only moved their heads or arms, but kept their footing sure, unless by an improvement of honour they advanced forward, to pursue their advantage on their enemies.

Although the night did now draw on, yet neither of the armies did draw off: the enemy's horse, in a great body,

body, did stand on the furthest side of the hill, and the broken remainders of their foot behind them, and having made some pillage about the middle of the night, they drew of their ordnance and retreated unto Newbury: on the next morning, his excellency being absolute master of the field, did marshal again his soldiers into order to receive the enemy, if he had any stomach to the field, and to that purpose discharged a piece of ordnance, but no enemy appearing, he marched towards Reading.

The loss which the king's forces received in this memorable battle, is remarkable, for besides the multitudes that were carried away in carts, there were divers found that were buried in pits and ditches. There were many personages of note and honour slain, as the earl of Carnarvan, the earl of Sunderland, the lord of Faulkland, more famous for his pen than for his sword, Colonel Morgan, Lieutenant Colonel Fielding, Mr. Strode, and others: there were hurt the Lord Andover, Sir Charles Lucas, Colonel Charles Gerrard, Colonel Eevers, the earl of Carlisle, the earl of Peterborough, Lieutenant Colonel George Lisle, Sir John Russel, Mr. Edward Sackville, Mr. Henry Howard, Mr. George Porter, Mr. Progers, Colonel Darcy, Lieutenant Colonel Edward Villars, with many other more of note and eminence whose names are unknown unto us.

On the parliament side, there were slain Colonel Tucker, Captain George Massey, and Captain Hunt, and not any more of quality, that I can learn; but before his excellency advanced towards London, he did direct his ticket to Mr. Fulke, minister of the parish of Enburn, adjoining unto Newbury, and to the constables thereof, giving them strict command to bury the dead, which followeth in these words:

THESE are to will and require, and straightly charge and command you, forthwith, upon sight hereof, to bury all the dead bodies, lying in, and about Enburn and Newbury-wash, as you, or any of you, will answer the contrary, at your utmost perils.

*Dated, September 21,
1643.*

Essex.

His majesty having understood the pious care of his excellency, for the burial of the dead, on both sides, he issued out his warrant to the mayor of Newbury, for the recovery of the wounded that were taken prisoners on our side, which we have here inserted:

OUR will and command is, that you forthwith send into into the towns and villages adjacent, and bring thence, all the sick and hurt soldiers of the earl of Essex's army, and although they be rebels, and deserve the punishment of traitors, yet out of our tender compassion upon them, being our subjects, our will and pleasure is, that you carefully provide for their recovery, as well, as for those of our own army, and then to send them unto Oxford.

His excellency's forces had not marched above three or four miles from Newbury, but they perceived, that a strong party of the enemy made haste to follow them, who were commanded by the earl of Northampton, and the Lord Wilmot; Prince Rupert was also there in person; they took our forces upon a great advantage in a narrow lane, expecting no enemy so near at hand. Our London brigade marched in the rear, and there was a forlorn hope of six hundred musqueteers, that marched in the rear of them: but our horse, that brought up our rear, perceiving so strong a body of horse and foot so near at hand, and conceiving themselves not able to oppose them, in great confusion and disorder, they made their way through our own foot, and trampled on many of them, in that height of fear, under their horses feet. Howsoever, although this confusion of our horse did put our foot into some disorder, yet remembering the gallant service performed by them the day before, and not willing now to lose their honour, which they knew was gained by fighting, and not by flying, they made a stand and discharged ten drakes at the enemy, who with great fury did assault them with their cavalry, and had lined the hedges with their foot. The lane on our rear was so crowded with the enemy, that the execution which the drakes performed was very violent, for it did beat down both horse and man, and in the midst of the lane, made a new lane amongst them. The fall of these men was the rise of the courage of their companions, and thereupon adding fury to their valour, and desperateness to their fury, they adventured on the mouth of our ordnance, and on the jaws of death, and became masters of two of our drakes. In the meantime, a selected party of our foot were drawn out of the lane into a field, where, on the second charge (so hot was the service) they forced the enemy's foot, who lined the hedges, to betake themselves unto their heels, and through the hedges, so gauged the enemy with the shot, that about one hundred of them lost their lives upon the place, and the rest did fly for their safety, and were well content to leave the prize, which they had taken, and the purchase of our two drakes behind them. It is most certain, and the papers printed at Oxford do confirm, that Prince Rupert, in this last service, had three horses shot under him; peradventure he was one of those, who in the vanity of their morning mirth, did boast at Newbury, that although the roundheads were marching unto Reading, they would make calves of many of them, before they came unto the Veal.

The enemy in this manner being beaten back, the forces of the parliament, who had expressed themselves to be gallant men, had afterwards an unmolested march unto the Veal, and the next day to Reading, where having reposed themselves for a few days, they marched in triumph unto London, their companies so full, that it hardly could be discerned, where any were missing; with a general consent, they declared their cheerful resolution, that whensoever his excellency, their heroick
general,

general, should command their service, they would most readily advance with him, and esteem it their greatest happiness, to partake with him in the honour of his dangers; the lord mayor and the aldermen of the city did meet the trained bands at Temple-bar, and entertained them with great joy, and they had many thousand welcomes from the people, as they passed in martial order through the streets. His excellency also [being come to London] had solemn thanks returned him by the parliament for his faithful unwearied services for the state and kingdom; and now, the winter coming on, he had the leisure for a while to refresh himself, and to make new provisions for war against the ensuing spring, to reduce peace unto the kingdom, and the king unto his parliament, and Oxford and the malignant garrisons in the west, to the obedience of both; and this great work must ask some time, for the preparations of it.

Therefore on Monday, May the 13th, he sent his carriages from London, his soldiers were marched away before, and on Tuesday, May the 14th, very early in the morning, he followed after them towards Oxford. The gallant commander Sir William Waller advanced with him, but at some distance to ease the countries, through which they marched, and great care was taken to punish all disorders in his soldiers, as may appear by this his proclamation:

ROBERT, Earl of Essex, Captain General of the Army, employed for the Defence of the Protestant Religion, King, Parliament, and Kingdom.

WHEREAS these countries have been very much afflicted and oppressed by the enemy, and we are now come to relieve them of their hard bondage: it is therefore my express will and pleasure, and I do hereby straightly charge and command all officers, and soldiers, of horse, foot, and dragoons, belonging to the army, under my command, that they, and every of them, do forthwith, after proclamation hereof made, forbear (notwithstanding any pretence whatsoever) to plunder or spoil any of the goods of the inhabitants of these countries, or to offer any violence, or other prejudice unto them, upon pain of death, without mercy.

Given under my hand and seal.

Essex.

His excellency being now in the field, with a resolution to encounter with the king's armies, wherefore he could meet them, he received intelligence, that the earl of Forth, and the lord Hopton, had made a late muster of them upon Wautage Downs. There is no where to be found a fairer place for two armies, to try the justice of their cause by battle: but they, hearing the earl of Essex was advancing towards them, retired towards Abingdon; his excellency did send a party after them, of three thousand horse and foot, which were commanded by the field-marshal, the most Noble Lord Roberts, and by Sir Philip Stapleton, lieutenant general of the horse, who advanced towards

them, with so much resolution, that in some disorder they abandoned the town, which was immediately entered by the Lord Roberts, his excellency, with the main body of the army, following after, and intending to take up his quarters in that town himself.

The enemy at their departure, had drawn off their artillery, and took with them their magazine, which they did send to Oxford, but a great body of their army, consisting of five thousand horse and foot, and commanded by the Lord Hopton, did march by Oxford unto Islip, which is in the way to Worcester, and there they took up quarters for one night; but Captain Temple, who was sent from Newport-Pagnel with some troops of horse to discover only, and not to charge the enemy, being in the height of his youth, and full of the gallant fire of courage, and finding withal so fit an opportunity, he resolved to beat up the enemy's quarters; which he performed with so much resolution and success, that he took fifty brave horses, eighteen prisoners, whereof one was a knight, eight packs of kersey, which came from Exeter, and 150l. in ready money, and gave such an alarm to the enemy, that they fled from Islip to Oxford, crying out, *Essex was at their heels*; which did strike such a terror into them at Oxford, that they did shut the gates of the city, and for a while (until better information was received) they would not suffer Colonel Aston's own troop to enter, which was one of the three troops which this gallant captain did so bravely rouse in their quarters at Islip.

Not long after, the earl of Essex, having first rode round about the city of Oxford, and taken a perfect view of it, did sit down before it, with so powerful an army, that his majesty on Monday, June the 3d, about twelve of the clock at night, did take horse, attended with certain troops who carried some foot mounted behind them: there followed him thirty coaches of ladies, who, conceiving that Oxford would be besieged, were unwilling to endure the fury of the siege, and therefore the danger being manifest, and our armies almost round about them, in great tumult and disorder they hurried away, leaving behind them many costly moveables, which afterwards became a rich booty to their unfaithful servants.

The king being gone, immediately the intelligence thereof was brought unto his excellency, and the active and vigilant Sir William Waller was desired to attend him, who being come to Whitney with his forces, which is but five miles from Burford, where the king then was, his majesty's scouts came galloping in, and brought the sad news that our forces were at hand: on this, in a great fright, they all cried out, *To horse, To horse*; and the king, with his sword drawn, did ride about the town, to hasten his men away.

About a day or two after, his majesty's forces, in a flying march, did come to Parshaw bridge, which they pulled up, and necessity being the mother of invention, they laid loose boards upon stones, for a party of their forces then behind, to pass over; which being done, they intended to take the boards away, to hinder the passage

passage of Sir William Waller's forces that were in their pursuit; but, this party being come to the bridge, and hastily passing over it, the loose boards did slip from the stones, and they who were upon the bridge did fall into the river, and were drowned: the valiant Sir William Waller did lose no time to overtake the forces of the king: and his excellency well knowing what a considerable and sufficient strength he had to prosecute the pursuit, and believing that Colonel Mafsey would join his forces with him, he resolved to march westward, and with what speed he could, to send relief to the distressed town of Lyme; but, before the forces intended could arrive, Prince Maurice was gone, and the siege raised by our renowned lord admiral, the right honourable the earl of Warwick.

This town being thus seasonably relieved (where the besieged, both male and female, and of all ages shewed incomparable examples of fortitude and patience, to the wonder of their adversaries, and of generations to come) the lord admiral did advertise his excellency, that, for the more speedy reducing of the west, he would be assistant to him, and to that purpose, that, as he moved by land, he would sail by sea, to attend him in his marches. The town of Weymouth, a haven-town, was summoned, which, understanding that his excellency the earl of Essex was coming before it by land, and the lord admiral by sea, it presently did submit unto the noble Sir William Belford, who did summon it for his excellency, upon conditions, that the commanders and officers should go away on horseback, with their swords and pistols, and the common soldiers only with staves in their hands: there were taken in the town twenty-seven pieces of ordnance, fifty pieces lying in the harbour, and all the ships in it, and near unto it, and above an hundred barrels of powder, besides much arms and ammunition.

His excellency being now come into the centre of of the west, the countries round about did come in unto him, and the garisons did surrender at the first sound of his trumpet; they opened their gates to entertain his army, and they opened their hearts to entertain himself. There came unto him at Chard, within the circuit of twelve miles, at least four thousand men, who were all, in one meadow, drawn into ranks and files, where his excellency came in person to welcome them, and the Lord Roberts, lord marshal of the field, made them an excellent speech, which they received with loud and repeated acclamations, offering to live and die in the cause of the parliament, as their friends at Dorchester did before them.

Much about the same time, his excellency having understood that prince Maurice had drawn a great part of the garrison from Barnstable, and the inhabitants being confident of his assistance and approach, the other part of the garrison being marched forth upon some plundering design, they resisted them upon their return, and would not grant admittance to them; and a party of horse commanded by the Lord Roberts, and Sir Philip Stapleton, came so opportunely to their aid, that they chased them from that garrison, and,

being received themselves with great joy, they became absolute masters of it for the parliament.

Not long after, the most noble the Lord Roberts was designed by his excellency to march into Cornwall, which did so encourage the garrison of Plymouth, that they did put on a gallant resolution to make a sally forth; which they so well performed, that about seven miles from Plymouth, they did beat up a quarter of their enemies, and took forty-four horse, with their riders; and although that Sir Richard Greenville did attempt to rescue them, with a considerable strength, he was beaten off and forced to fly in great disorder, with the loss of divers of his ablest men. In this service two of the chiefest commanders of the enemy were slain, and Colonel Digby, brother to George Lord Digby, was wounded in the face, and Greenville himself, who before had lost his honour, was so close put to it, that he was in apparent danger of the loss of his life.

The conclusion of one victory was the beginning of another; for this gallant service was no sooner achieved, but his excellency understood the glad tidings of the taking of Taunton castle, by the forces which he sent thither, under the command of Sir Robert Pye, and Colonel Blake. This was a castle-town, and of great strength and great concernment, as in the year following the enemies proved to their cost, who, with a mighty power, did lie long before it, but were never able to take it, either by force, or by persuasion. In it they found four iron pieces, six murderers, great store of arms, of ammunition, and provision.

His excellency was now on his march towards Plymouth, which his enemies no sooner understood, but, though they were at least three thousand strong, they presently abandoned their holds, and retreated into Cornwall; by this means his excellency possessed himself of Mount-Stamford, Plimpton, Salt-Ash, and divers other small garrisons, with their ordnance, which, by reason of the strength of their fear, and the apprehension of their sudden danger, they were not able to draw off: from these places adjoining unto Plymouth, his excellency advanced towards Tavistock: here Sir Richard Greenville's house was stormed, the enemy in vain hanging out a white flag, and desiring parley; quarter for life was granted to all, the Irish excepted. In this house were taken two pieces of cannon, eight hundred arms and more, a great quantity of rich furniture, and three thousand pounds in money and in plate. Sir Richard Greenville was not here in person, he was retired to Newbridge, which is a passage into Cornwall, which he strongly guarded, but the forces of his excellency, after some dispute, did beat him from it, having slain about an hundred and fifty of the enemy, and taken many prisoners, and became masters of that passage: Lancelston at the first approach of his excellency did submit itself unto his mercy: from Newbridge Sir Richard Greenville retreated, or rather fled to Horsebridge, but the right valiant the Lord Roberts did pursue him with his brigade, and forced his passage over the bridge; and, about Lestthiel, overtook him,

and encountered with him: he found his forces to be stronger than fame had at the first reported them. But valour regards not numbers, for he charged on them with such dexterity, judgment, success, and resolution, that he covered the place with the carcases of his enemies, and took about one hundred and fifty of them prisoners. Immediately upon this, Bodwin, Tadcaster, and Foy did stoop unto his excellency, and that with such willing humility, that they seemed rather to honour and embrace, than to fear their conqueror: a conqueror he was, who overcame his enemies as much by his goodness as his greatness, and obliged them rather by his humanity than his power.

His majesty understanding that his excellency, with his army, was advanced into Cornwall, he was resolved to march after him, for he found that his army did daily increase in number, the presence of a prince, by a secret attraction, always prevailing on the affections of the people; whereupon his excellency did write unto the parliament, that a considerable party might be sent unto him, to charge the rear of his majesty's army, whilst he did fall upon the van, which might prove a speedy and a happy means for the securing of the king's person, and for the concluding of the war. He advertised them, that he found the people to be a wild and disproportionate body of several and uncertain heads, and uncertain hearts, and that they were apt to profane in the evening, what with so much zeal and joy they received in the morning. He desired that money might be sent unto him, to encourage his soldiers, and to confirm the people.

But his majesty, although he was marched up after his excellency, and was now about Exeter, was forced to send for provisions for his army into Somersetshire, of which Lieutenant-General Middleton having received intelligence, he valiantly encountered their convoy, and took many of their horse and seized on many of their carriages.

Not long after he encountered with Sir Francis Dorington's and Sir William Courtney's forces, which consisted of a considerable body of horse and dragoons, and, although the dragoons had lined the hedges, he did beat them from them, and with great resolution charging the horse, at the first encounter he did rout them, and pursued the victory almost as far as the town of Bridgewater. In this service he took some commanders prisoners, divers troopers, and fourscore horse. Much about the same time, a pernicious design of the enemy, to blow up his excellency's train of artillery, was wonderfully discovered and prevented.

His excellency, with a labouring expectation, did attend the supplies of men and money, to be sent unto him. The armies of the king, and of his excellency, were now drawn near, and daily facing one another. A party of the enemy, consisting of about three hundred horse, had one morning cast themselves into three divisions, and advancing near his excellency's quarters, did dare our men to an encounter: the gallant young gentleman Major Archibald Straughan, not able to endure the indignity, desired of his excellency,

that he might have leave to charge them but with one hundred horse. His excellency applauding his courage did easily condescend unto it.

He received the first impression of the enemy without stirring from the place whereon he stood, and not firing on the enemy, until they came breast unto breast, he made such a havock amongst them, that many of them were observed to fall to the ground together, and the rest began to fly: encouraged with this success, he charged the second division, and that with so much fury, that they began to fly in great confusion, not able to endure the shock and tempest of the charge.

After this he charged the third division, and having his men well armed, their pistols being all before discharged, they did now fall in pellmell upon them with their swords, and did soon force them by an ignominious speed, to fly to the main body of their army for their protection: the king himself was then in person in the field, and was a sad beholder of this slaughter, and disorder of his men.

For this brave service his excellency rewarded this victorious major, who was a gentleman of Scotland, with many thanks, and appellations of honour, and with a gallant horse, esteemed to be worth one hundred pounds.

His excellency having a long time waited for the supplies of ammunition, money and men, and finding that none arrived, he much wondered at the cause; and the rather, because that he was so straitened, by the iniquity of the place wherein he was encamped, that his horse had no room for forage, and he found the army of his enemy did daily increase in number, and in power; wherefore a council of war being called, it was concluded, that three thousand of our horse, under the command of the resolute Sir William Belfore, should break through the main body of the enemy, which was accordingly performed; and that with such a tempest, that they did bear down many of the enemy before them, and snatched from them several colours, which they brought with them safe to Plymouth, as the testimony of their valour: his excellency disposed of himself to sea, attended with the Lord Roberts. He took shipping at Foy, and the seas danced to receive him whom our land was not worthy of. He landed first at Plymouth, and not long after he put to sea again, and safely arrived at Southampton.

In the mean time, the most resolute Major-General Skippon, improving his necessity into a virtue, did gallantly encourage his soldiers, who were all resolved to live and die like soldiers, with him; and the forces of the enemy advancing towards them, they were received with such undaunted courage, that the enemy were forced, for their own safety, not only to give them quarter, but to condescend to very honourable articles on our parts, but those articles were violated, and that almost in the face of the king.

I have been often informed, that Major-General Skippon being dispoiled of his scarlet coat, his case of pistols and rapier, did ride up unto the king, and very roundly told him of the violation of the articles by his soldiers,

soldiers, as at all times in general, so at this present in particular. The king not well remembering him, did ask him who he was; he replied, that his name was Skippon. The king demanded who were those soldiers who had thus injured him; he shewed them to his majesty, for as yet, they continued within the reach of his eye; they were about nine in number.

Immediately the marshal was called, and these soldiers were apprehended; seven of the nine were condemned to the tree, and suffered according to their sentence.

I do believe, therefore, that his majesty was not necessary to this perfidious rudeness of his soldiers, which though, peradventure, it had a connivance and a toleration from others, it received a punishment from him; but the protesting Cornish, who, before the advance of his majesty's army, had so freely devoted themselves to the obedience of the parliament, and the commands of his excellency, did shew the deepest dissimulation, and expressed the greatest inhumanity that could be put in execution, for they stripped our soldiers stark naked from head to foot, and left them nothing to comfort themselves in this distress, but the fellowship and the number of the distressed.

In this condition of innocency and injury, they came unto Southampton; but the indignity thereof in lively characters was written in their breasts, and will shortly be revenged by their hands. And indeed, not long after they did meet them again at Newbury, and forgetting almost the military order to actuate their revenge, they did fall upon them like so many lions, and having made a great slaughter of them, they did redeem their clothes with the destruction of their adversaries, who having nothing to cover them but their own blood, they did remain the next day, a woe-ful spectacle to the conquerors.

His excellency was not then present, but remembering his virtue, they fought by his example; he was about that time at Southampton, sick in body and in mind.

There is no man who by honourable dangers did ever adventure more for wounds than he, and yet in all the wars he managed he never received any hurt, but what he did take inwardly, which, by a magnanimous and gallant patience, he admirably always both concealed and cured.

The wisdom of the parliament thought it now expedient to call home those commanders in chief, who conducted their armies in the field, that after the great service performed for the state, the kingdom might now enjoy as much benefit by the strength of their counsels, as it received safety by their arms; and indeed, who can give better instructions for the field, than those who have been the leaders of our armies in it?

His excellency, with as much chearfulness, was ready to lay down his arms, as with resolution he did take them up, and joining with the parliament, as well in person and presence, as in affection, he did much advance and facilitate the victories to come.

And now, about the latter end of March, there was a conference between both houses of parliament, concerning the new model for the settling of the army, the former commanders being called to sit in the houses

of parliament. It was before ordered, that Sir Thomas Fairfax should be commander in chief of twenty-one thousand horse and foot to be selected for this service, and that Major-General Skippon, now governor of Bristol, should be major-general of the whole army. At this conference there was a perfect concurrence of the house of lords with the house of commons, concerning the ratification of the list of Sir Thomas Fairfax's officers, in which was made no alteration at all. And this was, indeed, so acceptable to the house of commons, that upon report thereof unto the house, they appointed a committee to prepare a messenger to the lords, to congratulate their happy concurrence, and to assure them of the real affection and endeavours of the house of commons, to support their lordships in their honours and their privileges. And now an ordinance was drawn up for raising of money to maintain this army; which army was shortly after completed, and, with admirable success, did take the field under the command of the renowned Sir Thomas Fairfax, the particulars whereof shall be the happy labour of some other pen, and not of this, which precisely only must depend upon the relations of the actions and saving counsels of his excellency the earl of Essex.

Long did he thus continue a mighty agent for the health of this land, until it pleased God to strike him with a violent, a sudden, and a fatal sickness; and now, being confined to his bed, he had no more to do with his hands, but to lift them up to heaven, and his tongue was the orator to render their devotion the more acceptable. It was the force of his body that overcame his foes by arms, but it was the humility of his soul that overcame the Almighty by his prayers, which being a conquest for the body not to attain unto, the exalted soul hath now presented the laurels which the body hath won for the cause of the Almighty. And these being laid down at the feet of God, they will be reserved in a temple not built with hands, until both soul and body shall be united, and in the perfection of joy shall triumph through all eternity.

The same love which did follow him alive, did continue to his death; many of the nobility being always round about his bed, and attending him with their grief, whom they could not relieve with their greatness. My lord of Holland had his hand so locked in his, when the coldness and sloth of death had begun to make heavy both his understanding and his limbs, that he used some strength to get it from him, as if by this, at his departure, he would leave some earnest behind him, that he would carry with him the love of his friends into a better world.

And thus, having made peace with heaven and peace with earth, he departed this life on the 14th of September, leaving in all nations, to a world of those that honoured him the grief of his loss, the lustre of his transcendent virtues, and the attractive example of them, which whosoever shall inherit, shall become the wonder and delight of this age, the lively model and portrait of himself, and the immortal heir of his fame and glory.

Fragmenta Regalia: Or, Observations on the late Queen Elizabeth, her Times and Favourites. Written by Sir Robert Naunton, Master of the Court of Wards.

TO take her in the original, she was the daughter of King Henry the Eighth, by Anne Bullen, the second of six wives which he had, and one of the maids of honour to the divorced queen, Catherine of Austria (or as the now stiled *infanta* of Spain) and from thence taken to the royal bed.

That she was of a most noble and royal extract by her father, will not fall into question, for on that side was disemboved into her veins, by a confluency of blood, the very abstract of all the greatest houses in Christendom; and remarkable it is, considering that violent desertion of the royal house of the Britons, by the intrusion of the Saxons, and afterwards by the conquest of the Normans: that through vicissitude of times, and after a discontinuance almost of a thousand years, the sceptre should fall again, and be brought back into the old regal line and true current of the British blood, in the person of her renowned grandfather, King Henry the Seventh, together with whatsoever the German, Norman, Burgundian, Castilian, and French achievements, with their intermarriages, which eight hundred years had acquired, could add of glory thereunto.

By her mother she was of no sovereign descent, yet noble and very ancient in the family of Bullen; though some erroneously brand them with a citizen's rise, or original, which was yet but of a second brother, who (as it was divine in the greatness and lustre to come to his house) was sent into the city to acquire wealth, *ad edificandam antiquam domum*, unto whose achievements (for he was lord mayor of London) fell in, as it is averred, both the blood and inheritance of the eldest brother, for want of issue males, by which accumulation the house within few descents mounted, *in culmen honoris*, and was suddenly dilated in the best families of England and Ireland; as Howard, Ormond, Sackville, and others.

Having thus touched, and now leaving her stipe, I come to her person, and how she came to the crown by the decease of her brother and sister.

Under Edward the Sixth, she was his and one of the darlings of fortune, for besides the consideration of blood, there was between these two princes a concurrence and sympathy of their natures and affections, together with the celestial bond (confirmative religion) which made them one; for the king never called her by any other appellation but his sweetest and dearest sister, and was scarce his own man, she being absent; which was not so between him and the Lady Mary.

Under her sister* she found her condition much altered, for it was resolved, and her destiny had decreed it, for to set her apprentice in the school of affliction,

and to draw her through that ordeal fire of trial, the better to mould and fashion her to rule and sovereignty; which finished, fortune calling to mind, that the time of her servitude was expired, gave up her indentures, and therewith delivered into her custody a sceptre, as the reward of her patience; which was about the twenty-sixth of her age; a time in which, as for her internals grown ripe and seasoned by adversity in the exercise of her virtue; for it seems, fortune meant no more but to shew her a piece of variety, and changeableness of her nature, but to conduct her to her destiny, i. e. felicity.

She was of person tall, of hair and complexion fair, and therewith well favoured, but high-nosed; of limbs and features neat, and which added to the lustre of these external graces, of a stately and majestic comportment, participating in this more of her father than of her mother, who was of an inferior alloy, plausible, or as the French hath it, more *debonaire* and affable; virtues which might well suit with majesty, and which descending as hereditary to the daughter, did render her of a sweeter temper, and endeared her more to the love and liking of the people, who gave her the name and fame of a most gracious and popular princess.

The atrocity of the father's nature was rebated in her, by the mother's sweeter inclinations; for (to take, and that no more than the character out of his own mouth) *He never spared man in his anger, nor woman in his lust.*

If we search further into her intellectuals and abilities, the wheel-course of her government deciphers them to the admiration of posterity, for it was full of magnanimity, tempered with justice, piety, and pity, and to speak truth, noted but with one act of stain or taint; all her deprivations, either of life or liberty, being legal and necessitated; she was learned, her sex and time considered, beyond common belief: for, letters about this time, or somewhat before, did but begin to be of esteem and in fashion, the former ages being overcast with the mists and fogs of the Roman† ignorance, and it was the maxim that over-ruled the foregoing times, that *ignorance was the mother of devotion*. Her wars were a long time more in the auxiliary part, and assistance of foreign princes and states, than by invasion of any; till common policy advised it for a safer way, to strike first abroad, than at home to expect the war, in all which she was ever felicitous and victorious.

The change and alteration of religion upon the instant of her accession to the crown (the smoke and fire

* Queen Mary.

† Viz, popish.

of her sister's martyrdoms scarcely quenched) was none of her least remarkable actions; but the support and establishment thereof with the means of her own subsistence amidst so powerful enemies abroad, and those many domestick practices, were, methinks, works of inspiration, and of no human providence, which on her sister's departure, she most religiously acknowledged, ascribing the glory of her deliverance to God above; for, she being then at Hatfield, and under a guard, and the parliament sitting at the self-same time, at the news of the queen's death, and her own proclamation by the general consent of the house and the publick sufferance of the people; falling on her knees, after a good time of respiration, she uttered this verse of the Psalm:

A domino factum est istud, & est mirabile in oculis nostris.*

And this we find to this day on the stamp of her gold, with this on her silver:

Posui Deum adiutorem meum†.

Her ministers and instruments of state, such as were *participes curarum*, or bore a great part of the burthen, were many, and those memorable; but they were only favorites and not minions, such as acted more by her princely rules and judgments, than by their own wills and appetites; for we saw no Gaveston, Vere, or Spencer, to have swayed alone during forty-four years, which was a well settled and advised maxim; for it valued her the more, it awed the most secure, it took best with the people, and it staved off all emulations, which are apt to rise and vent in obloquious acrimony even against the prince, where there is one only admitted into high administrations.

A Major Palatii.

THE principal note of her reign will be, that she ruled much by faction and parties, which she herself both made, upheld, and weakened, as her own great judgment advised; for I do dissent from the common and received opinion, that my lord of Leicester was absolute and alone in her grace; and though I come somewhat short of the knowledge of these times, yet, that I may not err, or shoot at random, I know it from assured intelligence that it was not so, for proof whereof amongst many (that could present) I will both relate a story and therein a known truth, and it was thus: Bowyer, the gentleman of the black rod, being charged by her express command, to look precisely to all admissions in the privy chamber, one day staid a very gay captain (and a follower of my lord of Leicester) from entrance, for that he was neither well known, nor a sworn servant of the queen; at which repulse, the gentleman (bearing high on my lord's favour) told

him that he might perchance procure him a discharge. Leicester coming to the contestation said publicly, which was none of his wonted speeches, that he was a knave, and should not long continue in his office, and so turning about to go to the queen, Boyer, who was a bold gentleman and well beloved, stepped before him, and fell at her majesty's feet, relates the story, and humbly craves her grace's pleasure, and in such a manner as if he had demanded, whether my lord of Leicester was king, or her majesty queen; whereunto she replied (with her wonted oath, *God's-death*) my lord, I have wished you well, but my favour is not so locked up for you, that others shall not participate thereof; for I have many servants unto whom I have and will, at my pleasure, bequeath my favour, and likewise resume the same; and if you think to rule here, I will take a course to see you forthcoming‡; I will have here but one mistress, and no master, and look that no ill happen to him, lest it be severely required at your hands; which so quailed my lord of Leicester, that his faint humility was long after one of his best virtues.

Moreover, the earl of Suffex, then lord chamberlain, was his professed antagonist to his dying-day; and for my Lord Hunsdown, and Sir Thomas Sackville, after lord treasurer, who were all contemporaries; he was wont to say of them that they were of the tribe of Dan, and were, *noli me tangere*, implying, that they were not to be contested with, for they were indeed of the queen's nigh kindred.

From whence, and in many more instances, I conclude, that she was absolute and sovereign mistress of her graces, and that all those, to whom she distributed her favours, were never more than tenants at will, and stood on no better terms than her princely pleasure, and their good behaviour.

And this also I present as a known observation, that she was, though very capable of counsel, absolute enough in her own resolution; which was ever apparent even to her last, and in that of her still averſion to grant Tyrone || the least drop of her mercy, though earnestly and frequently advised thereunto, yea, wrought only by her whole counsel of state, with very many reasons; and as the state of her kingdom then stood, I may speak it with assurance, necessitated arguments.

If we look into her inclination as it was disposed to magnificence or frugality, we shall find in them many notable considerations, for all her dispensations were so poised, as though discretion and justice had both decreed to stand at the beam, and see them weighed out in due proportion, the maturity of her paces and judgments meeting in a concurrence; and that in such an age that seldom lapseth to excess.

To consider them apart, we have not many precedents of her liberality, nor any large donatives, to particular men; my lord of Essex's book of parks excepted, which was a princely gift; and some more

* This is the work of the Lord, and it is wonderful in our sight.
† I have chosen God for my help.

‡ i. e. I will confine you.
|| The Irish rebel.

of a lesser size, to my lord of Leicester, Hatton, and others.

Her rewards chiefly consisted in grants and leases of offices, and places of judicature, but for ready money and in great sums she was very sparing; which we may partly conceive was a virtue rather drawn out of necessity than her nature; for she had many layings-out, and as her wars were lasting, so their charge increased to the last period. And I am of opinion with Sir Walter Rawleigh, that those many brave men of her times, and of the militia, tasted little more of her bounty, than in her grace and good word with their due entertainment; for she ever paid her soldiers well, which was the honour of her times, and more than her great adversary of Spain could perform; so that when we come to the consideration of her *frugality*, the observation will be little more, than that her *bounty* and it were so woven together, that the one was * stained by an honourable way of sparing.

The Irish action we may call a malady, and a consumption of her times; for it accompanied her to her end; and it was of so profuse and vast an expence, that it drew near unto a distemperature of state, and of passion in herself; for, towards her last, she grew somewhat hard to please, her armies being accustomed to prosperity, and the Irish prosecution not answering her expectation, and her wonted success; for it was a good while an unthrifty and inauspicious war, which did much disturb and mislead her judgment; and, the more, for it was a precedent taken out of her own pattern.

For, as the queen, by way of division, had, at her coming to the crown, supported the revolted states of Holland, so did the king of Spain turn the trick upon herself, towards her going out, by cherishing the Irish rebellion; where it falls into consideration, what the state of this kingdom, and the crown revenues, were then able to endure and embrace.

If we look into the establishments of those times with the best of the Irish army, counting the defeitures of Blackwater, with all the precedent expences, as it stood from my lord of Essex's undertaking of the surrender of Kingsale, and the General Mountjoy; and, somewhat after, we shall find the horse and foot troops were, for three or four years together, much about twenty thousand, besides the naval charge, which was a dependant of the same war, in that the queen was then forced to keep in continual pay a strong fleet at sea, to attend the Spanish coasts and parts, both to alarm the Spaniards, and to intercept the forces, designed for the Irish assistance; so that the charge of that war alone did cost the queen three hundred thousand pounds per annum, at least, which was not the moiety of her other disbursements and expences; which, without the publick aids, the state of the royal receipts could not have much longer endured; which, out of her own frequent letters and complaints to the Deputy Mountjoy, for cashiering of

that list as soon as he could, might be collected, for the queen was then driven into a strait.

We are naturally prone to applaud the times behind us, and to vilify the present; for, the concurrent of her fame carries it to this day, how loyally and victoriously she lived and died, without the grudge and grievance of her people; yet the truth may appear without retraction, from the honour of so great a prince. It is manifest, she left more debts unpaid, taken upon credit of her privy-seals, than her progenitors did, or could have taken up, that were an hundred years before her; which was no inferior piece of state, to lay the burthen on that house †, which was best able to bear it at a dead list, when neither her receipts could yield her relief, at the pinch, nor the urgency of her affairs endure the delays of parliamentary assistance. And, for such aids, it is likewise apparent, that she received more, and that with the love of her people, than any two of her predecessors, that took most; which was a fortune strained out of the subjects, through the plausibility of her comportment, and (as I would say without offence) the prodigal distribution of her grace to all sorts of subjects; for I believe, no prince living, that was so tender of honour, and so exactly stood for the preservation of sovereignty, was so great a courtier of the people, yea, of the commons, and that stooped and declined low in presenting her person to the publick view, as she passed in her progress and perambulations, and in her ejaculations of her prayers on the people.

And, truly, though much may be written in praise of her providence, and good husbandry, in that she could, upon all good occasions, abate her magnanimity, and therewith comply with the parliament, and so always come off both with honour and profit; yet must we ascribe some part of the commendation, to the wisdom of the times, and the choice of parliament-men; for I *said* ‡ not, that they were at any time given to any violent or pertinacious dispute; the elections being made of grave and discreet persons, not factious and ambitious of fame; such as came not to the house with a malevolent spirit of contention, but with a preparation to consult on the publick good, and rather to comply, than to contest with majesty; neither dare I *find* §, that the house was weakened and pestered, through the admission of too many *young heads*, as it hath been of *latter* times; which remembers me of the Recorder Martin's speech, about the truth of our late sovereign lord, King James §, when there were accounts taken of *forty* gentlemen, not above *twenty*, and some not exceeding *sixteen* years of age; which made him to say, That it was the antient custom for old men to make laws for young ones; but there he saw the case altered, and that there were children in the great council of the kingdom, which came to invade and invert nature, and to enact laws to govern their fathers. Such ** were in the house always ††, and took the common cause into considera-

* *al. not.*

† *al. horse.*

‡ *al. find.*

§ *al. say.*

§ the First.

** Fathers.

†† During queen Elizabeth's reign;

tion; and, they say, the queen had many times just cause, and need enough to use their assistance; neither do I remember, that the house did ever capitulate, or prefer their private to the publick and the queen's necessities, but waited their times, and, in the first place, gave their supply, and according to the exigence of her affairs; yet failed not at the last to attain what they desired, so that the queen and her parliaments had ever the good fortunes to depart in love, and on reciprocal terms, which are considerations that have not been so exactly observed in our *last* assemblies. And, I would to God they had been; for, considering the great debts left on the king*, and to what incumbrances the house itself had then drawn him, his majesty was not well used, though I lay not the blame on the whole suffrage of the house, where he had many good friends; for, I dare avouch it, had the house been freed of half a dozen popular and discontented persons (such as, with the fellow that burnt the temple of Ephesus, would be talked of, though for doing of mischief) I am confident the king had obtained that which in reason, and, at his first occasion, he ought to have received freely, and without condition. But pardon this digression, which is here remembered, not in the way of aggravation, but in true zeal of the publick good, and presented in caveat of future times: for, I am not ignorant how the genius and spirit of the kingdom now moves to make his majesty amends, on any occasion; and how desirous the subject is to expiate that offence at any rate, may it please his majesty to make trial of his subjects affections; and at what price they value now his goodness and magnanimity.

But, to our purpose: the queen was not to learn that, as the strength of the kingdom consisted in the multitude of her subjects, so the security of her person consisted and rested in the love and fidelity of her people, which she politically affects (as it hath been thought) somewhat beneath the height of her natural spirit and magnanimity.

Moreover, it will be a true note of her providence, that she would always listen to her profit: for she would not refuse the information of meanest personages, which proposed improvement; and had learned the philosophy of (*Hoc agere*) to look unto her own work: of which there is a notable example of one Carmarthen, an under officer of the Custom-house; who, observing his time, presented her with a paper, shewing how she was abused in the under-renting of the customs, and therewith humbly desired her majesty to conceal him, for that it did concern two or three of her great counsellors †, whom Customer Smith had bribed with two thousand pounds a man, so to lose the queen twenty thousand pounds per annum; which being made known to the lords, they gave strict order that Carmarthen should not have access to the back-

stairs; but, at last, her majesty smelling the craft, and missing Carmarthen, she sent for him back, and encouraged him to stand to his information; which the poor man did so handsomely, that, within the space of ten years, he was brought to double his rent, or leave the custom to new farmers: so that we may take this also in consideration, that there were of the queen's council, which were not in the catalogue of saints.

Now, as we have taken a view of some particular motives of her times, her nature and necessities, it is not without the text, to give a short touch of the *helps* and *advantages* of her reign, which were not without ‡ paroles; for she had neither husband, brother, sister, nor children to provide for, who, as they are dependants on the crown, so do they necessarily draw livelihood from thence, and oftentimes exhaust and draw deep, especially when there is an ample fraternity *royal*, and of the princes of the blood, as it was in the time of Edward the Third, and Henry the Fourth. For, when the *crown* cannot, the *publick* ought to give honourable allowance; for, they are the honour and hopes of the kingdom; and the publick, which enjoys them, hath the like interest with the father, which begat them, and our common law, which is the inheritance of the kingdom, did ever of old, provide aids for the *primogenitus* §, and the eldest daughter; for that the multiplicity of courts, and the great charges, which necessarily follow a *king*, a *queen*, a *prince*, and *royal issue*, was a thing which was not in *rerum natura* §, during the space of forty-four years**; but worn out of memory, and without the consideration of the present times, inasmuch as the aids, given to the late and right noble Prince Henry, and to his sister the Lady Elisabeth, which were, at first, generally received as impositions for knighthood, though an antient law, fell also into the imputation of a tax of nobility, for that it lay long covered in the embers of division, between the houses of York and Lancaster, and forgotten or connived at by the succeeding princes: so that the strangeness of the observation, and the difference of those latter reigns, is, that the queen took up much *beyond* the power of law, which fell not into the murmur of people; and her successors took nothing but by *warrant* of the law, which nevertheless was received, *through disuse*, to be injurious to the liberty of the *kingdom*.

Now before I come to any mention of her favourites, for hitherto I have delivered but some oblivious passages, thereby to prepare and smooth a way, for the rest that follows:

It is necessary that I touch on the religiousness of the others reign, I mean the body of her sister's †† council of state, which she retained intirely, neither removing nor discontenting any, although she knew them averse to her religion, and, in her sister's time,

* Charles the First.

† Burleigh, Leicester, and Walsingham.

‡ *al.* were without.

§ The eldest son.

§ Existing.

** Which she ruled the English scepter.

†† Mary.

perverse to her person, and privy to all her troubles and imprisonments.

A prudence, which was incompatible to her sister's nature; for she both dissipated and presented the major part of her brother's council; but this will be of certain, that, how compliable and obsequious soever she found them, yet, for a good space, she made little use of their counsels, more than in the ordinary course of the board, for she had a dormant table in her own privy breast; yet she kept them together, and in their places, without any sudden change; so that we may say of them, that they were then of the court, not of the council; for, whilst she * *amazed* them by a kind of promissive disputation, concerning the points controverted by both churches, she did set down her own gifts, without their privy, and made all their progressions, gradations, but for that the tenents of her secrets, with the intents of her establishments, were pitched, before it was known, where the court would sit down.

Neither do I find that any of her sister's council of state were either repugnant to her religion, or opposed her doings. Englefeild, master of the wards excepted, who withdrew himself from the board, and shortly after out of her dominions; so pliable and obedient they were to change with the times, and their prince; and of them will fall a relation of recreation: Pawlet marquis of Winchester, and lord treasurer, had served then four princes, in as various and changeable times and seasons, that I may well say, no time, nor age, hath yielded the like precedent; this man being noted to grow high in her favour (as his place and experience required) was questioned by an intimate friend of his, how he had stood up for thirty years together, amidst the change and ruins of so many chancellors, and great personages; why, quoth the Marquis, *Ortus sum e salice, non ex quercu*, i. e. *I am made of pliable willow, not of the stubborn oak*. And truly it seems, the old man had taught them all, especially William earl of Pembroke, for they two were always of the king's religion, and always zealous professors; of these it is said, that being both younger brothers, yet of noble houses, they spent what was left them, and came on trust to the court, where, upon the bare stock of their wits, they began to traffick for themselves, and prospered so well, that they got, spent, and left more than any subjects from the Normans conquest, to their own times; whereupon it hath been prettily spoken, that they lived in a time of dissolution.

To conclude then, of all the former reign, it is said that those two lived and died, chiefly in her grace and favour; by the letter written upon his son's marriage, with the Lady Catherine Grey, he had like utterly to have lost himself; but at the instant of consummation, as apprehending the unsafety and danger of intermarriage with the blood royal, he fell at the queen's feet, where he both acknowledged his presumption, and projected the cause and the divorce to-

gether; so quick he was at his work, that, in the time of repudiation of the said Lady Grey, he clapped up a marriage for his son, the Lord Herbert, with Mary Sidney, daughter to Sir Henry Sidney, then lord deputy of Ireland, the blow falling on Edward, the late earl of Hertford, who, to his cost, took up the divorced lady, of whom the Lord Beauchamp was born, and William, now earl of Hertford, is descended.

I come now to present them to her own election, which were either admitted to her secrets of state, or took into her grace and favour, of whom, in order, I crave leave to give unto posterity a cautious description, with a short character or draught of the persons themselves; for, without offence to others, I would be true to myself, their memories, and merits, distinguishing those of *militia* †, from the *togati* ‡; and of both these she had as many, and those as able ministers, as had any of her progenitors.

LEICESTER.

IT will be out of doubt, that my lord of Leicester was one of the first whom she made master of the horse; he was the youngest son then living of the duke of Northumberland, beheaded *primo Mariae* ||, and his father was that Dudley, which our histories couple with Empson; and both be much infamed for the caterpillars of the commonwealth during the reign of Henry the Seventh, who, being of a noble extract, was executed the first year of Henry the Eighth, but not thereby so extinct, but that he left a plentiful estate, and such a son, who, as the vulgar speaks, it would live without a teat; for, out of the ashes of his father's infamy, he rose to be a duke, and as high as subjection could permit, or sovereignty endure; and though he could not find out any appellation to assume crown, in his own person; yet he projected, and very nearly effected it, for his son Gilbert, by intermarriage with the Lady Jane Grey, and so by that way to bring it into his loins.

Observations which though they lie beyond us, and seem impertinent to the text, yet are they not much extravagant, for they must lead us, and shew us how the after passages were brought about, with the dependances on the line of a collateral workmanship; and surely it may amaze a well settled judgment to look back into these times, and to consider how the duke could attain to such a pitch of greatness, his father dying in ignominy, and at the gallows, his estate confiscated for pilling and polling the people.

But, when we better think upon it, we find that he was given up, but as a sacrifice to please the people, not for any offence committed against the person of the king; so that upon the matter he was a martyr of the prerogative, and the king in honour could do no less than give back to his son the privilege of his

* *al.* amused.

† Camp.

‡ Council.

|| In the first year of Queen Mary.

blood, with the acquiring of his father's profession, for he was a lawyer, and of the king's council at law, before he came to be *ex interioribus consiliis**, where, besides the licking of his own fingers, he got the king a mass of riches, and that not with hazard, but with the loss of his life and fame, for the king's father's sake.

Certain it is, that his son was left rich in purse and brain; which are good foundations, and fewel to ambition; and, it may be supposed, he was on all occasions well heard of the king, as a person of mark and compassion in his eye, but I find not that he did put up for advancement, during Henry the Eighth's time, although a vast aspirer, and a provident stayer.

It seems, he thought the king's reign was much given to the falling-sickness, but espying his time fitting, and the sovereignty in the hands of a pupil prince, he then thought he might as well put up, for it was the best; for having the possession of blood and of purse, with a head-piece of a vast extent, he soon got to honour, and no sooner there, but he began to hide it with the best, even with the protector†, and, in conclusion, got his and his brother's heads; still aspiring, till he expired in the loss of his own; so that posterity may by reading of the father and grandfather, make judgment of the son; for we shall find that this Robert, whose original we have now traced, the better to present him, was inheritor to the genius and craft of his father; and Ambrose, of the estate, of whom hereafter we shall make some short mention.

We took him now as he was admitted into the court and the queen's favours, and here he was not to seek to play his part well and dexterously; but his play was chiefly at the fore-game, not that he was a learner at the latter, but he loved not the after-wit, for the report is, (and I think not unjustly) that he was seldom behind-hand with his gamesters, and that they always went with the loss.

He was a very goodly person, tall, and singularly well featured, and all his youth well-favoured, of a sweet aspect, but high foreheaded, which (as I should take it) was of no discommendation; but, towards his latter, and which with old men was but a middle age, he grew high-coloured; so that the queen had much of her father, for, excepting some of her kindred, and some few that had handsome wits in crooked bodies, she always took personage in the way of election, for the people hath it to this day, *King Henry loved a man*.

Being thus in her grace, she called to mind the sufferings of his ancestors, both in her father's and sister's reigns, and restored his and his brother's blood, creating Ambrose the elder, earl of Warwick, and himself earl of Leicester; and as he was *exprimitis*, or, *of her first choice*; so he rested not there, but long enjoyed her favour, and therewith what he listed, till time and emulation, the companions of greatness, re-

solved of his period, and to colour him at his *setting* in a cloud (at Conebury) not by so violent a death, or by the fatal sentence of a judicature, as that of his father and grandfather's was, but as is supposed by that poison which he had prepared for others, wherein they report him a rare artist.

I am not bound to give credit to all vulgar relations, or the libels of his time, which are commonly forced and falsified suitable to the words and † honours of men in passion, and discontent; but what binds me to think him no good man, amongst other things of known truth, is that of my lord of Essex's ‖ death, in Ireland, and the marriage of his lady; which I forbear to press, in regard he is long since dead, and others are living whom it may concern.

To take him in the observation of his letters and writings, which should best set him off, for such as have fallen into my hands, I never yet saw a stile or phrase more seemingly religious, and fuller of the strains of devotion; and, were they not sincere, I doubt much of his well-being §, and, I fear, he was too well seen in the aphorisms, and principles of Nicholas the Florentine, and in the reaches ** of Cæsar Borgias.

And hereto I have only touched him in his courtships. I conclude him in his lance ††; he was sent governor by the queen to the revolted states of Holland, where we read not of his wonders, for they say, he had more of Mercury than he had of Mars, and that his device might have been without prejudice to the great Cæsar, *Veni, vidi, redvi*.

RADCLIFFE, Earl of Suffex.

HIS †† co-rival was Thomas Radcliffe, earl of Suffex, who in his constellation was his direct opposite, for indeed he was one of the queen's martialists, and did her very good service in Ireland, at her first accession, till she recalled him to the court, whom she made lord chamberlain: but he played not his game with that cunning and dexterity as the earl of Leicester did, who was much the fairer courtier, though Suffex was thought much the honestest man, and far the better soldier, but he lay too open on his guard; he was a godly gentleman, and of a brave and noble nature, true and constant to his friends and servants; he was also of a very ancient and noble lineage, honoured through many descents, through the title of Fitzwalters. Moreover, there was such an antipathy in his nature to that of Leicester, that, being together in court, and both in high employments, they grew to a direct frowardness, and were in continual opposition, the one setting the watch, the other the guard, each on the other's actions and motions; for my lord of Suffex was of so great spirit, which,

* Of his privy-council.

† The duke of Somerset.

‡ *al.* Humours.

§ Of which you have an account hereafter in this small pamphlet.

§ In a future state.

** The art of poisoning.

†† Martial state.

‡‡ Leicester's.

backed with the queen's special favour and support,* by a great and ancient inheritance, could not brook the other's empire, insomuch as the queen, upon sundry occasions, had somewhat to do to appease and atone them, until death parted the competition, and left the place to Leicester, who was not long alone, without his rival in grace, and command: and to conclude this favourite, it is confidently affirmed, that, lying in his last sickness, he gave this caveat to his friends:

I am now passing into another world, and I must leave you to your fortunes, and the queen's grace and goodness; but beware of the gipsy, meaning Leicester, for he will be too hard for you all, you know not the beast so well as I do.

Secretary WILLIAM CECILL.

I Come now to the next, which was Secretary William Cecill, for, on the death of the old marquis of Winchester, he came up in his room; a person of a most subtle and active spirit.

He stood not by the way of constellation, but was wholly attentive to the service of his mistress, and his dexterity, experience, and merit therein challenged a room in the queen's favour, which eclipsed the other's overbearing greatness, and made it appear that there were others steered and stood at the helm besides himself, and more stars in the firmament of grace, than *ursa major*.

He was born, as they say, in Lincolnshire, but, as some aver upon knowledge, of a younger brother of the Cecills of Hertfordshire, a family of my own knowledge, though now private, yet of no mean antiquity; who, being exposed, and sent to the city, as poor gentlemen used to do their sons, became to be a rich man on London Bridge, and purchased † in Lincolnshire, where this man was born.

He was sent to Cambridge, and then to the inns of court, and so came to serve the duke of Somerset, in the time of his protectorship ‡ as secretary, and having a propensity to high inclinations, he came by degrees to a higher conversation, with the chiefest affairs of state and councils; but, on the fall of the duke, he stood some years in umbrage, and without employment, till the state found they needed his abilities; and although we find not that he was taken into any place, during Mary's reign, unless (as some say) towards the last, yet the council several times made use of him, and in the queen's || entrance he was admitted secretary of state; afterwards he was made master of the court of wards, then lord trea-

surer, for he was a person of most excellent abilities; and indeed the queen began to need and seek out men of both guards, and so I conclude to rank this great instrument amongst the *togati* §; for he had not to do with the sword, more than as the great pay-master, and contriver of the war, which shortly followed, wherein he accomplished much, through his theoretical knowledge at home, and his intelligence abroad, by unlocking of the councils of the queen's enemies.

We must now take it, and that of truth, into observation, that, until the tenth of her reign, the times were calm and serene, though sometimes overcast, as the most glorious sun-rising is subject to shadowings and droppings; for the clouds of Spain, and the vapours of the holy league, began to disperse and threaten her felicity. Moreover, she was then to provide for some intestine strangers, which began to gather in the heart of her kingdom; all which had relation and correspondency, each one to the other, to dethrone her and to disturb the publick tranquillity, and therewithal, as a principal mark, the established religion, for the name of *Recusant* then began first to be known to the world; until then the catholicks were no more than church-papists **, but now commanded by the pope's express catholick church, their mother, they separate themselves; so it seems the pope had then his aims to take a true number of his children; but the queen had the greater advantage, for she likewise took tale of her opposite subjects, their strength and how many they were, that had given their names to Baal ††, who then by the hands of some of his proselytes fixed his bulls on the gates of St. Paul's, which discharged her subjects of all fidelity, and received faith; and so under the vail of the next successor, to replant the catholick religion. So that the queen had then a new task and work in hand, that might well awake her best providence, and required a muster of new arms, as well as courtships and counsels; for the time then began to grow quick and active, fitter for stronger motions than them of the carpet and measure; and it will be a true note of her magnanimity, that she loved a soldier, and had a propension in her nature to regard, and always to grace them; which the court taking into their consideration, took it as an inviting to win honour, together with her majesty's favour, by exposing themselves to the wars, especially when the queen and the affairs of the kingdom stood in some necessity of the soldiers; for we have many instances of the sallies of the nobility and gentry, yea and of the court and her privy-favourites, that had any touch or tincture of Mars in their inclinations, to steal away without license, and the

the pope's infallibility and supremacy; yet they looked not upon these doctrines and discipline to be fundamentals, or without which they could not be saved; and therefore continued to *assemble* and *baptize*, and *communicate*, for the space of ten years, in the reformed church of England. Query, Whether their separation did not make them schismatics?

†† The pope.

* *al.* Supported by.

† An estate.

‡ Under Edward VI.

|| Elizabeth's.

§ Counsellors.

** Because notwithstanding many dissented from the reformed establishment in many points of doctrine, and still acknowledged

queen's privy; which had like to cost some of them dear, so predominant were their thoughts and hopes of honour grown in them, as we may truly observe in the exposition of Sir Philip Sidney, my lord of Essex and Mountjoy, and divers others, whose absence, and the manner of their eruptions, was very distasteful unto her; whereof I can hereunto add a true and no impertinent story, and that of the last: Mountjoy, who having twice or thrice stole away into Brittany, where under Sir John Norris he had then a company, without the queen's leave and privy; she sent a messenger unto him, with a strict charge to the general, to see him sent home.

When he came into the queen's presence, she fell into a kind railing, demanding of him how he durst go over without her leave: 'Serve me so (quoth she) once more, and I will lay you fast enough for running; you will never leave till you are knocked on the head, as that inconsiderate fellow Sidney was; you shall go when I send, in the mean time, see that you lodge in the court (which was then at Whitehall) where you may follow your book, read, and discourse of the wars.' But to our purpose: it fell out happily to those, and, as I may say, to these times, that the queen, during the calm time of her reign, was not idle nor rocked asleep with security; for she had been very provident in the reparation and augmentation of her shipping and ammunition, and I know not whether by a foresight of policy, or any instinct it came about, or whether it was an act of her compassion; but it is most certain she sent no small troops to the revolted states of Holland, before she had received any affront from the king of Spain, that might deserve to tend to a breach of hostility, which the papists maintain, to this day, was the provocation to the after wars; but, omitting what might be said to this point, these Netherland wars were the queen's seminaries, or nursery, of very many brave soldiers; and so likewise were the civil wars of France, whither she sent five several armies.

They were the French scholars that inured the youth and gentry of the kingdom, and it was a militia, where they were daily in acquaintance with the discipline of the Spaniards, who were then turned the queen's inveterate enemies.

And thus have I taken in observation her *dies Halcyonii*, i. e. these years of hers, which were more serene and quiet than those that followed, which though they were not less propitious, as being touched more with the points of honour and victory, yet were they troubled and loaded ever, both with domestick and foreign machinations; and as it is already quoted, they were such as awakened her spirits, and made her cast about her to defend, rather by offending, and by way of provision, to prevent all invasions, than to expect them; which was a piece of the cunning of the times, and with this I have noted the causes and *principium* * of the wars following, and likewise points

to the seed-plots, from whence she took up these brave men, and plants of honour, who acted on the theatre of Mars, and on whom she dispersed the rays of her graces; who were persons in their kinds of care, virtuous, and such as might, out of their merit, pretend interest to her favours; of which rank the number will equal, if not exceed that of her gownmen, in recount of whom I will proceed with Sir Philip Sidney.

Sir PHILIP SIDNEY.

HE was the son of Sir Henry Sidney, lord deputy of Ireland, and president of Wales, a person of great parts, and of no mean grace with the queen; his mother was sister to my lord of Leicester, from whence we may conjecture how the father stood up in the sphere of honour and employments, so that his descent was apparently noble on both sides; and, for his education, it was such as travel, and the university could afford none better, and his tutors infuse; for, after an incredible proficiency in all the spheres of learning, he left the academical for that of the court, whither he came by his uncle's invitation, famed after by noble reports of his accomplishments, which together with the state of his person, framed by a natural propension to arms, soon attracted the good opinions of all men, and was so highly praised in the esteem of the queen, that she thought the court deficient without him: and whereas, through the fame of his desert, he was in election for the kingdom of Poland, she refused to further his preferment: it was not out of emulation of advancement, but out of fear to lose the jewel of her time. He married the daughter and sole heir of Sir Francis Walsingham, the secretary of state; a lady destined to the bed of honour, who, after his deplorable death at Zutphen, in the Low-countries, where he was at the time of his uncle Leicester's being there, was remarried to the lord of Essex, and, since his death, to my lord of St. Alban's, all persons of the sword, and otherwise of great honour and virtue.

They have a very quaint conceit of him, that Mars and Mercury fell at variance, whose servant he should be; and there is an epigrammatist that saith, that Art and Nature hath spent their excellencies in his fashioning, and, fearing they could not end what they had begun, they bestowed him up for time, and Nature stood mute and amazed to behold her own m. : but these are the particulars of poets.

Certain it is, he was a noble and matchless gentleman; and it may be said justly of him, without these hyperboles of faction as it was of *Cato Uticensis*, That he seemed to be born only to that which he went about, *vir satilis ingenii*, as Plutarch saith it; but to speak more of him were to make them less.

* Beginning.

† Poland.

WALSINGHAM.

SIR Francis Walsingham, as we have said, had the honour to be Sir Philip Sidney's father-in-law; he was a gentleman at first of a good house, and of a better education, and from the university travelled for the rest of his learning: doubtless, he was the only linguist of his times, how to use his own tongue, whereby he came to be employed in the chiefest affairs of state.

He was sent ambassador to France, and staid there *legat* long in the heat of the civil wars, and at the same time that Monsieur was here a suitor to the queen; and, if I be not mistaken, he played the very same part there, as since Gundamore did here*: at his return, he was taken principal secretary, and for one of the great engines of state, and of the times, high in his mistress the queen's favour, and a watchful servant over the safety of his mistress.

They note him to have certain courtesies and secret ways of intelligence above the rest; but I must confess, I am to seek wherefore he suffered Parry† to play so long as he did, hang on the hook, before he hoisted him up; and I have been a little curious in the search thereof, though I have not to do with the *Arcana Regalia Imperii*, for to know it is sometimes a burthen; and I remember it was Ovid's criminant error, that he saw too much; but I hope these are collaterals, and of no danger.

But that Parry, having an intent to kill the queen, made the way of his access, by betraying of others, and in impeaching of the priests of his own correspondence, and thereby had access to confer with the queen, as oftentimes private and familiar discourse with Walsingham, will not be the query of the mystery; for the secretary might have an end of a further discovery and maturity of the treason; but that, after the queen knew Parry's intent, why she would then admit him to private discourse, and Walsingham to suffer him, considering the conditions of all the designs, and to permit him to go where and whither he listed, and only under the secrecy of a dark sentinel set over him, was a piece of reach and hazard, beyond my apprehension: I must again profess, that I have read many of his letters, for they are commonly sent to my lord of Leicester, and of Burleigh, out of France, containing many fine passages and secrets, yet, if I might have been beholding to his cyphers, they would have told pretty tales of the times; but I must now close him up, and rank him amongst the *togati*: yet chief of those that laid the foundations of the French and Dutch wars, which was another piece of his fineness of the times, with one observation more, that he was one of the greatest always of the Austrian embracements, for both himself, and

Stafford that preceded him, might well have been compared to him, in the gospel, that sowed his tares in the night; so did they their seeds in division, in the dark, and as it is a likely report, that they father on him at his return, the queen speaking to him with some sensibility of the Spanish designs on France: Madam, he answered, I beseech you to be content, and fear not; the Spaniard hath a great appetite and an excellent digestion, but I have fitted him with a bone for these twenty years, that your majesty should have no cause to doubt him, provided that if the fire chance to shake which I have kindled, you will be ruled by me, and cast in some of your fewel, which will revive the flame.

WILLOUGHBY.

MY lord Willoughby was one of the queen's first swords-men; he was of the ancient extract of the Bartewes, but more enobled by his mother, who was duchess of Suffolk; he was a great master of the art military, and was sent general into France, and commanded the second army of five, the queen had sent thither in aid of the French: I have heard it spoken, that, had he not slighted the court, but applied himself to the queen, he might have enjoyed a plentiful portion of her grace; and it was his saying, and it did him no good, that he was none of the *reptilia*, intimating that he could not creep on the ground, and that the court was not his element; for indeed, as he was a great soldier, so he was of a suitable magnanimity, and could not brook the obsequiousness and assiduity of the court, and as he was then somewhat descending from youth, happily he had an *animam revertendi*, or a desire to make a safe retreat.

BACON.

AND now I come to another of the *togati*, Sir Nicholas Bacon, an arch-piece of wit and of wisdom; he was a gentleman, and a man of law, and of a great knowledge therein, whereby together with his after-part of learning and dexterity, he was promoted to be keeper of the great seal, and being of kin to the treasurer Burleigh, and ‡ also the help of his hand to bring him to the queen's great favour, for he was abundantly factious. Which took much with the queen, when it suited with the season, as he was well able to judge of the times: he had a very quaint saying, and he used it often to good purpose, *that he loved the jest well, but not the loss of his friend*; and that, though he knew that *verus quisque sua fortunæ faber*, was a true and a good principle, yet the most in number were those that numbered themselves, but I will

* Gundamore, the Spanish ambassador, amused King James I. with much dissimulation.

† The traitor.
‡ *al.* had.

never forgive that man that loseth himself to be rid of his jests.

He was father to that refined wit, which since hath acted a disastrous part on the publick stage, and of late sat in his father's room, as lord chancellor; those that lived in his age, and from whence I have taken this little model of him, give him a lively character, and they decipher him to be another Solon, and the Sinon of those times, such a one as Oedipus was in dissolving of riddles; doubtless, he was an able instrument, as it was his commendation, that his head was the mallet, for it was a very great one, and therein kept a wedge, that entered all knotty pieces that came to the table.

And now again I must fall back to smooth and plane a way the rest that is behind, but not from my purpose. There have been, about this time, two rivals in the queen's favour, old Sir Francis Knowles, comptroller of the house, and Sir Henry Norris, whom she had called up at parliament to sit with the peers in the higher house; as Henry Norris of Rycot, who had married the daughter and heir of the old Henry Williams, of Tayne, a noble person, and to whom, in her adversity, the queen had been committed to his safe custody, and, from him, had received more than ordinary observances: now, such was the goodness of the queen's nature, that she neither forgot the good turns received from the Lord Williams, neither was she unmindful of this Lord Norris, whose father, in her father's time, and in the business of her brother, died in a noble cause, and in the justification of her innocence.

N O R R I S.

MY lord Norris had, by this lady, an apt issue, which the queen highly respected, for he had six sons, and all martial and brave men: the first was William the eldest, and father to the late earl of Berkshire; Sir John, vulgarly called General Norris: Sir Edward, Sir Thomas, Sir Henry, and Maximilian, men of haughty courage, and of great experience in the conduct of military affairs; and to speak in the character of their merit, they were persons of such renown and worth, as future times must, of duty, owe them the debt of an honourable memory.

K N O W L E S.

SIR Francis Knowles was somewhat near in the queen's affinity, and had likewise no incompetent issue; for he had also William, his eldest son, and since earl of Banbury; Sir Thomas, Sir Robert, and Sir Francis, if I be not a little mistaken in their names and marshaling: and there was also the Lady Lettice, a sister of those who was first countess of Essex, and after of Leicester; and those were also

brave men in their times and places, but they were of the court and carpet, and not by the genius of the camp.

Between these two families there was, as it falleth out amongst great ones and competitors of favour, no great correspondency; and there were some seeds, either of emulation or distrust, cast between them; which had they not been disjoined in the residence of their persons, as that was the fortune of their employments, the one side attending the court, and the other the pavilion, surely they would have broken out into some kind of hostility, or, at least, they would intwine and wrestle one in the other, like trees circled with ivy; for there was a time, when, both these fraternities being met at court, there passed a challenge between them at certain exercises, the queen and the old men being spectators, which ended in a flat quarrel amongst them all: for, I am persuaded, though I ought not to judge, that there were some relics of this feigned, that were long after the causes of the one's family almost utter extirpation, and the other's inprosperity: for it was a known truth, that, so long as my lord of Leicester lived, who was the main pillar on the one side, for having married the sister, the other side took no deep root in the court, though, otherwise, they made their ways to honour by their swords. And that, which is of more note, considering my lord of Leicester's use of men of war, being shortly after sent governor to the revolted states, and no soldier himself, is, That he made no more account of Sir John Norris, a soldier, then deservedly famous, and trained from a page under the discipline of the greatest captain in Christendom, the Admiral Castilian, and of command in the French and Dutch wars almost twenty years. And it is of further observation, that my lord of Essex, after Leicester's decease, though addicted to arms, and honoured by the general in the Portugal expedition, whether out of instigation, as it has been thought, or out of ambition and jealousy, eclipsed by the fame and splendour of this great commander, never loved him in sincerity.

Moreover, and certain it is, he not only crushed, and upon all occasions quelled the youth of this great man, and his famous brethren; but therewith drew on his own fatal end, by undertaking the Irish action in a time when he left the court empty of friends, and full-fraught with his professed enemies. But I forbear to extend myself in any further relation upon this subject, as having lost some notes of truth in these two nobles, which I would present; and therewith touched somewhat, which I would not, if the equity of the narration would have permitted any omission.

P E R R O T.

SIR John Perrot was a goodly gentleman, and of the sword; and he was of a very ancient descent, as an heir to many subtracts of gentry, especially from
Guy

Guy de Brian, of Lawhorn; so was he of a very vast estate, and came not to court for want, and to these advancements: he had the endowments of carriage and height of spirit, had he alighted on the alloy and temper of discretion; the defect whereof, with a native freedom and boldness of speech, drew him on a clouded sitting, and laid him open to the spleen and advantage of his enemies, of whom Sir Christopher Hatton was professed; he was yet a wise man and a brave courtier, but rough, and participating more of active than sedentary motions, as being in his institution destined for arms. There is a query of some denotations, How he came to receive the foil, and that in the catastrophe? For he was strengthened with honourable alliance and the prime friendship in court, my lords of Leicester and Burleigh, both his contemporaries and familiars; but that there might be (as the adage hath it) falsity in friendship: and we may rest satisfied, that there is no dispute against fate, and they quit him for a person that loved to stand too much alone on his legs, of too often regresses and discontinuance from the queen's presence, a fault which is incompatible with the ways of court and favour. He was sent lord deputy into Ireland, as it was then apprehended, for a kind of haughtiness and repugnancy in council; or, as others have thought, the fittest person then, to bridle the insolencies of the Irish; and probable it is, that both, considering the sway that he would have at the board, being head in the queen's favour, concurred, and did alike conspire his remove and ruin: but into Ireland he went; where he did the queen very great and many services, if the surplussage of the measure did not abate the value of the merit, as after-time found to be no paradox to save the queen's purse, but both herself, and my lord treasurer Burleigh, ever took for good service; he imposed on the Irish the charge for bearing their own arms, which both gave them the possession, and taught them the use of weapons; which, provided, in the end to a most fatal work, both in the profusion of blood and treasure.

But, at his return, and upon some account sent home before, touching the estate of that kingdom, the queen poured out assiduous testimonies of her grace towards him, till, by his retreat to his castle of Cary, which he was then building, and out of a desire to be in command at home, as he had been abroad, together with the hatred and practice of Hatton, then in high favour, whom he had not long before bitterly taunted for his dancing, he was accused for high treason, and for high words, and a forged letter, and condemned; though the queen, on the news of his condemnation, swore, by her wonted oath, That the jury were all knaves: and they delivered it with assurance, that on his return to the town after his trial, he said, with oaths and with fury to the lieutenant, Sir Owen Hopton, What, will the queen suffer her brother to be offered up as a sacrifice to the envy of my flattering adversaries? Which being made known to the queen, and somewhat enforced, she refused to sign it, and

swore he should not die, for he was an honest and faithful man. And surely, though not altogether to set out rest and faith upon tradition and old reports, as, That Sir Thomas Perrot, his father, was a gentleman of the privy-chamber, and in the court married to a lady of great honour, which are presumptions in some implications; but, if we go a little further, and compare his pictures, his qualities, gesture, and voice with that of the king, which memory retains yet amongst us, they will plead strongly, that he was a surreptitious child of the blood royal.

Certain it is, that he lived not long in the Tower; and that, after his decease, Sir Thomas Perrot, his son, then of no mean esteem with the queen, having before married my lord of Essex's sister, since countess of Northumberland, had restitution of his land; though, after his death also (which immediately followed) the crown resumed the estate, and took advantage of the former attainder; and, to say the truth, the priest's forged letter was, at his arraignment, thought but as a fiction of envy, and was soon after exploded by the priest's own confession: but that which most exasperated the queen, and gave advantage to his enemies, was, as Sir Walter Rawleigh takes into observation, words of disdain, for the queen, by sharp and reprehensive letters, had nettled him; and thereupon, sending others of approbation, commending his service, and intimating an invasion from Spain; which was no sooner proposed, but he said publicly, in the great chamber at Dublin: 'Lo, now she is ready to bepis herself, for fear of the Spaniards; I am again 'one of her white boys:' which are subject to a various construction, and tended to some disreputation of his sovereign, and such as may serve for instruction to persons in place of honour and command, to beware of the violences of nature, and especially the exorbitance of the tongue. And so I conclude him with this double observation; the one, of the innocency of his intentions, exempt and clear from the guilt of treason and disloyalty, therefore of the greatness of his heart; for, at his arraignment, he was so little dejected with what might be alledged, that rather he grew troubled with choler, and, in a kind of exasperation, he despised his jury, though of the order of knighthood, and of the especial gentry, claiming the privilege of trial by the peers and baronage of the realm: so prevalent was that of his native genius and haughtiness of spirit, which accompanied him to his last, and till, without any diminution of change therein, it brake in pieces the cords of his magnanimity; for he suddenly died in the Tower, and when it was thought the queen did intend his enlargement, with the restitution of his possessions, which were then very great, and comparable to most of the nobility.

H A T T O N.

SIR Christopher Hatton came to the court, as his opposite; Sir John Perrot was wont to say, by the galliard, for he came thither as a private gentleman of the

the inns of court, in a masque ; and, for his activity and person, which was tall and proportionable, taken into her favour : he was first made vice-chamberlain, and, shortly after, advanced to the place of lord chancellor ; a gentleman that, besides the graces of his person, and dancing, had also the endowment of a strong and subtle capacity, and that could soon learn the discipline and garb, both of the times and court : and the truth is, he had a large proportion of gifts and endowments, but too much of the season of envy ; and he was a meer vegetable of the court, that sprung up at night, and sunk again at his noon :

Flos non mentorum, sed sex fuit illa virorum.

EFFINGHAM.

MY lord of Effingham, though a courtier betimes, yet I find not that the sunshine of his favour brake out upon him, until she took him into the ship, and made him high admiral of England ; for his extract, it might suffice that he was the son of A. Howard, and of A. duke of Norfolk.

And, for his person, as goodly a gentleman as the times had any, if nature had not been more intente to compleat his person, than fortune to make him rich ; for, the times considered, which were then active, and a long time after lucrative, he died not wealthy ; yet the honestest man, though, it seems the queen's purpose was to render the occasion of his advancement, and to make him capable of more honour ; at his return from the Cadiz voyage and action, she conferred it upon him, creating him earl of Nottingham, to the great discontent of his colleague, my lord of Essex, who then grew excessive in the appetite of her favour, and the truth is so exorbitant in the limitation of the sovereign aspect, that it much alienated the queen's grace from him, and drew others together with the admiral to a combination, and conspire his ruin ; and though, as I have heard it from that party (I mean the old admiral's faction) that it lay not in his proper power to hurt my lord of Essex, yet he had more fellows, and such as were well skilled in the setting of the train : but I leave this to those of another age ; it is out of doubt, that the admiral was a good, honest, and brave man, and a faithful servant to his mistress ; and such a one, as the queen out of her own princely judgment, knew to be a fit instrument in her service, for she was a proficient in the reading of men as well as books ; and as sundry expeditions, as that aforementioned, and 88, do better express his worth, and manifest the queen's trust, and the opinion she had of his fidelity and conduct.

Moreover, the Howards were of the queen's alliance and consanguinity, by her mother, which swayed her affections, and bent it towards this great house ; and it was a part of her natural propension to grace and support ancient nobility, where it did not intrench, neither invade her interest : from such trespasses, she was quick and tender, and would not spare any what-

soever, as we may observe in the case of the duke and my lord of Hertford, whom she much favoured and countenanced, till they attempted the forbidden fruit, the fault of the last being, in the severest interpretation, but a trespass of incroachment ; but in the first it was taken as a riot against the crown and her own sovereign power, and as I have ever thought the cause of her aversion, against the rest of that house, and the duke's great father-in-law, Fitz-Allen, earl of Arundel, a person in the first rank of her affections, before these and some other jealousies, made a separation between them.

This noble lord, and lord Thomas Howard, since earl of Suffolk, standing alone in her grace, and the rest in her umbrage.

PACKINGTON.

SIR John Packington was a gentleman of no mean family, and of form and feature no ways disabled, for he was a brave gentleman, and a very fine courtier, and for the time which he stayed there, which was not lasting, very high in her grace ; but he came in, and went out through disaffection, drew the curtain between himself and the light of her grace, and then death overwhelmed the remnant, and utterly deprived him of recovery ; and they say of him, that had he brought less to her court than he did, he might have carried away more than he brought, for he had a time on it, but was an ill husband of opportunity.

HUNSDOWN.

MY lord of Huntdown was of the queen's nearest kindred, and, on the decease of Suffex, both he and his son successively took the place of lord chamberlain ; he was a man fast to his prince, and firm to his friends and servants ; and though he might speak big, and therein would be borne out, yet was he the more dreadful, but less harmful, and far from the practice of the lord of Leicester's instructions, for he was downright ; and I have heard those that both knew him well and had interest in him, say merrily of him, that his latin and dissimulation were alike ; and that his custom of swearing and obscenity in speaking, made him seem a worse christian than he was, and a better knight of her carpet than he could be. As he lived in a roughling time, so he loved sword and buckler-men, and such as our fathers were wont to call *men of their hands* ; of which sort he had many brave gentlemen that followed him, yet not taken for a popular and dangerous person : and this is one that stood among the *togati*, of an honest, stout heart, and such a one, that upon occasion would have fought for his prince and country, for he had the charge of the queen's person, both in the court and in the camp at Tilbury.

RAW.

RAWLEIGH.

SIR Walter Rawleigh was one that, it seems, fortune had picked out of purpose, of whom to make an example, and to use as her tennis-ball, thereby to shew what she could do, for she tossed him up of nothing, and to and fro to greatness, and from thence down to little more than to that wherein she found him, a bare gentleman; and not that he was less, for he was well descended and of good alliance, but poor in his beginnings: and for my Lord Oxford's jests of him for the jacks and upstarts, we all know it favoured more of emulation and his honour, than of truth; and it is a certain note of the times, that the queen, in her choice, never took in her favour a mere viewed man, or a mechanick, as Comines observes of Lewis XI. who did serve himself with persons of unknown parents, such as were Oliver the barber, whom he created earl of Dunoyes, and made him *ex secretis consiliis*, and alone in his favour and familiarity.

His approaches to the university and inns of court were the grounds of his improvement, but they were rather extrusions than sieges or settings down, for he staid not long in a place; and being the youngest brother, and the house diminished in his patrimony, he foresaw his destiny, that he was first to roll through want and disability, to subsist otherwise, before he came to a repose, and as the stone doth by long lying gather moss. He was the first that exposed himself in the land-service of Ireland, a militia, which did not then yield him food and raiment, for it was ever very poor; nor dared he to stay long there, though shortly after he came thither again, under command of the Lord Grey, but with his own colours flying in the field, having in the interim, cast a mere chance both in the Low-countries, and in the voyage to sea; and, if ever man drew virtue out of necessity, it was he, and therewith was he the great example of industry; and though he might then have taken that of the merchant to himself,

Per mare, per terras, curris mercator ad Indos,

He might also have said, and truly, with the philosopher, *Omnia mea mecum porto*, for it was a long time before he could brag of more than he carried at his back; and when he got on the winning side, it was his commendation, that he took pains for it, and underwent many various adventures for his after-perfection, and before he came into the publick note of the world; and thence may appear how he came up *per ardua*;

Per varios casus, per tot discrimina rerum.

Not pulled up by chance, nor by any great admittance; I will only describe his natural parts, and these of his own acquiring.

He had, in the outward man, a good presence, in a handsome and well compacted person; a strong natural wit, and a better judgment, with a bold and plausible tongue, whereby he could set out his parts to the best advantage; and these he had by the adjuncts of some general learning, which by diligence he enforced to a great augmentation and perfection, for he was an indefatigable reader, by sea and land, and one of the best observers both of men and of the times; and I am somewhat confident, that among the second causes of his growth, there was variance between him and my Lord General Grey, in his second descent into Ireland, which drew them both over to the council-table, there to plead their own causes; where what advantage he had in the case in controversy, I know not, but he had much the better in the manner of telling his tale, inasmuch as the queen and the lords took no slight mark of the man and his parts; for from thence he came to be known, and to have access to the lords; and then we are not to doubt how such a man would comply to progression; and whether or no, my lord of Leicester had then cast a good word for him to the queen, which would have done him no harm, I do not determine; but true it is, he had gotten the queen's ear in a trice, and she began to be taken with his election, and loved to hear his reasons to her demands: and, the truth is, she took him for a kind of oracle, which nettled them all; yea those that he relied on, began to take this his sudden favour for an alarm, and to be sensible of their own supplantation; and to project his, which made him shortly after sing,

Fortune, my foe, why dost thou frown?

So that finding his favour declining, and falling into a recess, he undertook a new perigrination to leave that *terra infirma**, of the court, for that of the waves, and by declining himself, and by absence, to expel his and the passion of his enemies; which, in court, was a strange device of recovery, but that he then knew there was some ill office done him; yet he durst not attempt to mend it, otherwise than by going aside thereby, to teach envy a new way of forgetfulness, and not so much as think of him. Howsoever, he had it always in mind never to forget himself; and his device took so well, that in his return he came in as rams do, by going backward with the greater strength, and so continued to the last great in her favour, and captain of her guard: where I must leave him, but with this observation, though he gained much at the court, he took it not out of the exchequer, or merely out of the queen's purse, but by his wit, and by the help of the prerogative; for the queen was never profuse in delivering out of her treasure, but paid most and many of her servants, part in money, and the rest with grace; which, as the case stood, was then taken for good payment, leaving the arrears of recompence due for their merit, to her

* Instability.

great successor *, who paid them all with advantage †.

GREVILLE.

SIR Foulke Greville, since Lord Brooke, had no mean place in her favour, neither did he hold it for any short time or term; for, if I be not deceived, he had the longest lease, the smoothest time, without rubs, of any of her favourites; he came to the court in his youth and prime, as that is the time, or never; he was a brave gentleman, and hopefully descended from Willoughby, Lord Brooke, and admiral to Henry the Seventh; neither illiterate, for he was, as he would often profess, a friend to Sir Philip Sidney, and there are now extant some fragments of his pen, and of the times, which do interest him in the muses, and which shew in him the queen's election had ever a noble conduct, and it motions more of virtue and judgment, than of fancy.

I find, that he neither sought for nor obtained any great place or preferment in court, during all his time of attendance; neither did he need it, for he came thither backed with a plentiful fortune, which, as himself was wont to say, was then better held together by a single life, wherein he lived, and died a constant courtier of the ladies.

ESSEX.

MY lord of Essex, as Sir Henry Walton notes him, a gentleman of great parts, and partly of his times and retinue, had his introduction by my lord of Leicester, who had married his mother; a tie of affinity, which, besides a more urgent obligation, might have invited his care to advance him, his fortunes being then, through his father's infelicity, grown low; but that the son of a Lord Ferrers of Chartly, Viscount Hertford, and earl of Essex, who was of the ancient nobility, and formerly in the queen's good grace, could not have room in her favour, without the assistance of Leicester, was beyond the rule of her nature, which, as I have elsewhere taken into observation, was ever inclinable to favour the nobility: sure it is, that he no sooner appeared in court, but he took with the queen and the courtiers; and, I believe, they all could not chuse but look through the sacrifice of the father on his living son, whose image, by the remembrance of former passages, was a fresh leak, the bleeding of men murdered, represented to the court, and offered up a subject of compassion to all the kingdom.

There was in this young lord, together with a goodly person, a kind of urbanity and innate courtesy, which both won the queen, and too much took up the people to gaze on the new adopted son of her favour; and as I go along, it will not be amiss to take into

observation two notable quotations; the first was a violent indulgence of the queen (which is incident to old age, where it encounters with a pleasing and suitable object) towards this great lord; which argued a non-perpetuity; the second was a fault in the object of her grace, my lord himself, who drew in too fast, like a child sucking on an overuberous nurse; and had there been a more decent decorum observed in both, or either of these, without doubt, the unity of their affections had been more permanent, and not so in and out as they were, like an instrument well tuned, and lapsing to discord.

The greater error of the two, though unwilling, I am constrained to impose on my lord of Essex, and rather on his youth, and none of the least of the blame on those that stood sentinals about him, who might have advised better, but that like men intoxicated with hopes, they likewise had sucked in with the most of their lord's receipts, and so, like Cæsars, would have all or none; a rule quite contrary to nature, and the most indulgent parents, who, though they may express more affection to one in the abundance of bequeaths, yet cannot forget some legacies and distributives, and dividends to others of their begetting; and how hurtful partiality is and proves, every day's experience tells us, out of which common consideration, they might have framed to their hands a maxim of more discretion, for the conduct and management of their new graced lord and master.

But to omit that of infusion, and to do right to truth, my lord of Essex, even of those that truly loved and honoured him, was noted for too bold an ingrosser, both of fame and favour; and of this without offence to the living, or treading on the sacred grave of the dead, I shall present the truth of a passage, yet in memory.

My lord of Mountjoy, who was another child of her favour, being newly come, and then but Sir Charles Blount (for my Lord William, his elder brother, was then living) had the good fortune to run one day well at tilt, and the queen was therewith so well pleased, that she sent him, in token of her favour, a queen at chess in gold, richly enamelled, which his servants had the next day fastened unto his arm, with a crimson ribband; which my lord of Essex, as he passed thro' the privy-chamber, espying with his cloke cast under his arm, the better to command it to the view, enquired what it was, and for what cause there fixed: Sir Foulke Greville told him, it was the queen's favour, which the day before, and next after the tilting, she had sent him; whereat my lord of Essex, in a kind of emulation, and as though he would have limited her favour, said, Now I perceive, every fool must have a favour. This bitter and publick affront came to Sir Charles Blount's ear, at which he sent him a challenge; which was accepted by my lord, and they met near Marybone-park, where my lord was hurt in the thigh, and disarmed; the queen, missing of the

* James the First.

† He, dishonourably, cut off this good servant's head, and seized upon his estate.

men, was very curious to learn the truth, but at last it was whispered out; she swore by *God's death*, it was fit that some one or other should take him down, and teach him better manners, otherwise there would be no rule with him; and here I note the imminution of my lord's friendship with Mountjoy, which the queen herself did then conjure.

Now for his fame we need not go far, for my lord of Essex, having borne a grudge to General Norris, who had unwittingly offered to undertake the action of Brittany, with fewer men than my lord had before demanded; on his return with victory, and a glorious report of his valour, he was then thought the only man for the Irish wars; wherein my lord of Essex so wrought, by despising the number and quality of the rebels, that Norris was sent over with a scanty force, joined with the relicks of the veteran troops of Britain, of set purpose, and as it fell out, to ruin Norris; and the Lord Burrows, by my lord's procurement, sent at his heels, and to command in chief, and to convey Norris only to his government at Munster; which aggravated the great heart of the general, to see himself undervalued and undermined by my lord and Burrows, which was, as the proverb speaks, *juvenes docere senes*.

Now my Lord Burrows in the beginning of his prosecution died, whereupon the queen was fully bent to send over my Lord Mountjoy; which my lord of Essex utterly disliked, and opposed with many reasons, and by arguments of contempt towards Mountjoy (his then professed friend and familiar) so predominant was his desire to reap the whole honour of closing up that war, and all others; now the way being paved and opened by his own workmanship, and so handled that none durst appear to stand in the place; at last, and with much ado, he obtained his own ends, and therewith his fatal destruction, leaving the queen and the court, where he stood impregnable, and firm in her grace, to men that long had sought and waited their times to give him a trip, and could never find any opportunity, but this of his absence, and of his own creation; and those are true observations of his appetite and inclinations, which were not of any true proportion, but hurried and transported with an over desire and thirstiness after fame, and that deceitful fame of popularity; and, to help on his catastrophe, I observe likewise two sorts of people that had a hand in his fall: the first was the soldiery, which all flock unto him, as it were foretelling a mortality, and are commonly of blunt and too rough counsels, and many times dissonant from the time of the court and state; the other sort were of his family, his servants and his own creatures, such as were bound by safety, and obligations of fidelity, to have looked better to the steering of that boat, wherein they themselves were carried, and not to have suffered it to fleet, and run on ground, with those empty sails of tumour, of popularity and applause; methinks one honest man or other,

who had but the brushing of his cloaths, might have whispered in his ear, My lord, look to it, this multitude that follows you, will either devour you, or undo you; do not strive to over-rule all, for it will cost hot water, and it will procure envy, and if needs your genius must have it so, let the court and the queen's presence be your station, for your absence must undo you. But, as I have said, they had sucked too much of their lord's milk, and instead of withdrawing they *drew* * the coals of his ambition, and infused into him too much of the spirit of glory, yea, and mixed the goodness of his nature with a touch of revenge, which is evermore accompanied with a destiny of the same fate. Of this number, there were some of insufferable natures about him, that towards his last gave desperate advice, such as his integrity abhorred, and his fidelity forbade, amongst whom Sir Henry Walton notes, without injury, his secretary Cusse, as a vile man, and of a perverse nature: I could also name others, that, when he was in the right course of recovery, settling to moderation, would not suffer a recess in him, but stirred up the dregs of those rude humours, which, by times and his affections out of his own judgment, he thought to repose, and give them a vomit. And thus I conclude this noble lord, as a mixture between prosperity and adversity, once a child of his great mistress's favour, but a son of Bellona.

BUCKHURST.

MY lord of Buckhurst was of the noble house of Sackvilles, and of the queen's consanguinity, or as the people then called him *fill-sacks*, by reason of his great wealth, and the vast patrimony left to his son, whereof in his youth he spent the best part, until the queen, by her frequent admonitions, diverted the torrent of his profusion; he was a very fine gentleman, of person and endowments, both of art and nature, but without measure magnificent, till on the turn of his honour, and the alloy, that his yearly good counsel had wrought upon those immoderate courses of his youth, and that height of spirit inherent to his house; and then did the queen, as a most judicious, indulgent prince, who when she saw the man grown settled and staid, gave him an assistance, and advanced him to the treasurership, where he made amends to his house for his mis-spent time, both in the increase of his estate and honour, which the queen conferred upon him, together with the opportunity to remake himself, and thereby to shew that this was a child that should have a share in her grace.

They much commend his elocution, but more the excellency of his pen, for he was a scholar, and a person of a quick dispatch, faculties that yet run in the blood; and they say of him, that his secretaries did little for him by the way of indictment, wherein

Al. blew.

they

they could seldom please him, he was so facete and choice in his phrases and stile; and for his dispatches, and for the content he gave to suitors, he had a decorum seldom put in practice, for he had of his attendance that took into a roll the names of all suitors, with the date of their first addresses; so that a fresh man could not leap over his head, that was of a more ancient edition, excepting the urgent affairs of the state.

I find not, that he was any way insnared in the factions of the court, which were all his time strong, and in every man's note, the Howards and the Cecills of the one part, and my lord of Essex, &c. on the other, for he held the staff of the treasury fast in his hand, which made them, once in a year, to be beholden to him; and the truth is, as he was a wise man, and a stout, he had no reason to be a partaker, for he stood sure in blood and in grace, and was wholly intentive to the queen's service; and such were his abilities, that she might have more cunning instruments, but none of a more strong judgment, and confidence in his ways, which are symptoms of magnanimity, whereunto methinks this motto hath some kind of reference, *Aut nunquam tentes, aut perice.* As though he would have characterized, in a word, the genius of his house, or express somewhat of a higher inclination than lay within his compass; that he was a courtier is apparent, for he stood always in her eye, and in her favour.

MOUNTJOY.

MY lord Mountjoy was of the ancient nobility, but utterly decayed in the support thereof, patrimony, through his grandfather's excess, his father's vanity in search of the philosopher's-stone, and his brother's untimely prodigality; all which seemed, by a joint conspiracy, to ruinate the house, and altogether to annihilate it; as he came from Oxford, he took the Inner Temple in the way to court, whither he no sooner came, but he had a pretty kind of admission, which I have heard from a discreet man of his own, and much more of the secrets of those times; he was then much about twenty years of age, brown haired, of a sweet face, and of a most neat composure, tall in his person; the queen was then at Whitehall, and at dinner, whither he came to see the fashion of the court, and the queen had soon found him out, and, with a kind of an affected favour, asked her carver who he was; he answered he knew him not, insomuch that an enquiry was made, one from another, who he might be, till at length it was told the queen, he was brother to the Lord William Mountjoy. Thus enquiry, with the eye of her majesty fixed upon him, as she was wont to do, and to daunt men she knew not, stirred the blood of the young gentleman, insomuch as his colour went and came; which the queen observing, called unto him, and gave him her hand to kifs, encouraging him with gracious words and new looks,

and so diverting her speech to the lords and ladies, she said, that she no sooner observed him, but she knew there was in him some noble blood, with some other expressions of pity towards his house; and then again demanding his name, she said, Fail you not to come to the court, and I will bethink myself how to do you good; and this was his inlet, and the beginning of his grace; where it falls into consideration, that though he wanted not wit, nor courage, for he had very fine attractives, as being a good piece of a scholar, yet were those accompanied with the retractive of bashfulness, and natural modesty, which, as the wave of the house of his fortune then stood, might have hindered his progression, had they not been reinforced by the infusion of sovereign favour, and the queen's gracious invitation; and that it may appear how he was, and how much that heretick necessity will work in the directions of good spirits, I can deliver it with assurance, that his exhibition was very scanty, until his brother died, which was shortly after his admission to the court; and then was it no more but a thousand marks *per annum*, wherewith he lived plentifully, and in a fine garb, and without any great sustentation of the queen, during all her times.

And as there was in nature a kind of backwardness which did not befriend him, nor suit with the motion of the court, so there was in him an inclination to arms, with an humour of travelling, and gadding abroad, which had not some wise men about him laboured to remove, and the queen laid in her command, he would, out of his own native propension, marred his own market; for, as he was grown by reading, whereunto he was much addicted, to the theory of a soldier, so was he strongly invited, by his genius, to the acquaintance of the practice of the war, which were the causes of his excursions, for he had a company in the Low Countries, from whom he came over with a noble acceptance of the queen; but, somewhat restless in honourable thoughts, he exposed himself again and again, and would press the queen with pretences of visiting his company so often, till at length he had a flat denial; yet he struck over with Sir John Norris into the action of Brittany, which was then a hot and active war, whom he would always call his father, honouring him above all men, and ever bewailing his end; so contrary he was in his esteem and valuation of this great commander, to that of his friend, my lord of Essex; till at last the queen began to take his digressions for contempt, and confined his residence to the court*, and her own presence; and, upon my lord of Essex's fall, so confident she was of her own princely judgment, and the opinion she had conceived of his worth and conduct, that she would have this noble gentleman, and none other, to bring in the Irish wars to a propitious end; for it was a prophetic speech of her own, That it would be his fortune, and his honour, to cut the thread of that fatal rebellion, and to bring her in peace to the grave;

* As related before, in the account of Secretary William Cecil.

wherein she was not deceived: for he achieved it, but with much pains and carefulness, and not without the forces and many jealousies of the court and times, wherewith the queen's age and the malignity of her settling times were replete. And so I come to his dear friend in court, Secretary Cecill, whom, in his long absence, he adored as his saint, and counted him his only Mæcenæ, both before and after his departure from court, and during all the time of his command in Ireland; well knowing, that it lay in his power, and by a word of his mouth, to make or mar him.

ROBERT CECILL.

SIR Robert Cecill, since earl of Salisbury, was the son of the Lord Burleigh, and, by degrees, successor of his places and favours, though not of his lands; for he had Sir Thomas Cecill his elder brother, since created earl of Exeter; he was first secretary of state, then master of the court of wards, and, in the last of her reign, came to be lord treasurer: all which were the steps of his father's greatness, and of the honour he left to his house. For his person, he was not much beholden to nature, though somewhat for his face, which was the best part of his outside: for his inside, it may be said, and without offence, that he was his father's own son, and a pregnant precedent in all his discipline of state: he was a courtier from his cradle, which might have made him betimes; but he was at the age of twenty, and upwards, and was far short of his after-proof, but exposed, and by change of climate he soon made shew what he was, and would be.

He lived in those times, wherein the queen had most need and use of men of weight; and, amongst many able ones, this was chief, as having taken his sufficiency from his instruction, who begat him the tutorship of the times and court, which were then academies of art and cunning. For such was the queen's condition from the tenth or twelfth of her reign, that she had the happiness to stand up, whereof there is a former intimation, invironed with many and more enemies, and assaulted with more dangerous practices, than any prince of her times, and of many ages before: where we must not, in this her preservation, attribute it to human power, for that, in his own omnipotent providence, God ordained those secondary means, as instruments of the work, by an evident manifestation of the same work which she acted; and it was a well-pleasing work of his own, out of a peculiar care he had decreed the protection of the work-mistress, and thereunto added his abundant blessing upon all and whatsoever she undertook: which is an observation of satisfaction to myself, that she was in the right; though to others now breathing under the same form and frame of her government, it may not seem an animadversion of their worth: but I leave them to the peril of their own folly, and so come again to this great minister of state and the staff of the queen's declining age; who though his little crooked

person could not promise any great supportation, yet it carried thereon a head, and a head-piece, of a vast content; and therein, it seems, nature was so diligent to compleat one and the best part about him, as the perfection of his memory and intellectuals: she took care also of his senses, and to put him in *lynceos oculos*, or, to pleasure him the more, borrowed of Argos, so to give unto him a prospective sight; and, for the rest of his sensitive virtues, his predecessor, Walsingham, had left him a receipt to smell out what was done in the conclave.

And his good old father was so well seen in mathematics, that he could tell you, throughout Spain, every part, every port, every ship, with its burden; whither bound, what preparations, what impediments for diversion of enterprises, counsel, and resolution; and that we may see, as in a little map, how docible this little man was, I will present a taste of his abilities.

My lord of Devonshire, upon certainty that the Spaniards would invade Ireland with a strong army, had written very earnestly to the queen, and to the council, for such supplies to be timely sent over, that might enable him both to march up to the Spaniard, if he did land, and follow on his prosecution without diverting his intentions against the rebels. Sir Robert Cecill, besides the general dispatch of the council, (as he often did) writ thus in private, for these two then began to love dearly:

'My lord, out of the abundance of my affection, and the care I have of your well-doing, I must in private put you out of doubt, or fear, for I know you cannot be sensible, otherwise than in the way of honour, that the Spaniards will not come unto you this year; for I have it from my own, what his preparations are in all his parts, and what he can do; for, be confident, he beareth up a reputation, by seeming to embrace more than he can gripe; but the next year be assured, he will cast over to you some forlorn troops, which, how they may be reinforced beyond his present ability, and his first intention, I cannot as yet make any certain judgment; but I believe, out of my intelligence, that you may expect the landing in Munster, and, the more to distract you, in several places, as at Kinsale, Beershaven, and Baltimore, where, you may be sure, coming from sea, they will first fortify, and learn the strength of the rebels, before they dare take the field. Howsoever, as I know you will not lessen your care, neither your defences, whatsoever lies in my power to do you and the publick service, rest thereof assured.'

And to this I could add much more, but it may (as it is) suffice to present much of his abilities in the pen, that he was his craftsman in foreign intelligence, and for domestick affairs. As he was one of those that sat at the helm to the last of the queen, so was he none of the least in skill, and in the true use of

of the compass; and so I shall only vindicate the scandal of his death; and conclude him; for he departed at St. Margaret's, near Marlborough, at his return from Bath, as my Lord Vice-chamberlain, my Lord Clifford, and myself his son, and son-in-law, and many more can witness: but that, the day before, he swooned on the way, and was taken out of his litter, and laid into his coach, was a truth, out of which that falsehood, concerning the manner of his death, had its derivation, though nothing to the purpose, or to the prejudice of his worth.

V E R E.

SIR Francis Vere was of that ancient, and of the most noble extract of the earls of Oxford; and it may be a question whether the nobility of his house, or the honour of his achievements, might most commend him, but that we have an authentick rule:

*Nam genus & proavos & quæ nos non fecimus ipsi,
Vix ea nostra voco—*

For, though he was an honourable slip of that ancient tree of nobility, which was no disadvantage to his virtue, yet he brought more glory to the name of Vere, than he took of blood from the family.

He was, amongst all the queen's swordsmen, inferior to none, but superior to many; of whom it may be said, To speak much of him were the way to leave out somewhat that might add to his praise, and to forget more than would make to his honour.

I find not that he came much to the court, for he lived almost perpetually in the camp; but when he died no man had more of the queen's favour, and none less envied, for he seldom troubled it with the noise and alarms of supplications; his way was another sort of undermining.

They report that the queen, as she loved martial men, would court this gentleman as soon as he appeared in her presence; and surely he was a soldier of great worth and command, thirty years in the service of the states, and twenty years over the English in chief, as the queen's general: and he that had seen the battle of Newport, might there best have taken him and his noble brother*, the lord of Tilbury, to the life.

W O R C E S T E R.

MY lord of Worcester I have here put last, but not least in the queen's favour; he was of the ancient and noble blood of the Beauforts, and of her † grandfather's kin, by the mother, which the queen could never forget, especially where there was an in-currence of old blood, with fidelity, a mixture which

ever sorted with the queen's nature; and though there might hap somewhat in this house, which might invert her grace, though not to speak of my lord himself, but in due reverence and honour, I mean contrariety or suspicion in religion; yet the queen ever respected his house, and principally his noble blood, whom she first made master of her horse, and then admitted him of her council of state.

In his youth, part whereof he spent before he came to reside at court, he was a very fine gentleman, and the best horseman and tilter of the times, which were then the manlike and noble recreations of the court, and such as took up the applause of men, as well as the praise and commendation of ladies; and when years had abated those exercises of honour, he grew then to be a faithful and profound counsellor; and as I have placed him last, so was he the last liver of all her servants of her favour, and had the honour to see his renowned mistress, and all of them, laid in the places of their rests; and for himself, after a life of very noble and remarkable reputation, and in a peaceable old age, a fate that I make the last, and none of my slightest observations, which befel not many of the rest, for they expired like unto a light blown out with the snuff stinking, not commendably extinguished, and with an offence to the standers-by. And thus I have delivered up my poor essay, or little draught of this great princess and her times with the servants of her state and favour: I cannot say I have finished it, for I know how defective and imperfect it is, as limbed only in the original nature, not without the active blessings, and so left it as a task fitter for remoter times, and the fallies of some bolder pencil to correct that which is amiss, and draw the rest up to life, than for me to have endeavoured it. I took it in consideration, how I might have dashed into it much of the stain of pollution, and thereby have defaced that little which is done; for I profess I have taken care to master my pen, that I might not err *animo* ‡, or of set purpose discolour each or any of the parts thereof, otherwise than in concealment: haply there are some who will not approve of this modesty, but will censure it for pusillanimity, and with the cunning artist attempt to draw their line further out at length, and upon this of mine, which way (with somewhat more ease) it may be effected; for that the frame is ready made to their hands, and then haply I could draw one in the midst of theirs, but that modesty in me forbids the defacements in men departed, their posterity yet remaining, enjoying the merit of their virtues, and do still live in their honour. And I had rather incur the censure of abruption, than to be conscious and taken in the manner, sinning by eruption, or trampling on the graves of persons at rest, which living we durst not look in the face, nor make our addresses unto them, otherwise than with due regard to their honours, and reverence to their virtues.

* Horatio.

† Elizabeth's.

‡ Willingly.

Gowries Conspiracie: A Discovrse of the vnnatvrall and vyle Conspiracie, attempted against the Kings Maiesties Person at Sanct-Iohnstoun, vpon Twysday the Fifth of August, 1600.

This is one of the earliest accounts of this remarkable Conspiracy, and therefore deserves to be re-printed, not only as it is very rarely to be found, but as it is very clear and elegant with regard to the Dialect in which it is written. In the language, though some passages may appear un-couth, no alteration has been made, because that may be to some no less an object of curiosity, than the events to others.

Of this Conspiracy, which, though some have questioned its reality, is by most allowed to be proved beyond contradiction; a very particular account may be found in Spotswood.——J.*

HIS majestie having his residence at Falkland, and being daily at the buck-hunting, as his vse is in that season, vpon the fifth day of August, being Twysday, hee raid out to the park betwixt six and seven hours in the morning, the weather beeing wonderfull pleasant and seasonable. But before his maiestie could leap on horseback, his hienes being now come downe by the equerie, all the huntismen with the houndes attending his maiesty on the greene, and the court making to their horses, as his hienes self was; Maister Alexander Ruthven, second brother to the late earle of Gowrie, being then lighted in the toun of Falkland, haisted him fast downe to ouertake his maiestie before his onleaping, as he did: where meeting his hienes, after a verie low courtesie, bowing his head vnder his maiestie's knee (although he was neuer wont to make so low courtesy) drawing his maiestie apart, he beginnes to discourse vnto him, but with a verie dejected countenance, his eies euer fixed vpon the earth, how that it chanced him the euening before to be walking abroad about the fields, taking the air, solitarie allone, without the toun of Sanct Iohnstoun, wher his present dwelling was with the lord his brother; and there by accident affirmed to haue recounted a base-like fellow, vnknowne to him, with a cloke cast about his mouth; whome at as he enquired his name, and what his errand was, to be passing in so solitary a part, being from all waies. The fellow become at the suddain so amased, and his tongue so faultered in his mouth, that, vpon his suspicious behauiour, he begouth more narrowly to look vnto him, and examine him; and, perceiving that there appeared some thing to bee hid vnder his cloke, he did cast by the lappes of it, and so findes a great wyde pot to be vnder his arme, all full of coyned gold in great peeces. Assuring his maiestie, that it was in verie great quantitie: vpon the sight whereof, as hee affirmed, he took back the fellow with his burthen to the toun; where he privatly, without the knowledge of any liuing, took the fellow, and

band him in a privie derved house, and, after lokking many dures vpon him, left him there, and his pot with him, and had haisted himself out of Sanct-Iohnstoun that day, by four houres in the morning, to make his maiestie aduertised therof, according to his bound dutie: earnestlie requesting his maiestie, with all diligence and secrecie, that his maiestie might take order therewith, before anie know thereof; swearing and protesting, that he had yet concealed it from all liuing, yea, from the earle his owne brother.

His maiesties first answere was (after thanking him for his goodwill) That it could not become his maiestie to meddle anie wayes in that matter, since no mans treasure, that is a free and lawfull subiect, can by the lawe appertaine vnto the king, except it bee found hid vnder the earth, as this was not. Whereunto he answered, That the fellow confessed vnto him, that hee was going to haue hid it vnder the ground, but could not take leasure at that time to enquire any further of him. Whereunto his maiestie replied, That there was great difference betwixt a deed, and the intention of a deed; his intention to haue hid it not beeing alyke as if it had beene found already hid. Maister Alexander's answer was, That hee thought his maiestie over scrupulous in such a matter, tending so greatly to his maiesties profite; and that, if his maiesty deferred to meddle with it, it might bee, that the lord his brother, and other great men, might meddle with it, and make his maiestie the more adoe: wherupon the king, beginning to suspect that it had been some forraine gold, brought home by some Iesuites, or practising papists, (therewith to sturre up some newe sedition, as they have oftentimes done before) inquired of the said M. Alexander, What kinde of coine it was, and what a fellow hee was that carried it? His answere was, That, so far as hee could take leasure to see of them, they seemed to bee forraine and vacouth strokes of coine; and although that the fellow, both by his language and fashion, seemed to bee a Scots fellow, yet hee could neuer remember, that hee

hee had seene him before. These speeches increased his maiesties suspition, that it was forraine coyne, brought in by some practising papists, and to bee distributed into the countrie, as is before said. And that the fellowe that carried it, was some Scots priest or seminarie, so disguised for the more sure transporting thereof. Whereupon his maiestie resolved, that he would send backe with the said Maister Alexander a seruand of his own, with a warrand to the prouost and baillies of Sanct-Iohnstoun, to receaue both the fellow and the money off Maister Alexanders hand, and after they had examined the fellow, to retaine him and the treasure till his maiesties further pleasure were knowne: whereat the said Maister Alexander sturred meruelouslie, affirming and protesting, that if either the lord his brother, or the baillies of the toun were put on the counsal thereof, his maiestie would get a verie bad compt of that treasure; swearing, that the great loue and affection he bare vnto his maiestie, had made him to preferre his maiestie, in this cace, both to himself and his brother. For the which seruice he humbly craued that recompence, that his maiesty would take the paines once to ryde thither, that he might bee the first sear thereof himself; which beeing done, he would remit to his maiesties owne honorable discretion, how far it would please his maiestie to consider vpon him for that seruice. His hienes beeing stricken in great admiration, both of the vncouthnes of the tale, and of the strange and stupide behauour of the reporter; and the court being already horsed, wondring at his maiesties so long stay with that gentleman, the morning being so fair, the game already found, and the huntismen lo long staying on the fields on his maiestie, he was forced to break off onlie with these wordes: That hee coulde not now staye anie longer from his sporte, but that hee would consider of the matter, and at the end of his chase giue him a resolute answere, what order he would take therein. Whereupon his maiesty parted in haste from him towards the place where the game was. Maister Alexander parting from his maiestie verie discontent, that indelaiedlie he raid not to Sanct-Iohnstoun, as he desired him; protesting, that his maiestie would not finde euerie day such a choise of hunting, as he had offered vnto him; and that hee feared, that his maiesties long delay, and slowness of resolution, would breed leasure to the fellow, who was lying bound, to cry, or make such din, as would disappoint the secrecie of that hail purpose, and make both the fellow and the treasure to be medled with, before any word could come from his maiestie: as also, that his brother would misse him, in respect of his absence that morning; which if his maiestie had pleased to haste, he might haue preuented, arryuing there in the tyme of his brothers and the whole townes being at the sermon; whereby his maiestie might haue taken such secrete order with that matter as hee pleased, before their outcomming from the church. But his maiestie, without anie further answering of him, leaping on horseback, and ryding to the dogs, where they

were beginning to hunt, the said Maister Alexander stayed still in that place wher hee left his maiestie; and hauing two men with him appointed by the late earle his brother, to carrie back vnto him the certaine newes, in al haist, of his maiesties comining, as hereafter more particularlie shall in this same discourse be declared, hee directed one of them, called Andrew Henderfon, chalmerlane to the said earle, to ryde in all haste to the earle; commanding him, as hee loued his brothers honour, that hee shoulde not spare for spilling of his hotse; and that hee should aduertise the earle, that hee hoped to moue his maiestie to come thither, and that hee should not yet looke for him, the space of three houres thereafter, because of his maiesties hunting, adding these wordes: Pray my lord my brother to prepare the denner for vs. But his maiestie was no sooner ridden vp to a little hil aboue the little woode, wher the dogs were laid on in hunting, but that, notwithstanding the pleasant beginning of the chase, hee could not stay from musing and wondering vpon the newes. Whereupon, without making anie bodie acquainted with this purpose, finding Iohn Nesmith, chirurgian, by chance ryding beside him, his maiestie directed him back to bring Maister Alexander with him; who being brought vnto his maiestie, and hauing newlie directed, as said is, one of his men that was with him, back to my lord his brother, his maiestie, vnknowing or suspecting that any man liuing had come with him, then tolde him, that hee had bene aduysing with himself, and in respect of his last wordes so earnest with him, hee resolved to ryde thither for that errand in his own person, how soone the chase was ended, which was already begun; lyke as his maiesty, vpon the verie ending of these wordes, did ryde away in the chase, the said Maister Alexander euer following him at his back; no other liuing being with his hieneffe, but hee, and Iohn Hammilton of Grange, one of his maiesties maister-stablers, the reste of the court being all before in the chase, his maiestie onlie being casten back, vpon the staying to speak with Maister Alexander, as is before said. The chase lasted from seuen houres in the morning vntil alleuen and more, being one of the greatest and forest chases that euer his maiestie was at: all which tyme the said Maister Alexander was, for the most part, euer at his maiesties back, as said is. But there neuer was anie stop in the chase, or so small a delay, that the said Maister Alexander omitted to round to his maiestie, earnestly requesting him to haist the end of the hunting, that he might ryde the sooner to Sanct-Iohnstoun: so as, at the death of the buck, his maiestie not staying vpon the curie of the deir, as his vse is, scarcelie took time to alight, awaiting vpon the comming of a fresh horse to ryde on, the greatnesse of the chase hauing wried his horse. But the said Maister Alexander would not suffer the king to stay in the parke, where the buck was killed, whil his fresh horse, which was already sent for, was brought out of the equery to him, although it was not two flight shot of bounds betwixt the part where the buck was killed and his maiesties

maiesties equerie; but, with verie importunitie, forced his maiestie to leap on againe vpon that same horse, that hee had hunted all the day vpon, his freshe horse beeing made to gallop a myle of the way to ouertake him; his maiestie not staying so much as vpon his sword, nor whil the duke and the earle of Mar, with diuerse gentlemen in his companie, had changed their horses; onlie saying vnto them, that hee was to ryde to Sanct-Iohnstoun to speak with the earle of Gowry, and that hee would bee presently back againe before euen. Whereupon, some of the court galloped backe to Falkland als fast as they could, to change their horses, and could not ouertake his maiestie, whill he come within four myle of Sanct-Iohnstoun. Others raid forward with their horses, weried as they were, wherof some were compelled to alight by the way; and if they had not both refreshed their horses, bled them, and giuen them some graspe by the way, they had not carried them to Sanct-Iohnstoun. The cause of his maiesties seruands following so fast, vndesired by him, being onlie grounded vpon a suspition they had conceaued, that his maiesties intention of ryding was for the apprehension of the maister of Oliphant, one who had latelie done a vyle and proud oppression in Angus; for repairing of the which they thought that his maiestie had some purpose for his apprehension. But the said Maister Alexander, seing the duke and the earle of Mar, with diuers other of the court, getting fresh horses for following of his maiestie, earnestlie desired him that hee would publish to his whole traine, that since he was to returne the same euening, as is before said, they needed not to follow him; especiallie that he thought it meetest, that his maiestie should stay the duke and the earle of Mar to follow him, and that he should onlie take three or foure of his owne meane seruands with him; affirming, that if anie noble man followed him, hee could not answere for it, but that they would marre that who'e purpose. Whereupon his maiestie, half angerlie; replied, That he wold not mistrust the duke, nor the earle of Mar, in a greater purpose nor that; and that hee could not vnderstand what hinder anie man could make in that erand. But these last speeches of M. Alexanders maid the king to begin to suspecte what it coulde meane; wherevpon manie diuerse thoughts begouth to enter in the kings minde. But that his maiestie could neuer suspect anie harme to be intended against his hienes, by that young gentleman with whome his maiestie had bene so well acquainted, as hee had, not long before, bene in sute to be one of the gentlemen of his chalmers: so as the farthest, that the kings suspition could reache to, was, that it might bee, that the earle his brother had handled him so hardlie, that the young gentleman, being of a hie spirit, had taken such displeasure, as he was become somewhat by himself, which his maiestie conjectured aswell by his raised and vncouth staireing, and continuall pensiveness, all the time of the hunting, as likewise by such strange sort of vnlykelie discourses as is already mentioned. Whereupon his maiesty took occasion to make

the duke of Lennox acquainted with the whole purpose, enquiring of him verie earnestlie, What he knew of that young gentlemans nature, beeing his brother in law? And, If he had euer perceiued him to be subiect to any high apprehension? His maiestie declaring his suspition plainelie to the said lord duke, that hee thought him not well settled in his wits; alwaies desiring my lord duke not to faile to accompanie him in to that house, where the alledged fellow and treasure was. The lord duke wondered much at that purpose, and thought it verie vnlikelie; yet he affirmed, that hee could neuer perceaue any such appearance in that gentlemans inclination. But Maister Alexander, perceiving his maiesties priue conference with the duke, and suspecting the purpose, as it appeared, came to the king, requesting his maiestie verie earnestlie, that he shoulde make none liuing acquainted with that purpose, nor suffer none to go with his maiesty, where he should conuoy him, but himselfe onlie, vntill his maiestie had once seene the fellowe and the treasure: whereunto his maiestie, halfe laughing, gaue answere, That he was no good teller of money, and behoued therefore to haue some to helpe him in that erand. His replye was, That hee woulde suffer none to see it, but his maiesties selfe, at the first; but afterward hee might call in whom hee pleased. These speeches did so encrease his maiesties suspition, that then he begouth directly to suspect some treasonable devise; yet manie suspitions and thoughts ouerwhelming euerie one an other in his minde, his maiestie coulde resolute vpon no certaine thing, but raid further on his iourney, betwixt trust and distrust, beeing ashamed to seeme to suspect in respect of the cleanness of his maiesties own conscience, except he had found some greater ground. The said Maister Alexander still preasing the king to ride faster, although his owne horse was scarcely able to keepe companie with the king, for wearinesse, hauing riden with him all the chase before. But as the king was come two miles from Falkland, the said Maister Alexander stayed a little behind the king in the way, and posted away the other seruand, Andrew Ruthven, to the earle his brother, aduertising him, howe farre the king was on his waye to come thither. Then, how soon soeuer the king come within a myle to the toun of Sanct-Iohnstoun, he said to his maiesty, that he would poste in before, to aduertise the earle his brother of his maiesties comming; who, at his incomming to him, was sitting at the middes of his denner, neuer seeming to take knowledge of the kings comming, whill his brother told it him, notwithstanding of his two seruands aduertising him thereof before: and, immediatlie vpon his brothers reporte, ryding in haste from the borde, and warning al the seruands and friendes to accompanie him to meete his maiesty, met him, to the number of three or four score, at the end of the Insh, his maiesties whole companie and traine not exceeding the number of sixteene persons, and al without any kinde of armour, except swordes; no, not so much as daggers or whingears. His maiestie stayed an houre,
after

after his comming to the saide earles lodging in Sanct-Johnstoun, before his denner come in: the longsomnesse of the prepairing of the same, and badnesse of the cheare, beeing excused, vppon the sodainty of his maiesties comming vnlooked for there. During the which tyme, his maiestie enquired of Maister Alexander, When it was tyme to him to goe to that priuate house, for that erand whereof he had informed him? whose answere was, That al was sure enough, but that there was no haste yet, for an houre, whill his maiesty had dynd at leifure; praying his maiesty to leaue him, and not to be seen to round with him before his brother, who hauing missed him that morning, might therupon suspect what the matter could meane: therefore his maiesty addressed him to the earle, and discoursed with him vpon sundrie purposes, but could get no direct answere of him but halfe wordes and imperfect sentences. His maiestie beeing set down to the denner, the saide earle stood very pensue, and with a dejected countenance, at the end of his maiesties table, oft rounding ouer his shoulder, whiles to one of his seruands, and whiles to another; and oftentimes went out and in to the chamber: which forme of behauiour he likewise kept before his maiesties sitting downe to denner, but without any welcomming of his maiestie, or anie other hartlie forme of entertainment; the noblemen and gentlemen of the court, that was with his maiesty, standing about the table, and not desired to dyne, as vse is, when his maiesty is once set down, and his first seruice brought vp, vntil the kings maiesty had almost dynd. At the which time the earle conuoyed them forth to their dinner, but sate not down with them him selfe, as the common-forme is, but come back, and stood silent at the end of the kings table, as of before; which his maiestie perceauing did begin to entertaine the earle in an homelie manner, wondering that hee had not remained to dine with his guests, and entertaine them there. In the meane tyme, his maiesty beeing ready to rise from the table, and his whole seruants beeing in the hal at their dinner, the saide Maister Alexander, standing behinde his maiesties backe, pulled quietlie vppon him, rounding in his maiesties eare, that it was tyme to goe, but that hee woulde haue faine bene quite of the earle his brother, wishing the king to send him out to the hall to entertaine his guests: wherupon the king called for a drinke, and in a merrie and homelie manner said to the earle, That although the earle had seene the fashion of entertainment in other countries, yet hee would teach him the Scottishe fashion, seeing hee was a Scottish man; and therefore, since hee had forgot to drink to his maiestie, or to sit with his guests, and entertaine them, his maiestie would drink to him his owne welcome, desiring him to take it foorth and drinke to the rest of the company, and in his maiesties name to make them welcome. Wherupon, as he went foorth, his maiestie did rise from the table, and desired M. Alexander to bring Sir Thomas Erskine with him; who, desiring the king to go forward with

him, and promising that he should make anie one or two follow him, that he pleased to cal for, desired his maiesty to command publikly, that none should follow him. And thus the king, accompanied onelie with the saide Maister Alexander, commes forth of the chamber, passes through the end of the hal, where the noble men and his maiesties seruants were sitting at their dinner, vp a turnepyke, and through three or four high chambers, the saide Maister Alexander euer lokking behinde him euery dore as he past, and then, with a more smyling countenance nor he had all the day before, euer saying he had him sure and safe enough kept; until at last, his maiesty passing through three or four sondrie houses, and all the dores lokked behind him, his maiestie entered into a little studie, where his maiestie did see standing with a verie abased countenance, not a bound man but a free man, with a dagger at his girdle. But his maiestie had no sooner entered into that little studie, and Maister Alexander with him, but Maister Alexander lokked to the studie dore behind him, and at that instant changing his countenance, putting his hat on his head, and drawing the dagger from that other mans girdle, held the point of it to the kings breast, avowing now, that the king behoued to be in his will, and vsed as he list; swearing manie bloody othes, that if the king cried one word, or opened a windoe to look out, that dagger should presently go to his hart: affirming, that hee was sure, that now the kings conscience was burdened for the murthering of his father. His maiestie, wondering at so suddaine an alteration, and standing naked, without any kynde of armour but his hunting horne, which hee had not gotten leifure to lay from him, betwixt these two traitors, which had conspired his life, the saide Maister Alexander standing, as saide is, with a drawne dagger in his hand, and his sword at his side, but the other trembling and quaking, rather like ane condemned man, then an executioner of such an enterpryse; his maiesty begouth then to dilate to the saide Maister Alexander, howe horrible a thing it was to him to meddle with his maiesties innocent blood; assuring him it would not be left vnreuedged, since God had giuen him children and good subiectes; and, if there were no more, God would raise yp stocks and stones to punish so vyle a deed. Protesting before God, that hee had no burthen in his conscience for the execution of his father, both in respect that, at the tyme of his fathers execution, his maiestie was but a minor of age, and guyded at that tyme by a faction which ouer-ruled both his maiestie, and the rest of the country; as also, that, whatsoever was done to his father, it was done by the ordinar course of law and iustice. Appealing the saide Maister Alexander vppon his conscience, how well he, at al tymes since, had deserued at the hands of al his race; not only hauing restored them to al their landes and dignities, but also in nourishing and vbring of two or three of his sisters, as it were, in his own bosome, by a continual attendance vppon his maiesties dearest bedfellow in her priuy chamber. Laying also

before him the terrors of his conscience, especially that he made profession, according to his education, of the same religion which his maiestie has euer professed: and namelie his maiestie remembred him of that holie man, M. Robert Rollock, whose scholler he was, assuring him, that one day the said M. Roberts soule would accuse him, that hee had neuer learned of him to practise such vnnaturall crueltie. His maiestie promising to him, in the worde of a prince, that if hee would spare his life, and suffer him to go out againe, hee should neuer reueale to any fleshe liuing what was betwixt them at that tyme, nor neuer suffer him to incur anie harme or punishment for the same. But his maiesties feare was, that hee could hope for no spairing at his hand, hauing such cruelty in his lookes, and standing so irreuerently covered with his hat on; which forme of rigorous behaiour could prognosticat no thing to his maiestie but present extremitie. But, at his maiesties perswasive language, hee appeareth to bee somewhat amased; and, discovering his head againe, swore and protested, that his maiesties lyfe should be safe, if hee would behaue him selfe quyetlie, without making noyes or crytng; and that he would onlie bring in the earle his brother to speak with his maiestie: wherupon his maiestie enquiring, what the earle would do with him, since (if his maiesties life was safe according to promise) they could gaine little in keeping such a prisoner? His answere onlie was, That hee could tel his maiestie no more, but that his lyfe would bee safe, in case hee behaued him selfe quietlie, the rest the earle his brother, whome hee was going for, would tel his maiestie at his comming. And with that, as hee was going forth for his brother, as hee affirmed, he turned him about to the other man, saying these wordes vnto him: I make you heere the kings keeper vntill I come back againe, and look that ye keep him vpon your owne perill: and therewithall sayes to his maiestie, ye must content your selfe to haue this man nowe your keeper vntill my back comming. And with these words he passeth forth, lokking the dore behinde him, and leauing his maiestie with that man he fand there before him. At whome his maiestie then enquired, If he was appointed to be the murtherer of him at that tyme? And how far he was vpon the counsell of that conspiracie? Whose answere, with a trembling and astonished voice and behaiour, was: That, as the Lord should judge him, hee was neuer made acquainted with that purpose, but that hee was put in ther perforce, and the dore lokked behinde him, a little space before his maiesties comming; as indeede, al the tyme of the said Maister Alexanders menassing his maiestie, he was euer tremblinglie requesting him for Gods sake, and with manie other attestations, not to meddle with his maiestie, or to do him anie harme. But because Maister Alexander had, before his forth-going, made the king to sweare, that he should not cry, nor open anie of the windoes, his maiestie commanded the saide fellow to open the windoe with his hand; which he readelie did; so that,

although hee was put in there to vse violence ouer the king, yet God so turned his hart at that time, as hee become a slaue to his prisoner. While his maiestie was in this dangerous estate, and none of his owne seruants nor traine knowing in what part of the worlde he was in, as his maiesties traine was aryling in the hal from their dinner, the earle of Gowry being present with them, one of the earle of Gowries seruants commes hastelie in, assuring the earle his maister, that his maiesty was horsed and away through the Inshe; which the earle reporting to the noblemen, and the rest of his maiesties traine that was there, they al rushe out together at the gate in great haste; and some of his maiesties seruants enquiring at the porter, When his maiestie went forth? The porter affirmed, That the king was not yet forth. Wherupon the saide earle looked verie angerlie vpon him, and saide he was but a liar; yet, turning him to the duke and to the earle of Mar, saide, hee should presentlie get them sure word where his maiestie was. And with that ran through the clofe, and vp the staire. But his purpose indeede was to speak with his brother, as appeared verie well by the circumstance of the tyme, his brother hauing at that same instant left the king in the little studie, and ran down the staire in great haste. Immediatly thereafter the earle commeth back, running againe to the gate wher the noblemen and the rest were standing in a mase, assuring them that the king was out long since at the back-gate, and if they hastened not them al the sooner, they would not get him ouertaken, and with that cried for his horse; wherupon they rushe altogether out at the gate, and makes towards the Inshe, crying al for their horses; passing al (as it was the prouidence of God) vnder one of the windoes of that studie wherein his maiestie was. To whome Maister Alexander verie spedelie returned, and at his incomming to his maiestie, casting his hands abroad in a desperate manner, saide, hee could not mend it, his maiestie behoued to die; and with that offered a garter to bind his maiesties hands, with swearing he behoued to be bound. His maiestie at that word of binding saide, hee was born a free king, and should die a free king. Wherupon hee gripping his maiestie by the wrest of the hand to haue bound him, his maiestie releued him selfe suddainlie of his grips; wherupon, as he put his right hand to his sworde, his maiestie, with his right hand, seized vpon both his hand and his sworde, and with his left hand clasped him by the throat, like as hee with his left hand clasped the king by the throat, with two or three of his fingers in his maiesties mouth, to haue staied him from crying. In this forme of wrestling, his maiestie, perforce, drewe him to the windoe, which hee had caused the other man before to open vnto him, and vnder the which was passing by at the same tyme the kings traine, and the earle of Gowrie with them, as saide is; and, holding out the right side of his head and right elbowe, cried, that they were murthering him there in that treasonable forme; whose voice being instantly heard and knowne by the duke of Len-

nox, and the earle of Mar, and the rest of his maiesties traine there, but the faide earle of Gowrie euer asking what it meant, and neuer seeming anie wayes to haue seen his maiestie or heard his voice, they all rushed in at the gate together, the duke and the earl of Mar running about to come by that passage his maiestie come in at, but the earle of Gowrie and his seruants made them for another way vp a quyet turnpyke, which was euer condemned befo e, and was onlie then left open, as appeared for that purpose. And in this mean time his maiestie, with strugeling and wrystling with the faide Maister Alexander, had brought him out perforce out of that study, the dore wherof for haste he had left open at his last incomming, and his maiestie hauing gotten with long struggling the faide Maister Alexanders head vnder his arme, and him selfe on his knees, his maiestie did driue him backe perforce hard to the dore of the same turnpyke; and as his maiestie was throwing his sworde out of his hand, thinking to haue striken him therewith, and then to haue shotte him ouer the stair, the other fellow standing behinde the kings backe, and doing nothing but trembling all the tyme; Sir Iohn Ramsay, not knowing what way first to enter, after he had heard the kings cry, by chance finds that turnpyke dore open, and, following it vp to the head, enters into the chamber, and findes his maiestie and Maister Alexander struggling in that forme, as is before faide; and, after he had twise or thrise striken Maister Alexander with his dagger, the other man withdrew him selfe, his maiestie still keeping his grips, and holding him close to him; immediatly thereafter he tooke the said Maister Alexander by the shoulders, and shotte him down the staire; who was no sooner shotte out at the doore, but he was met by Sir Thomas Erskine and Sir Hew Hereis, who there, vpon the staire, ended him; the said Sir Thomas Erskine being casten behinde the duke and the earle of Mar, that ran about the other way, by the occasion of his meddling with the faide late earle vpon the street, after the hearing of his maiesties cry. For, vpon the hearing thereof, hee had clasped the earle of Gowrie by the gorget, and casting him vnder his feet, and wanting a dagger to haue striken him with, the said earles men redde the earle their maister out of his hands; whereby he was casten behinde the rest, as faide is; and, missing the companie, and hearing the faide Sir Iohn Ramsayes voice vpon the turnpyke head, ran vp to the said chamber, and cried vpon the said Hew Hereis and another seruant to follow him; where, meeting with the faide Maister Alexander in the turnpyke, he ended him there, as faide is; the faide Maister Alexander onely crying for his last words, Allace! I had not the wyte of it. But no sooner could the faide Sir Thomas, Sir Hew, and another seruant win in to the chamber wher his maiestie was, but that the said earle of Gowrie, before they could get the dore shutte, followed them in at the back, hauing casten him directly to come vp that priue passage, as is before faide; who, at his first entrie, hauing a drawne sworde,

in euerie hand, and a steil bonnet on his head, accompanied with seuen of his seruants, euerie one of them hauing in like manner a drawne sworde, cried out with a great oath, that they shoulde all die as traitors. At the which tyme his maiestie was still in the chamber, who, seeing the earl of Gowrie come in with his swordes in his hands, sought for Maister Alexanders sworde, which had fallen from him at his outshutting at the dore, hauing no sort of weapon of his owne, as faide is; but then was shot backe by his owne seruants that were there, into the little studie, and the dore shut vpon him; who, hauing put his maiestie in safetie, re-encountred the faide earle and his seruants; his maiesties seruants being onlie in number four; to wit, Sir Thomas Erskine, Sir Hew Hereis, Sir Iohn Ramsay, and one Wilsoun, a seruant of James Erskines, a brother of the faide Sir Thomas; the faide earle hauing seuen of his seruants with him: yet it pleased God, after manie strokes on al hands, to giue his maiesties seruants the victorie, the faide earle of Gowrie beeing striken dead with a stroke through the heart, which the faide Sir Iohn Ramsay gaue him, without once crying upon God, and the rest of his seruants dung ouer the stair with many hurts; as in like manner the faide Sir Thomas Erskine, Sir Hew Hereis, and Sir Iohn Ramsay, were all three hurt and wounded. But all the tyme of this fight the duke of Lennox, the earle of Mar, and the rest of his maiesties traine were striking with great hammers at the vtter doore, wherby his maiestie past vp to the chamber with the said Maister Alexander, which also he had lokked in his bycomming with his maiestie to the chamber, but by reason of the strength of the faide double dore, the whole wall being likewise of bordes, and yeelding with the strokes, it did byde them the space of half an houre and more, before they coulede get it broken and haue entresse. Who, having met with his maiestie, and (beyond their expectation) his maiestie delivered from so imminent a perill, and the faide late earle, the principall conspirator, lying dead at his maiesties feete. Immediatly thereafter his maiestie kneeling downe on his knees, in the midst of his own seruants, and they all kneeling round about him, his maiestie out of his own mouth thanked God of that miraculous deliuerance and victory, assuring him selfe that God had preferued him from so dispaired a perill for the perfiting of some greater worke behinde to his glorie, and for the procuring by him the wel of his people, that God had committed to his charge. After this the tumult of the toun hearing of the slaughter of the faide earle of Gowrie, their proouost, and not knowing the manner therof, nor beeing on the counsell of his treasonable attempt, continued for the space of two or thre houres thereafter, vntill his maiestie by oft speaking out to them at the windoes, and beakening to them with his owne hand, pacifying them, causing the baylies and the rest of the honest men of the toun to bee brought into the chamber, to whom hauing declared the whole forme of that strange accident, hee committed the house and

bodies of the said traitors, brethren, to their keeping, vntill his maiesties further pleasure were knowne. His maiestie, hauing before his parting out of that toun, caused to searche the saide earle of Gowries pockets, in case anie letters that might further the discouerie of that conspiracie, might bee found therein. But no thing was found in them, but a little close parchment bag, full of magicall characters, and words of enchantment, wherein, it seemed, that he had put his confidence, thinking him selfe neuer safe without them, and therefore euer carried them about with him; beeing also obserued, that, while they were vpon him, his wound wherof he died, bled not, but, incontinent after the taking of them away, the blood gushed out in great abundance, to the great admiration of al the beholders. An infamy which hath followed and spotted the race of this house, for manie discents, as is notorioullie knowne to the whole countrie. Thus the night was far spent, being neir eight houres at euening before his maiestie could, for the great tumult that was in the toun, departe out of the same. But before his maiestie had ridden four myles out of the same towards Falkland, although the night was verie darke and rainie; the whole way was cled with all sorts of people, both on horse and foote, meeting him with great ioy and acclamation. The frequencie and concourse of persons of al degrees to Falkland, the rest of the weeke, and to Edinburgh the next, from al the quarters of the countrie; the testimonie of the subjects heartie affection and ioy for his maiesties deliuerie, expresse euery wher by ringing of bells, bonfires, shutting of gunnes of al sorts both by sea and land, &c. with all other things ensuiing thereupon, I haue of set purpose pretermitted, as well knowne to al men, and impertinent to this discourse; contenting my selfe with this plaine and simple narration; adding onlie, for explanation and confirmation therof, the depositions of certaine persons who were either actors, and eie-witnesses, or immediat hearers of those things that they declair and testifie; wherein, if the reader shall finde anie thing differing from his narration, either in substance or circumstance, hee may vnderstand the same to be vttered by the deponer in his owne behoof, for obtaining of his maiesties princelie grace and fauour.

Apud Falkland, 9 August, 1600.

In presence of the Lord Chancellor, Lord Treasurer, Lord Secretare, Lord Comptroller, Lord Aduocate, the Lord Incheffray, and Sir George Home of Spot, knight.

IAmes Weimis of Bogy, of the age of xxvi. yeare, or therby, sworne and examined vpon the forme and manner of behaiour of late Iohn, earle of Gowrie, the tyme of his being with him at Strabran, or if he had heard the saide earle make anie motion of the treason intended against his maiestie, depones that hee neither heard nor sawe anie appearance of anie such intention in the said earle.

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Demanded, if hee was in anie purpose with the said earle anent anie matters of curiositie; depones, that at their being in Strabran, some of their company found an edder, which being killed, and knowledge therof comming to the earle, the earle saide to this deponer, 'Bogy, if the edder had not beene slaine, yee should haue seene a good sport; for I should haue caused her stand still, and she should not haue preiessed away, by pronouncing of an Hebrew worde, which in Scottish is called, Holinesse;' but the Hebrew worde the deponer remembers not of; and that the earle saide hee had put the same in practice oft before. And this deponer enquiring at the earle, Where hee did get the Hebrew worde? The earle answered, In a cabbalist of the Iewes, and that it was by tradition; and the deponer enquiring, What a cabbalist meant? The earle answered, It was some wordes which the Iewes had by tradition, which wordes were spoken by God to Adam in Paradice, and therefore were of greater efficacie and force, nor anie wordes which were excogitate since by prophetes and apostles. The deponer enquiring, If there was no more requisite but the worde? The earle answered, That a firm faith in God was requisite and necessarie, and that this was no matter of maruel amongst schollers, but that all these things were naturall. And that the earle shew to this deponer, that hee had spoken with a man in Italie, and first hearing by report that hee was a nigromancer, and therafter being informed, that hee was a verie learned man and a deep theologue, he entered in further dealing with him anent the curiosities of nature.

Depones further, that the said earle reported to him, that, hee being at the musick, hee fell in companie with another man, who stairing in the earles face, spake to the rest of the companie things of him, which he could neuer attain vnto, nor be worthie of; and therefore that the earle reproached him, and desired him to forbear these speeches. And that he met again with the saide man in a like company, who did begin with the same language which he had spoken before; and that the earle saide to him, My friend, in case yee wil not hold your peace from speaking lies of mee, I wil make you hold your peace by speaking sooth of you; and saide unto him, Within such a space hee should be hanged for such a crime; and so it came to passe. This deponer enquiring of the earle, Who told him that? He answered merely, That hee spake it beguesse, and it fell out so. And that the earle saide further, That it was no thing to make an herb flesh, which would dissolve in flies; and that, likewise, it was possible that the seed of man and woman might be brought to perfecti n otherwise then by the *matrix* of the woman; and that this deponer counsell'd the earle to bewar with whom he did communicate such speeches; who answered, that hee would speake them to none but to great schollers, and that hee would not haue spoken them to this deponer, if he had not knowne him to bee a fauourer of him, and a friend of his house, and would

woulde not reueale the same again, seeing he knew they woulde be euill interpreted amongst the common sorte.

Sic subscribitur,

I. Weimis of Bogy.

Apud Falkland, 20 August, 1600.

In presence of the Lords Chancellor, Treasurer, Aduocate; Sir George Home of Spot; Sir Robert Melvill, and Sir James Melvill, knights.

Maister William Rynd, sworne and examined, and demanded, where he first did see the characters which were found vpon my lord; depones, that hee, hauing remained a space in Venice, at his returning to Padua, did finde in my lords pocket the characters which were found vpon him at his death; and the deponer enquiring of my lord, Where he had gotten them? My lord answered, That by chance he had copied them him selfe; and that the deponer knowes, that the characters in Latin are my lords owne hand write, but he knows not if the Hebrew characters were written by my lord. Depones further, that, when my lord woulde change his clothes, the deponer woulde take the characters out of my lords pocket, and woulde say to my lord, Wherefore serues these? And my lord woulde answere, Can yee not let them bee, they do you no euill; and further the deponer declares, that sometimes my lord would forget them vntill hee were out of his chamber, and would turn back as he were in an anger, vntill he had found them, and put them in his owne pocket; depones further, that he was fundrie times proposed to haue bunt the characters, were not he feared my lords wraith and anger, seeing, when the deponer woulde purpofelie leaue them sometimes out of my lord's pocket, my lord would bee in such an anger with the deponer, that for a certaine space he woulde not speak with him, nor coulde finde his good countenance; and that, to this deponers opinion, my lord woulde neuer be content to want the characters off him selfe, from the first time that the deponer did see them in Padua, to the houre of my lords death.

Being demanded, For what cause my lord kept the characters so well? Depones, That to his opinion it was for no good, because he heard that, in those parts where my lord was, they would give fundrie folks breeues.

Depones further, that M. Patrik Galloway did let this deponent see the characters, since hee came to this toun of Falkland, and that hee knowes them to be the verie same characters which my lord had.

Depones also, that, vpon Monday the fourth of August, the maister, Andrew Henderfoun, and the deponer remrined in my lords chamber vntil abovt ten houres at euen, and, after a long conference betwixt the Lord and the maister, my lord called for

Andrew Henderfoun, and, after some speeches with him, dismissed them.

Denies that he knew of the maisters or Andrew Henderfouns ryding to Falkland, and after Andrews returne from Falkland vpon the morrow, howbeit he did see him booted, yet he knew not that hee was come from Falkland.

Depones that, my lord being at dinner when the maister come in, the deponer heard my lord say to the maister, Is the king in the Inshe? And with that he did rise, and said, Let vs goe. But the deponer knowes not what the maister said to my lord.

Being demanded if he did see anie kinde of armour or weapons, except swordes, in the kings companie, depones that he did see none.

It being demanded, how the deponer was satisfied with my lords answere made to him concerning the kings comming to Sanct. Iohnstoun, saying, that hee knewe not how hee come? declares, that hee thought that my lord had dissembled with him, and that hee behoued to haue knowne it, seeing his brother was come with his maiestie before that hee demanded of him, and that hee had conferred with my lord priuilie.

Depones, that hee knew not that the maister was ridden to Falkland, vntill after his maiesties comming to Sanct. Iohnstoun, that Andrew Ruthwen told him, because the deponer enquiryed at Andrew Ruthwen, wher the maister and hee had bene, and that Andrew answered they had bene in Falkland; and that, the maister hauing spoken with the king, his maiestie come forward with them, and that this conference betwixt the deponer and Andrew Ruthwen was in the yarde, when my lord was there. And Andrew Ruthwen shew to the deponer, that Andrew Henderfoun was directed by the maister to shew my lord that his maiestie was comming.

Depones also that, in his opinion, the maister could not haue drawne the king to my lords house, without my lords knowledge; and that, when hee heard the tumult, he was resolued in his heart the maister had done his maiestie wrong, and that no trewe christian can think otherwise, but that it was an high treason, attempted against his highnesse by the maister and the lord.

Depones also that, to his opinion, the kings whole companie was within a dozen of men.

Sic subscribitur,

M. W. Rynd.

22 August, 1600.

Maister William Rynd sworne and reexamined, if euer he heard the earle of Gowrie vtter his opinion anent the dutie of an wise man in the execution of an high enterprise? Declares that, being out of the countrie, hee has diuerse times heard him reason in that matter; and that hee was euer of that opinion, that he was not an wise man, that, hauing intended the execution of an high and dangerous purpose, communicate the same to any but to him

him selfe, because, keeping it to him selfe, it could not be discovered nor disappointed; which the deponer declared before vn-required to the comptroller, and Maister William Cowper, minister at Perth; and, hearing the depositions of Andrew Henderfoun red, and being enquired vpon his conscience what he thought of the fact that was committed against his maiestie, declares that vpon his saluation that he beleeues Andrew Henderfoun has declared the circumstances trulie.

Sic subscribitur,

M. W. Rynd.

Apud Falkland, 20 August, 1600.

In presence of the Lords Chancellor, Treasurer, Aduocate, Comptrollar, and Sir George Home of Spot, Sir James Melvill, knights.

Andrew Henderfoun, sworne and examined, and demanded what purpose was betwixt him and the earle of Gowrie, vpon Monday at night the fourth of this instant in the said earles chamber? Depones, that the earle enquired of him what he would be doing vpon the morrow, and hee answering that hee was to ryde to Ruthwen; the earl said to him, You must ryde to Falkland with Maister Alexander my brother, and, when hee directs you backe, see that ye returne with al diligence, if he send a letter or anie other aduertisement with you.

Depones, that the maister directed him to send for Andrew Ruthwen, to be in readinesse to ryde with them the morrow at four houres in the morning.

Declares, that, they comming to Falkland, about feuen houres in the morning, the maister stayed in a ludging beside the palice, and directed the deponer to see what the king was doing; and, the deponer finding his maiestie in the close comming forth, he past back and told the maister, who immediatlie addrested him selfe to his highnesse, and spake with his maiestie a good space beneth the equerie; and, after his maiestie was on horseback, the maister commes to the deponer, and commands him to fetch their horses, and bade him haste him, as he loued my lords honour and his, and aduertise my lord that his maiestie and hee would be there incontinent, and that his maiestie would be quiet; and, the deponer enquiring at the maister, if he should go presentlie, hee did bid him leap on and followe him, and not to go away vntill he spake with the king; and the maister hauing spoken with the king, at a breach of the park wal, he turned backe and bade the deponer ride away; and the deponer making his return in al possible haste to Sanct. Iohnstoun, he fand my lord in his chamber about ten houres, who left the companie hee was speaking with, and come to the deponer, and asked, Hath my brother sent a letter with you? The deponer answered, No, but they will be al heere incontinent, and bade the deponer desire my lord to cause prepare the din-

ner. Immediatlie thereafter, my lord took the deponer to the cabinet, and asked at him, How his maiestie took with the maister his brother? The deponer answered, Very well, and that his maiestie laide his hand ouer the maisters shoulder. Therafter my lord enquired, if there was manie at the hunting with the king? The deponer answered, that he took no heed, but they who were accustomed to ride with his maiestie, and some Englishmen were there; and that my lord enquired what special men were with his maiestie, and that the deponer answered hee did see none but my lord duke. And within an houre thereafter, when the deponent came in from his owne house, the earle bid him put on his secreit and plaitfleeces, for he had an Heylandman to take, which the deponer did incontinent; and about twelve houres, when the deponer was going out to his owne house to his dinner, the steward came to him and shewe him that George Craigingelt was not well, and was lyne down, desired him to tary and take vp my lords dinner; and about half an houer after twelue my lord commanded him to take vp the first seruice; and, when the deponer was commanded to take up the second seruice, the maister and William Blair came into the hal to my lord.

The deponer remembreth him selfe, that Andrew Ruthwen came before the maister a certaine space, and spake with my lord quyetlie at the table, but heard not the particular purpose that was amongst them. And so soone as the maister came to the hal, my lord and the whole company raise from the table; and the deponer, hearing the noyes of their foorth-going, supponed they were going to makebreakes for Makilduy; and the deponer sent his boy for his gantlet and steil bonnet; and seeing my lord passe to the Inshe, and not the Shoe-gate, the deponer did cast the gantlet in the pantrie, and caused his boy take his steil bonnet to his owne house; and he followed my lord to the Inshe, and returning backe with his maiestie to the lodging, beeing directed to get drinke. And the maister came to the deponer, and did bid him cause Maister William Rynd send him vp the key of the gallerie chamber, who past vp and delieured the key to the maister: and immediatlie my lord followed vp, and did speak with the maister, and came downe againe, and directed Maister Thomas Cranstoun to the deponer to come to his lordship in his maiesties chamber. And that my lord directed him to go vp to the gallerie to his brother: and immediatlie my lord followed vp, and commanded the deponer to byde there with his brother, and to doe anie thing that hee bade him. The deponer enquired at the maister, What haue yee to do, Sir? The maister answered, Yee must goe in heere, and tarry vntill I come backe, for I will take the key with mee. So he lokked the deponer in the rounde within the chamber, and took the key with him. Shortly thereafter, the maister returned, and the kings maiestie with him, to the saide cabinet in the rounde; and the maister, opening the dore, entered with the king into the saide rounde;

rounde; and at his verie entrie, couering his head, pulled out the deponers dagger, and held the same to his maiesties breast, saying, Remember you of my fathers murther? Yee shall now die for it; and minting to his hienes heart with the dagger, the deponer threw the same out of the maisters hand, and swore, that, as God shall iudge his soule, if the maister had retained the dagger in his hand the space that a man may go six steppes, he would haue striken the king to the hilts with it: but wanting the dagger, and the kings maiestie giuing him a gentle answere, hee saide to the kings maiestie with abhominable oathes, That, if hee would keep silence, no thing should aile him, if hee would make such promise to his brother as they would craue of him: and the kings maiestie enquiring what promise they would craue? He answered, that he would bring his brother. So he goes forth, and lokkes the dore of the rounde vppon his maiestie and the deponer, hauing first taken the king sworne that hee should not cry, nor open the windoe.

And his maiestie enquiring at the deponer what he was? He answered, A seruant of my lords. And his maiestie asking at the deponer, If my lord would doe anie euill him? The deponer answered, As God shall iudge my soule, I shall die first. And, the deponer preising to haue opened the windoe, the maister entered, and said, Sir, there is no remedie, by God; you must die: and, hauing a loose garter in his hand, preisted to haue bound his maiesties hands, and the deponer pulled the garter out of Maister Alexanders hand. And then the maister did put one of his hands in his maiesties mouth, to haue staied him to speak, and held his other arme about his hienes neck: and that this deponer pulled the maisters hand from his hienesse mouth, and opened the windoe: and then his maiestie cried out thereat, whereupon his hienes ser-

uant came in at the gate, and this deponer did run and open the dore of the turn-pyke heade, whereat Iohn Ramsay entered; and the deponer stoode in the chamber vntil he did see Iohn Ramsay giue the maister a stroke, and thereafter priuillie conuoyed him selfe downe the turnpyke to his owne house; and the deponers wife enquiring of him what the fraie meant? The deponer answered, that the kings maiestie would haue been twise stikked, were not he releued him.

Sic subscribitur,

Andrew Henderfoun, with my hand.

Further, the saide Andrew Henderfoun depones, That, after his returning from Falkland upon the fifth of this instant, Maister John Montcrief enquiring of him where he had beene? He answered, That he had bene beyond the bridge of Erne; and sayes, that he gaue that answere to Maister Iohn, because my lord commanded him to let no man knowe that he was to ride to Falkland; and that my lords direction to him was to come backe with his brother Maister Alexanders answere, and to leave Andrew Ruthwen to await upon the maister.

Sic subscribitur,

Andrew Henderfoun, with my hand.

Further, the saide Andrew Henderfoun depones, that, when hee had taken the maisters hand out of the kings maiesties mouth, and was opening the windoe, Maister Alexander said to him, Will thou not helpe? Wo betyde thee, thou wilt make vs all die.

Sic subscribitur,

Andrew Henderfoun, with my hand.

England's Mourning Garment; worn here by plain shepherds, in memory of their sacred mistres, Elisabeth, queen of virtue, while she lived, and theme of sorrow, being dead. To which is added the true manner of her imperial funeral: after which follows the Shepherds Spring-song, for entertainment of King James, our most potent sovereign. Dedicated to all that loved the deceased queen, and honour the living king.

Non verbis sed virtute.

This is the fiftenth in the catalogue of the Harleian pamphlets; and contains many peculiar curiosities: its chief object, it is certain, was to perpetuate the deserved character of Queen Elisabeth, whom our author has, without the borrowed help of bombast and undeserved praise, described.

described to be most religious to God; temperate in all things; just, merciful, and charitable to her subjects; a faithful ally, and true friend to her distressed neighbours: but, in this compass, he has adorned her just and admirable encomium, with the history of her royal ancestors, from King Henry VII. inclusive; and, amongst other things, his caution to discontented, murmuring subjects is worthy our observation.

These, with other particulars, are concluded with a funeral song, by way of pastoral; then follows the form, or order of the procession, made at her funeral. To which is added, the shepherd's spring-song, in gratulation of King James I.'s accession to the throne of England.

To all true lovers of the right gracious Queen Elisabeth, in her life; being undoubtedly those faithful subjects that now honour and affect our most potent lord King James, after her death.

My epistle to you is like the little town that the cynick would have persuaded the citizens was ready to run out at the great gates, being scarce so long as the title. In a word, the negligence of many better able hath made me bold to write a small epitome, touching the abundant virtues of Elisabeth, our late sacred mistress; treating of her princely birth, chaste life, royal government, and happy death; being a lady born, living, reigning, dying, all for England's good. The manner is handled between shepherds; the form of speech, like the persons, rude; affection exceedeth eloquence, and I have not shewn much art, but expressed the duty of a loving heart; shed some tears in reading our shepherds sorrow; and, in that true passion, let your love to our royal lord be shewn, who hateth hypocrites, as just men hell: farewell all of you, that give the dead queen a sad farewell, and the living king a glad welcome; the rest are time-pleasers, and I write not to them.*

Fœlicem fuisse infaustum.

THENOT. COLLIN.

Thenot.

COLLIN, thou look'st as lagging as the day,
When the sun, setting towards his western bed,
Shews, that like him, all glory must decay,
And frolick life, with murky clouds o'erspread,
Shall leave all earthly beauty 'mongst the dead;
Such is the habit of thy new array:
Why art thou not prepar'd to welcome May,
In whose clear moon thy younglings shall be fed,
With night's sweet dews, and open flowers of day?

Collin.

I answer thee with woe and welaway,
I am in fable clad, fith she cannot be had
That me and mine did glad;

There's all I'll say.

Thenot.

Well spoken, swain, let me thy sorrow ken,
Rich soul, though wrong'd by idle antick men,
And driven by falsehood to a cloudy den,
Tell me thy grief.

Collin.

O it is past relief; and which is worst of worst,
Bayards and beasts accurst, with grossest flattery nurs't,
Have sung her sacred name, and prais'd her to their
Shame,

Who was our last and first.

Thenot.

Dear Collin, do not check the humblest song,
The will is ever master of the work;
Those, that can sing, have done all shepherds wrong,
Like lozels in their cottages to lurk:
The air's the air, though it be thick and murk;
If they, to whom true pastorals belong,
In needful lays use neither pipe nor tongue,
Shall none the virtuous raise?

Collin.

Yes, those that merit bays,
Though tears restrain their lays,
Some weeping hours or days
Will find a time,
To honour honour still, not with a rural quill,
But with the soul of skill,
To bless their rhyme.

* King James I.

Aye me! why should I dote
 On rhimes, on songs or note?
 Confusion can best quote
 Sacred Elifa's loss,
 Whose praise doth grace all verse,
 That shall the same rehearse;
 No gold need deck her hearse;
 To her all gold is dross.

With that Collin, in discontent, broke his pipe, and, in that passion, as if his heart had been like his pipe, parted each piece from the other; he fell without sense on the earth, not then insensible of his sorrow; for it yielded, wept, and groaned at once with his fall, his weepings and his sighs. Poor Thenot shouted for help, at whose call came some nymphs full of sorrow for their sovereign; and, no whit amazed to see him lie as dead, their hearts were so dead, with thinking of that which had astonished his: but yet, as gathering of companies draws more and more to wonder, so procured it among the shepherds, that left none but their curs to attend their flocks, themselves flocking about Thenot and Collin, who now recovered from his trance: and, all asking the reason of his grief with tears abounding in his eyes, that likewise drew more abundantly from theirs, he distractedly answered,

— *Illum nec enim reprehendere fas est,
 Qui fleat hanc, cujus fregerunt flamina parca,
 Solus honor sequitur mortales ille misellos.*

And therewithal, making a sign for the shepherds and nymphs to sit down, he told them they had lost that sacred nymph, that careful shepherdess Elifa; but, if it pleased them to lend attention, he would repeat something of her worth memory, that should live in despite of death; whereupon a still silence seized them all, saving only now and then by sighing, they expressed their hearts sorrow, and Collin thus began:

Seeing honour only followeth mortals, and the works of the virtuous die not with their deaths; and yet those works, nevertheless, with the honour and rites due to the departed, might be much blemished, if there were no gratitude in their successors: let us, poor rurals, though no otherways able to erect statues for our late dread sovereign worthy all memory, amongst ourselves repeat part of her excellent graces, and our benefit obtained by her government; for, to reckon all, were *opus infinitum*, a labour without end.

She was the undoubted issue of two royal princes, Henry of Lancaster, and Elisabeth of York; in whose union the quiet of us poor swains began; for, until that blessed marriage, England was a shambles of slaughtered men, so violent was the blood of ambition, so potent the factions, and so implacable their heads; whose eyes were never cleared till they were washed in blood, even in the dear blood of their ob-

jects hearts. This king, grandfather to our late queen, was the first British king, that many a hundred years before wore the imperial diadem of England, France, and Ireland; in him began the name of Tewther* descended from the ancient British kings to flourish; the issue male of royal Plantagenet ending in his beginning; his wife, grandmother to our late Elisabeth, being the last Plantagenet, whose temples were here circled with a sphere of gold: which king and queen lived and loved, and now lie entombed in that most famous chapel, built at his kingly charge, in the abbey of Westminster. King Henry, dying in a good age, left England rich, beautiful, and full of peace, and so blessed with his issue, after royally matched to Scotland and France, besides his undoubted heir, King Henry of famous memory, the VIIIth, that no kingdom in the earth more flourished.

His son, † the father of our Elisabeth, was to his enemies dreadful, to his friends gracious, under whose ensign the emperor himself served ‡, so potent a prince he was; besides, so liberal and bounteous, that he seemed, like the sun in his meridian, to shower down gold round about the horizon; but he died too, and left us three princely hopes ||; all which have severally succeeded each other, royally maintained the right of England, and resisted all foreign wrong.

For King Edward, our late sovereign's brother, though he died young in years, left instance he was no infant in virtues; his learning, towardness, and zeal, were thought fitter for the society of angels than men, with whom no doubt his spirit lives eternally.

Such assurance have we of the happiness of that royal, gracious, and worthy Lady Mary, his eldest sister, who in her death expressed the care of her kingdoms, so much lamenting one town's loss, that she told her attendant-ladies, if they would rip her heart, when she was dead, they should find Calais written in it. O Thenot, with all you other nymphs and swains, learn, by this worthy queen, the care of sovereigns, how heart-sick they are for their subjects loss; and think what felicity we poor worms live in, that have such royal patrons, who care for our peace, that we may quietly eat the bread of our own labour, tend our flocks in safety, asking of us nothing but fear and duty, which humanity allows, and heaven commands.

With this Thenot interrupted Collin, telling him, there were a number of true shepherds misliked that prince's life, and joyed greatly at her death; withal beginning to shew some reasons, but Collin quickly interrupted him in these words:

*Peace, Thenot, peace, princes are sacred things,
 It fits not swains to think amiss of kings.*

For, faith he, the faults of rulers, if any be faulty, are to be reprehended by them that can amend them; and, seeing none is superior to a king but God, to

* Or Teudor.

† King Henry VIII.

‡ In France.

|| King Edward VI. Queen Mary I. and Queen Elisabeth.

D d

him

him alone refer their actions. And, whereas thou termest them true shepherds that so envied that lady's government, thou art deceived; they are still, as they then were, proud, fanatick-spirited counterfeits, expert in nothing but ignorance, such as hate all rule; for who resisteth correction more than fools, though they deserve it most? Believe me, Thenot, and all you well-affected swains, there is no greater mark for a true shepherd to be known by than humility, which, God knows, those mad-men most want; too much experience have we of their thread-bare pride, who bite the dead as living curs may lions: not contented with their scandals of that royal lady, our late sovereign's sister, but they have troubled the clear springs of our mistress Elisabeth's blessed government; nay, myself have seen and heard with glowing ears some of them, even in the fields of Calydon*, when his excellency, that is now our imperial shepherd, was only lord of their folds, speak of his majesty more audaciously and malapertly, than any of us would do the meanest officer; for, as I said even now, if rulers chance to slip, it is most insufferable that every impudent railer should, with the breath of his mouth, stir up the chaffy multitude, whose ears itch for novelties, whose minds are as their numbers divers; not able to judge themselves, much less their sovereigns: but they ought, if they be true pastors, to follow the great Pan, the father of all good shepherds Christ, who teacheth every of his swains to tell his brother privately of his fault, and again and again; by that glorious number, Three, including numbers numberless, before it be told the church. If then they must, being true shepherds, deal so with their brethren, how much more ought their followers do to their sovereigns, being kings and queens? And not, in the place where sacred and moral manners should be taught, contrarily to teach the rude to be more unmannerly, instructing every puny to compare with the most reverend prelate; and, by that example, to have every cobbler account himself a king.

Oh, said Thenot, Collin, there are some would ill think of you, should they hear you thus talk, for they reprove all out of zeal, and must spare none.

Peace to thy thoughts, Thenot, answered Collin, I know thou knowest there is a zeal, that is not with knowledge acquainted; but let them and their mad zeal pass, let us forget their railings against princes, and begin with her beginning, after her royal sister's ending, who departing from this earthly kingdom the seventeenth of November, in the year of our Lord 1558, immediately thereupon Elisabeth, the hand-maid to the Lord of Heaven, and empress of all maids, mothers, youths, and men then living in this English earth, was proclaimed queen with general applause, being much pitied, for that busy slander and respectless envy, had not long before, brought her into the disfavour of her royal sister Mary, whom we last re-

membered: in the continuance of whose displeasure, still made greater by some great enemies, how she escaped, needs no repeating, being so well known. Preserved she was from the violence of death, her blood was precious in the sight of God, as is the blood of all his saints; it was too dear to be poured out like water on the greedy earth; she lived, and we have lived under her forty and odd years so wonderfully blessed, that all nations have wondered at their own afflictions and our prosperity; and she died, as she lived with us, still careful of our peace, finishing, even then, the greatest wonder of all, our deserts considered, by appointing the kingdom to so just and lawful a ruler to succeed her, whom all true English knew for their undoubted lord, immediately after her death. But, lest we end ere we begin, I will return to her, who, being seated in the throne of majesty, adorned with all the virtues, divine and moral, appeared to us like a goodly palace, where the graces kept their several mansions.

First, Faith abundantly shone in her, then young, and lost not her brightness in her age; for she believed in her Redeemer, her trust was in the King of kings, who preserved her, as the apple of his eye, from all treacherous attempts, as many being made against her life, as against any prince that ever lived; yet she was still confident in her Saviour, whose name she glorified in all her actions, confessing her victories, preservings, dignities, to be all his, as appeared by many luculent examples; this one serving for the rest, that, after the dissipation of the Spanish armathot, accounted invincible, she came in person to Paul's cross, and there, among the meanest of her people, confessed, *Non nobis, Domine, non nobis; sed nomini tuo gloria*†. And as she was ever constant in cherishing that faith, wherein she was from her infancy nourished; so was she faithful of her word with her people, and with foreign nations. And albeit I know some, too humorously affected to the Roman || government, make a question in this place, Whether her highness first broke not the truce with the king of Spain? To that I could answer, were it pertinent to me in this place, or for a poor shepherd to talk of state, with un-reproveable truths, that her highness suffered many wrongs before she left off the league.

O, faith Thenot, in some of these wrongs resolve us, and think it no unfitting thing, for thou that hast heard the songs of that warlike poet Phileides, good Melœbee, and smooth-tongued Melicert, tell us what thou hast observed in their sawes, seen in thy own experience, and heard of undoubted truths touching those accidents, for that they add, I doubt not, to the glory of our Elisa.

To this intreaty Collin condescended and thus spake: It is not unknown, the Spaniards, a mighty nation, abounding with treasure, being war's sinews, torn from the bowels of mines, fetched from the sands of

* i. e. Scotland.

† al. Armada.

‡ Not unto us, O Lord, not unto us; but to thy name be glory, &c.
|| i. e. Romish or Popish.

Indian rivers, by the miserable captived natives, have purposed to be lords of Europe. France they have attempted, and failed in; Navarre they have greatly distressed; Lombardy, the garden of the world, they are possessed of; Naples and Sicily, Sardinia and Corsica, are forced to obey their laws; and that they reckoned England should be theirs, with such small ease, even in a manner with threatening, their songs taught little infants from Andalusia to Galicia, bear witness. The dice were cast, her majesty's subjects craftily put into the inquisition upon every small colour; if they escaped, which seldom sorted out so well alive, could of their goods have no restitution. Their king gave pensions to our queen's rebellious fugitive subjects, and not only to such, that in regard of their religion, fled the land, but unto such as had attempted to resist her in active rebellion; and yet not staying there, out of his treasury proposed rewards for sundry to attempt the murder of her sacred person; of which perfidious guilt she never was tainted; let any Spaniard, or Spanish affected English, prove where she ever hired, abetted, or procured any such against their king's majesty, and I will yield to be esteemed as false as falsehood itself; nay, they cannot deny, but that even with the rebels of her realm of Ireland, stirred up to barbarous and inhuman outrages by the Spanish policy, she hath no way dealt but by fair and laudable war.

But before I enter into her majesty's lenity in that Irish war, against sundry known rebels, and punishing some of her subjects, that upon a zeal to her, or perchance to get themselves a glory, adventured their own lives by treachery, to cut off the lives of some great leaders of the rebels: I will a little digress, lest I should be thought after her death, to maintain the fire of hate, which I ever in heart, desired might honourably be quenched between these potent kingdoms of England and Spain.

I wish all that read this, to bury old wrongs, and to pray that it would please God of his inestimable mercy to root out all malice from Christian nations; and as our royal sovereign now reigning, hath conserved league and peace with all princes, so for the weal of Christendom, it may more and more increase, that the open enemies of Christ may the better be repelled from those wealthy kingdoms in the east, where they have many hundred years most barbarously tyrannised; for no man doubts, but the blood shed within these thirty years, as well of English, as Scottish, Spanish, Dutch, and Portuguese, in the quarrel of religion, might, if God had so been pleased, been able to have driven the heathen* monarch from his nearest hold in Hungaria, to the fall of Danubia in the Euxine sea, especially with the assistance of the French, that have cruelly fallen either upon others swords.

But I trust God hath suffered this offence to add more glory to our mighty king, that he should be the most famous of all his predecessors, as indeed he is the most mighty, and hath been raised to this realm,

as a saviour to deliver England, and make it more abundant in blessings, when many looked it should have had all her glory swallowed up of spoil.

The highness of his imperial place, greatness of his blood, mightiness of his alliance, but most, his constancy in the true profession of religion, even amidst my sorrows, Thenot, fill me with joys: when I consider how a number that gaped for our destruction, have their mouths shut close, yet empty, where they thought to eat the sweets of our painful sweat; but God be praised, as I said before, her highness, that ruled us many years in peace, left us in her death more secure, by committing us to our lawful prince, matched to a royal fruitful lady, that hath borne him such hopeful issue, that the days we lately feared, I trust, are as far off, as this instant is from the end of all earthly times; who shall not only, with their royal father, maintain these his kingdoms in happy peace, but subject more under him, and spread the banners of Christ in the face of misbelievers.

In this hope I here break off, and return to our late sovereign's care of keeping faith, even toward her rebel subjects, which I will manifest in some two or three examples of the Irish.

When the rebel O Neale, in the time of that memorable gentleman, Sir Henry Sidney, his deputyship of Ireland, was mightily strengthened in his country, and so potent, that the deputy had many dangerous and unadvantageable skirmishes against him: a servant of her majesty's, one Smith, thinking to do a worthy piece of service, by poisoning O Neale, prepared a little bottle, parted in the midst; one side containing good wine, the other with temporal poison of the same colour; and that he carries to O Neale, under colour of gratification, for that his army lay far from the sea, or merchantable towns, and he thought wine was unto him very dainty, which O Neale accepted kindly; for that the said Smith was born in O Neale's country, and such the Irish do especially, and before others, trust, to bring messages even from their greatest enemies, under whom they serve.

But, the deceit being quickly espied, Smith was, by O Neale, sent bound to the deputy, to whose plot he would fain have imputed the same practice; but, contrarily, the deputy publicly punished the said Smith, and her majesty refused him for her servant, saying, she would keep none near her that would deal treacherously, no though it were against traitors.

The like example was shewn on another, that would have attempted the poisoning of Rory Og, a bloody and dangerous rebel.

To which may be added, that her highness, among other trespasses objected by her attorney against a convicted deputy, was, that he went about by poison to have took away the life of Feff Mac Hue, a rebel more immane and barbarous than any of the other two; the lord chief justice of the common pleas, yet living, opening at the same time, how just a spirit her majesty

* Turkish.

was possessed with, that she hated treason, even to traitors; much more then to anointed kings, whose honours and reputations she so maintained, that she not long since punished, by fine and imprisonment, a wealthy railer, for unreverent words spoken against the person of King Philip, her open and professed enemy; so faithful, so just, so gracious was she.

And to make it more plain, that Spain intended England the first wrong, so long time before it was muttered; but after that memorable battle of Lepanto, wherein Don John of Austria obtained the triumphant Christian victory against the Turks; to reward him, England was the kingdom set down, being then in her majesty's possession: but he had it, when they could give him it that promised the same, which was at latter Lammas. And I trust his niece shall have as good success with her pretended title; for, if God strengthened her majesty so, that, against her being a woman, they could not prevail, we trust his Almightyness will be as careful of our king, being already lord of three such people as have seldom been equalled in battle, except they have unnaturally contended among themselves; the sight of which day, dear shepherds, let us pray never again to see. Besides, to express her farther intent, to preserve faith and league, notwithstanding infinite open wrongs, and certain knowledge, that a navy for invasion of this realm had been preparing more than fifteen years; yet did she bear, until, against all law of nations, the ambassador-lieger of Spain, honoured with many favours, did, notwithstanding, plot and confederate with native traitors of this land; and, the matter being apparently proved, he was, by her mild sufferance, admitted to depart the realm, without any violence to his perpetual reproach, and her never dying glory. Well, I will here conclude; touching this virtue of faith, both towards God and man, she was as firm in the one as mortality could be, and in the other approved glorious among all the princes of her time.

For *hope*, the second divine virtue, she rather therein abounded, than was any way wanting; for her hope was no way wandering, she believed, and it came to pass; her enemies arise, but, before their arising, she was certain to see them fall; she having, by example of things past, nothing doubted of things to come: and she was not deceived till the hour of her death, for ever her expectation was fulfilled: she kept peace within, chasing the spoiler without; and, even as it is sung of Epaminondas, that valiant Theban captain, in his last victorious battle, wherein yet death of him got victory, he thus gloried, Herein am I comforted, that I die a conqueror. For, even when death laid his last siege to her yet unvanquished life, Tyrone, the long disturber of her state, besought mercy at her feet. O nymphs and shepherds, doubt not she was full of divine hope, whose heart obtained ever the thing it faithfully desired, and that her desires were all of faith: I could add infinite examples to these already alledged,

but that it is needless to cast water in the sea, or to make a question of that all men know, and will confess, except some whose hearts are strangers from truth, and the professed receptacles of falsehood.

Her *charity*, the third and principal divine grace to the eyes of mortals (for that faith and hope bend principally their service to heaven, and charity's effects are manifested on earth) hath been extended over all her realms, and stretched to the comfort of her oppressed neighbours. The multitudes of poor daily relieved from her purse, the numbers of sick persons yearly visited, and, by her own hand, their corrupt sores touched, the washing of poor women's feet, and relieving their wants, was a sign she was humble as well as charitable; for humility is charity's sister, they are two twins born at one time, and, as they are born together in any soul whatever, so do they live and die together; the humble spirit being ever charitable, and the charitable ever humble; for-it is as impossible to have a proud man charitable, as to reconcile fire and water, or to make accord between any contraries. As she was, in these particulars, exceeding all ladies of her time, given to this helpful virtue, so had the general impositions through all her kingdom, for her well able subjects to follow her example; and so much did her example prevail, that, besides the ordinary and weekly alms distributed through the realm, there have been more particular alms-houses built for the relief of the aged, than in any six princes reigns before. And as all parts of England have in this imitation, been very forward, so hath the city of London exceeded all; wherein divers private men have built sundry houses for the poor, and allowed them pensions; but the corporations have been most bountiful, as most able; and, among all, the right worshipful the merchant-tailors have exceeded the rest, all having done well, that have done any thing, but they best of any other, as I will one day, in a song of liberal shepherds, thankfully express; though, for myself, I know him not in the least gift to whom I am, in that sort, bound; but I ken not, Thenot, how I may, for there is none living but may lack. As the city, so many knights, gentlemen, honourable and devout persons, have followed her example; above the rest, an honourable, careful, reverend, and learned watchman, as full of mildness and piety, as he is of years, and griefs for his good and royal mistress's loss, within few miles of this city, hath built a worthy receptacle* to the like charitable end.

As for the poor and decrepid with age her royal majesty had this charitable care, so for soldiers and suitors she was very provident: the last being oppressed, in any part of her realms, by men of much wealth and little conscience, she allowed them council and proceedings, *in forma pauperis*, and maintenance weekly, in the terms, for some part of their succour. For soldiers and men of service, her decrees of provision are extant: besides, it is most clear, no prince in the

* Called Queen Elizabeth's college at Greenwich.

world, to land or seaman, was more bountiful, or willing, than her highness; out of her coffers it went: but there is an old proverb, Thenot, 'Carriage is dear;' and I have heard, but I will stand to nothing, base ministers and under-officers curtail the liberalities of great and potent masters. Some have, in her time, been taken with the manner, and, besides bodily punishment and fines, displaced: as I well remember, and cannot omit, amidst my grief, to tell, though somewhat from this subject it dissent, being of a fellow too mean; how her highness, in one of her progresses, walking in the garden of a house where she was received, being somewhat near the high-way, heard on a sudden a market-woman cry, and from an arbour, beheld one of her own servants, a taker-up* of provision, use the woman uncivilly; whereupon, the cause being examined, and the poor woman found by the same fellow to be wronged, as well before as then, her highness caused him presently to be discharged of her service, and punished: yet the fault being but sleight, the taker was countenanced to make suit to be restored, and some half year after, fell down before her majesty, desiring mercy and restoring: her highness pitying his distress, commanded him to be provided for in some place, where he could not wrong her poor subjects; but in any case, not to make him a taker. Many such false ones she hath punished with death. I could in this, as all the rest, reckon multitudes of examples; but I will knit all up with her excellency in this act of charity extended to her neighbour†, whom she hath, by her bounty, delivered from the tyranny of oppression; and aided the right of others‡ against rebellious subjects; others|| assisted to recover their kingdoms, not sparing millions to sustain the quarrel of the righteous: the reward of which mercy and charity she now finds, receiving infinite glories for her abounding charity, being done for his cause that leaveth no deed of mercy unrecompensed.

As she was richly stored with divine graces, so, in moral virtues, no princess ever living in the earth, can be remembered to exceed her. Her wisdom was, without question, in her life, by any unequalled: she was sententious, yet gracious in speech; so expert in languages, that she answered most ambassadors in their native tongues; her capacity was therewith so very apprehensive, and invention so quick, that if any of them had gone beyond their bounds, with majesty undaunted, she would have limited them within the verge of their duties; as she did royally, wisely, and learnedly the last strutting Poland messenger, that thought, with stalking looks and swelling words, to daunt her undaunted excellence: but, as he came proud, he returned not without repentance, having no other wrong here, but the sin of his own sauciness.

Many such examples I could set down, but I will

satisfy you with one more: When the Spaniards, having their armatho§ ready, temporised with her highness's commissioners in the Low-Countries, thinking to find her highness unprovided; at last, when they accounted all sure, they sent her their king's choice, either of peace or war, wittily included in four Latin verses; portending, that if she would cease to defend the Low-Countries; restore the goods taken by reprisal from the Spaniards; build up the religious houses diverted in her father's time, and let the Roman** religion be received through her land, why then she might have peace; if not, it was too late to expect any. Which proud commanding ambassy, with royal magnanimity, gracious wisdom, and fluent wit, she answered instantly in one known proverbial line††, which she suddenly made into a verse:

Ad græcas hæc fiant mandata calendæ.

O Thenot, did not assurance of our kingly poets love to the muses somewhat comfort me, I should utterly despair ever to hear pastoral song again filled with any conceit; seeing her excellence, whose brain being the helicon of all our best and quaint inventions, is dried up by the inevitable heat of death.

Her justice was such, as never any could truly complain of her; neither did she pardon faults unpardonable, as, murder, rape, sodomy, that sin almost not to be named; neither was there in her time, with her knowledge, extremity of justice shewn to other malefactors: if any such did fall, it was either by falsehood or malice of the evidence, or some other secret, where-with poor shepherds are unacquainted; only this we are taught, That God sometimes punisheth the sins of parents on their children, to many generations.

But, for herself, she was always so inclined to equity, that, if she left justice in any part, it was in shewing pity, as in one general punishment for murder it appeared; whereas, beforetime, there was extraordinary torture, as hanging wilful murderers alive in chains; she, having compassion, like a true shepherdess of their souls, though they were of her erring and utterly infected flock, said, Their death satisfied for death, and life for life was all could be demanded; and affirming more, That much torture distracted a dying man. In particular, she saved many; among some unworthy of her mercy, that proud fellow, who unjustly named himself Doctor Parry; and another, as I remember, called Patrick, an Irishman. The first, having offended in burglary, against a lawyer able and willing to take away his life, thereto urged by many misdemeanours; and for that Parry doubted his attempt to kill, and act of felony, was without compass of pardon, considering the place where it was done, and against whom, he thought a lease of life safest, which, of her benign mercy, he obtained, for twenty-one years; but

* Purveyor.

† The Dutch.

‡ The king of France.

|| The king of Navarre.

§ *al.* Armada.

** Popish.

†† These commands shall be obeyed at latter Lammas.

ere three of them were past, he did unnaturally attempt her death, that had given him life; for which traitorous ingratitude he worthily was cut off. The Irishman likewise, being pardoned for a man-slaughter, proved as unthankful, and ended as he lived, shamefully. Besides, she was so inclineable to mercy, that her just and severe judges told her, how some desperate malefactors, building on friends and hopes of pardon, cared not for offending, but even scoffed at authority; whereof when she heard, she took special care, considering it was as great injustice to pity some, as spare others; taking order to sign no pardon, except the judge's hand were at it first, who truly knew the cause why the party was condemned; by which means, murderers and presumptuous offenders were cut off from all hope.

One notable example of her justice, among many, I will here remember: certain, condemned for piracy, having made some end with them they wronged, lay for their lives at her mercy; and the judge of her admiralty having signified favourably of the quality of their offence, she was moved to pity them, and had commanded their pardon to be drawn. In the mean time, two of them, trained up in the fashion of our common cutters, that I may tell thee, Thenot, swarm rather like devils, than men, about the country; that swear, as if they had license to blaspheme, and stab men, as if they had authority; nay, sometimes themselves, for very trifles: two such, I say, were in the company of these condemned pirates, hourly hoping for their lives, and braving either other of their manhood, saying, One durst more than the other. The eldest, being master of their late ship, wherein they had failed to that place of sorrow, slices his own flesh with a knife, asking the other, If he durst do as much? The younger was very ready, and two or three times followed the old fool, in that desperate wounding of himself. This brutish act, being committed in the prison belonging to her majesty's own house, came quickly to her royal ear, and some few days after, their pardon to be signed; who graciously gave life to all the rest, but commanded them, by express name, to execution, saying, They were unworthy mercy, that had none of themselves; adding, It was very likely, that such, as in prison, and in their state, would be so cruel to shed their own blood, would have small compassion of others, whom they overcame at sea: and so, leaving them to the law, they were worthily executed.

Of her *mercy* nothing can be said more, but that it equalled, or rather, as I said before, exceeded her justice; among infinite numbers whom she pardoned, that * one, especially, being a clear witness, who shot the gun off against Greenwich, even into her majesty's barge, and hurt the next man to her, at broad daylight; almost impossible to be excused by negligence or ignorance; for that any man, having his piece charged, would rather, upon retiring home, have discharged it among the reeds, than toward the breadth

of the river, whose silver breast continually bore up a number of vessels, wherein men passed, on sundry affairs. However wilful, or unwillful, the act was, done it was, and by a jury, he was found guilty, and adjudged to die. Towards execution he was led, with such clamour and injuries of the multitude, as seldom any the like hath been seen, or heard; so heinous and odious his offence appeared unto them, that, being upon the ladder, ready to be cast off, the common people had no pity of him; when, even just in that moment of despair and death, her majesty sent a gracious pardon, which delivered him to all men's wonder. I want but the Arcadian shepherd's enchanting phrase of speaking, that was many times witness to her just mercies and merciful justice; yet, rude as I am, I have presumed to handle this excellent theme, in regard the funeral hastens on, of that sometime most serene lady; and yet I see none, or at least, not past one or two, that have sung any thing, since her departure, worth the hearing; and of them, they that are best able scarce remember her majesty. I cannot now forget the excellent and cunning Collin, indeed (for, alas! I confess myself too, too rude) complaining, that a liberal Mæcenas long since dying, was immediately forgotten, even by those that, living, most laboured to advance his fame; and these, as I think, close part of his songs:

Being dead, no poet seeks him to revive,
Though many poets flatter'd him alive.

Somewhat like him, or at least to that purpose, of a person more excellent, though in ruder verse I speak:

Death now hath seiz'd her in his icy arms,
That sometime was the sun of our delight:
And, pitiless of any after harms,
Hath veil'd her glory in the cloud of night.

Nor doth one poet seek her name to raise,
That living, hourly, striv'd to sing her praise.
He that so well could sing the fatal strife
Between the royal roses, white and red,
That prais'd so oft Eliza in her life,
His muse seems now to die, as she is dead:

Thou sweetest song-man of all English swains,
Awake for shame, honour ensues thy pains.
But thou alone deserv'dst not to be blam'd;
He that sung forty years her life and birth,
And is by English Albions so much fam'd,
For sweet mixt lays of majesty and mirth,

Doth of her loss take now but little keep;
Or else I guess he cannot sing, but weep.
Neither doth Coryn, full of worth and wit,
That finish'd dead Musæus' gracious song,
With grace as great, and words, and verse as fit,
Chide meagre death for doing virtue wrong:

He doth not seek with songs to deck her hearse,
Nor make her name live in his lively verse,

* Named Appletree.

Nor does our English Horace, whose steel pen
Can draw characters which will never die,
Tell her bright glories unto list'ning men,
Of her he seems to have no memory.

His muse another path desires to tread,
True satyrs scourge the living, leave the dead.
Nor doth the silver-tongued Melicert
Drop from his honied muse one fable tear,
To mourn her death that graced his desert,
And to his lays open'd her royal ear.

Shepherd, remember our Elizabeth,
And sing her rape, done by that Tarquin death.
No less do thou, sweet singer Corydon,
The theme exceedeth Edward's Isabel;
Forget her not in Poly-Albion,
Make some amends, I know thou lov'dst her well.

Think 'twas a fault to have thy verses seen,
Praising the king, ere they had mourn'd the queen.
And thou delicious sportive Musidore,
Although thou hast resign'd thy wreath of bay,
With cypress bind thy temples, and deplore
Elisa's winter in a mournful lay:

I know thou can'st, and none can better sing
Hearse songs for her, and Pæans to our king.
Quick Antihorace, though I place thee here,
Together with young Mœlibee thy friend:
And Heroes last Musæus, all three decree,
All such whose virtues highly I commend.

Prove not ingrate to her that many a time
Hath stoop'd her majesty, to grace your rhyme.
And thou that scarce hast fledg'd thy infant muse
(I use thine own word) and commend thee best,
In thy proclaiming James; the rest misuse
The name of poetry, with lines unblest'd.

Holding the muses to be masculine,
I quote no such absurdity in thine.
Thee do I thank for will, thy work let pass,
But wish some of the former had first writ,
That from their poems, like reflecting glass,
Steel'd with the purity of art and wit,

Elisa might have liv'd in every eye,
Always beheld till time and poems die.
But cease you goblins, and you under elves;
That with rude rhymes and meetres reasonless.
Fit to be sung for such as your base selves,
Presume to name the muses patroness.

Keep your low spheres, she hath an angel spirit,
The learned'st swain can hardly sing her merit.
Only her brother king, the muses trust
(Blood of her grandfire's blood, placed in her throne)
Can raise her glory from the bed of dust,
To praise her worth belongs to kings alone.

In him shall we behold her majesty,
In him her virtue lives and cannot die.

At this Thenot and the rest desired him to proceed
in his discourse of her virtues; remembering where he
left, at justice; and though the matter pleased them

so well, that they could endure the hearing many days,
yet, seeing the sun began to die the west sea with ver-
milion tincture, the palace of the morning being hid-
den in fable clouds, and that the care of their flocks
must be respected, requested him to be as brief, as the
time limited him.

To which Collin answered: Thenot, I perceive
thou art as all or the most part of the world is, careful
only of thine own; and however friends fall, yet pro-
fit must be respected. Well thou dost well; and in
this I doubly praise thee; to cark for sheep and lambs,
that cannot tend themselves, and not to mourn as with-
out hope our great shepherdes; who, after long life
and glory on earth, hath obtained a longer and more
glorious life in heaven. But to proceed: As she was
constant in faith, stedfast in hope, chearful in giving,
prudent in speaking, just in punishing, but most mer-
ciful in pardoning; so for the third moral virtue, tem-
perance, there was, in no age before, a woman so ex-
alted to earthly honour ever read of; that so long, so
graciously, in outward and domestick affairs, governed
her kingdom, family, and person, with like modera-
tion.

First, for her kingdom, what can be devised more
near the mean, than she hath in all things followed?
For in religion, as in other things, there hath been
an extreme erring from the truth, which, like all vir-
tues, being indeed the head of all, keepeth place in
the midst; so hath she established the true Catholic
and Apostolical Religion in this land, neither mingled
with multitudes of idle superstitions; nor yet wanting
true honour and reverence for the ministry, in laud-
able and long received ceremonies.

But here I shall be carped at, in that I call the re-
ligion professed in her time, true Catholick and Apost-
olical; considering the see of Rome, and such Eng-
lish only, as be her sworn sons, think that seat all one
to hold the apostolical faith; excluding her majesty,
and all other Christian princes with their subjects, that
have not fallen before that chair, as people worthy to
be cut off from Christ's congregation; giving them
names of Protestants, Lutherans, and I know not what.
And on another side, a selected company*, that would
needs be counted saints and holy ones, when there is
nothing but corruption in their hearts, they forsooth
condemned her sacred government for Antichristian;
when, to the amazement of superstitious Romans, and
self-praising sectaries, God approved his faith by his
love towards her. And lest I should be tasked of ig-
norance, and termed a Nullifidian in defending neither
of these sides; and only of the faith that the Collier
professed, which was ever one with the most: I say, I
was born and brought up in the religion, professed by
that most Christian Princess Elizabeth, who believed
not that the spirit of God was bound or tied to any one
place, no more to Rome, than Antioch; that the can-
dlestick of any church might be removed, for neglect-
ing their first love, and teaching traditions of men,

* Anabaptists and Puritans.

instead of sacred verity; and no man can deny but the church of Rome hath so taught, and standeth not in her first estate; but, if it were in the primitive church, perfectly and fully established, then hath it received many traditions since, which our Elizabeth, nor any of her faithful subjects would obey, being no way by God's word thereunto warranted; besides, there are apparent proofs that the church of Rome hath many hundred years persecuted with great cruelty; which is no badge of the true apostolical church.

For the other sort, it is well known, they are, for the most part, ignorant and mechanick people, led by some few hot-spirited fellows, that would fain have all alike. These tying themselves to a more strait course outwardly than other men, and though they be utterly objected to the Romanists, yet have they more he saints and she saints, among them than are in the Romish calendar; where none, or at least but very few, are called saints, but holy virgins, martyrs, and confessors; but all the brethren and sisters of the other side are, at the first receiving into their communion, fainted, if it be but Kit Cobler, and Kate his wife; and both he and she presume they have as sufficient spirits to teach and expound the scriptures, as either Peter or John, or Paul, for so bluntly they term the blessed apostles; but their vanity and pride our Elizabeth hated, and therefore bridled their ways, and was not moved with hypocritical fasts; because *they fasted to strife and debate*, as it is written by the prophet Esaiah, lviii. and *to smite with the fist of wickedness*.

Her highness, therefore, taught all her people the undoubted truth; that faith in Christ alone, the way, the door, and the life; not turning either to the right hand, or to the left; and in this, being the best mean, her temperance chiefly appeared; this rule she taught her kingdom, her family, herself; at least caused them to be taught by excellent pastors, to whom humbly she gave publick ear.

As in this, so for apparel, manners, and diet, she made laws, and gave example in her own person; to curb the vanity of pride in garments, by express statutes, appointed all men and women to be apparelled in their degree and calling. To repress the excess of drinking and hated sin of drunkenness, she hath commanded no drink in her land to be brewed above an easy price; and to avoid gormandising, she hath yearly commanded the Lent and fasting-days to be kept, as in times before, not for superstition's sake, but common policy, to have God's creatures received indifferently; and also to increase mariners for the strength of the isle, whose numbers, while fish is contemned, by neglect of fishing, mightily decay; fishers, being indeed, pretty trained mariners, by reason that they have experience in most of the havens, creeks, shoals, flats, and other profits and dangers near the places they used. But what should I say, if they, that will only make the scripture their cloke, and yet respect not this part? Obey the magistrate for conscience; their sin fall upon themselves. I trust the prince is excusable,

that would his subjects would do well; and so I am certain was her excellence.

True, said Thenot, but, for all her laws, these courses were little set by; I have seen upstarts jet it gayer than lords, numbers drink till they have seemed dead, and multitudes eat flesh even upon Good-Friday. What remedy? said Collin; they that will break the king's law, make little account of God's; such subjects are like false executors, they perform not the legacies of the dead; her highness was not the worse, for that good laws were violated; they that dealt so with her, dealt worse with God; offending him double, by breaking his laws and her's. But in her own household and person she observed all these rules; and, though many abroad by corruption were winked at, yet sometimes there were some taken and paid home.

But her excelling self, though her table was the abundantliest furnished of any princes in the world with all variety; yet fed she ofteneft of one dish, and that not of the daintiest. For quaffing, as it was unfitting her sex, so she extremely abhorred it, hating superfluity as hell; and so far was she from all niceness, that I have heard it credibly reported, and know it by many instances to be true, that she never could abide to gaze in a mirror, or looking-glass; no not to behold one, while her head was tyred and adorned; but simply trusted to her attendant ladies for the comeliness of her attire; and that this is true, Thenot, I am the rather persuaded, for that, when I was young, almost thirty years ago, courting it now and then, I have seen the ladies make great shift to hide away their looking-glasses, if her majesty had passed by their lodgings.

O humble lady, how meek a spirit hadst thou? How far from affecting beauty, or vain pride; when thou desiredst not to see that face, which all thy subjects longed daily to behold, and sundry princes came from far to wonder at.

As in all these things she kept truly the mien, so likewise in her gifts; as I first noted, touching her charity; which was still so tempered, notwithstanding her great charge, in aiding her distressed neighbours, that she was ever truly liberal, and no way prodigal; as I trust his royal majesty shall by the treasure find.

As she was adorned with all these virtues, so was she indued with fortitude and princely courage, so plentifully, that her displeasure shook even her stoutest adversaries; and those unnatural traitors, that came armed sundry times, with bloody resolution to lay violent hands on her sacred majesty, her very looks would daunt, and their instruments, prepared for her death, dropped from their trembling hands, with terror of their consciences, and amazement to behold her countenance; nay, when she knew they came of purpose to kill her, she hath singled divers of them alone, and let some pass from her with mild caveats afar off; whose lenity rather increasing than diminishing their malice, they have followed destruction, which too timely overtook them.

I could

I could, in this place, name many particular men, as Parry, and others; but I will content you with one private example overpassing the general: fortitude she shewed in her youth, in her captivity, and in her glory, at all times; for defence of her faith, and all oppressed true professors thereof; ending with this example of her high courage and assured confidence in God. When Appletree, whom I remembered before, had hurt her waterman, being next to her in the barge; the French ambassador being amazed, and all crying, *treason, treason*; yet she, with an undaunted spirit, came to the open place of the barge, and bid them never fear, for, if the shot were made at her, they durst not shoot again; such majesty had her presence, and such boldness her heart, that she despised all fear, and was, as all princes are, or should be, so full of divine fulness, that guilty mortality durst not behold her, but with dazzled eyes.

But I wonder, faith Thenot, she in so many years built no goodly edifice, wherein her memory might live.

So did she, answered Collin, the goodliest building* in the earth, such as like floating isles commanded the seas, whose outward walls are dreadful engines of brass, sending fearful thunder amongst enemies. And the inhabitants of those wooden isles are worthy seamen, such as dread no danger, but, for her, would have run even into destruction's mouth. I tell thee, Thenot, I have seen in a fight, some, like nimble spirits, hanging in the air by little cords; some lading ordnance with deathful powder; some charging muskets, and discharging ruin on their enemies; some at the foreship, other busy at the helm, skipping here and there like roes in lightness, and lions in courage; that it would have poured spirit into a sick man to see their resolutions. For such tenants made she many buildings, exceeding any emperor's navy in the earth, whose service, I doubt not, will be acceptable to her most worthy successor, our dread sovereign lord the king.

Other palaces she had great store of, which she maintained and yearly repaired, at least would have done, if those, that had care of her surveying, would have been as careful for her's as for their own.

What should I say of her? The cloudy mantle of the night covers the beauty of the heaven; and this evening looks like those four days that preceded the morning of her death. The beasts, the night that she ended her fate in earth, kept an unwonted bellowing, so that I assure thee, Thenot, being assured of her sickness, I was troubled, being awakened with their cries, with imagination of her death, that I pitied not my bleating flocks, who, with their innocent notes, kept time with my true tears, till the hour of her death was past, when immediately a heavy sleep shut up the win-

dows of mine eyes; at which time, as I have since heard, death's eternal sleep utterly benumbed all her senses, whose soul, I doubt not, hath already entered endless rest, whither God will draw her glorified body in his great day. Sweet virgin, she was born on the eve of that blessed Virgin's nativity, holy Mary, Christ's mother; she died on the eve of the annunciation of the same most holy Virgin; a blessed note of her endless blessedness, and her society in heaven with those wise virgins, that kept oil ever in their lamps, to await the bridegroom. She came unto the crown after her royal sister's death, like a fresh spring even in the beginning of winter, and brought us comfort, as the clear sun doth to storm-dressed mariners; she left the crown likewise in the winter of her age, and the beginning of our spring; as if the ruler of heaven had ordained her coronation in our sharpest winter, to bring us happiness, and uncrowned her in our happiest spring, to leave us in more felicity by her successor. O happy beginning, and more happy end; which, notwithstanding, as natural sons and subjects, let her not go unwept for to her grave. This evening let us be like the evening, that drops dewy tears on the earth; and, while our hinds shut up the sheep in their folds, sing a funeral song for the loss of divine Elisabeth; invoking absent scholars to bewail her, whom, in sundry schools, she cherished, and personally, in either of their universities, visited; let us bid soldiers lament her, towards whom, besides many apparent signs of her exceeding love, this is one most worthy memory: she came amongst them mounted at Tilbury, being gathered into a royal army against the Spanish invasion; promising to share with them in all fortunes, if the enemy durst but shew his face on land. Let citizens likewise shed tears for her loss, especially those of London, to whom she was ever a kind sovereign, and bountiful neighbour.

I need not bid the courtiers weep, for they can never forget the countenance of their gracious mistress, till they have engraven in their hearts the favour of their most royal master. For, as poor shepherds, though we are not able to suit ourselves in blacks fine enough to adorn so royal an interment; yet, Thenot, quicken thy invention, Dryope and Chloris shall bear part; and let us conclude our sorrow for Eliza in a funeral hymn, that shall have power to draw from the swelling clouds waters to assist our woe. The springs, taught by the tears that break from our eyes, already overflow their bounds: the birds sit mute to hear our musick, and our harmless flock hearken to our moans.

To this they all, as gladly as their grief would suffer them, consented. Collin for his broken pipe took Cuddyes, who could neither sing nor play, he was so full of passion and sighs.

* A fine fleet of ships.

The funeral Song between Collin and Thenot, Dryope and Chloris, upon the Death of the sacred Virgin Elizabeth.

Collin.

YE sacred muses dwelling,
Where art is ever swelling;
Your learned fount forsake,
Help funeral songs to make;
Hang them upon her hearse,
That ever loved verse.
Clio write down her story,
That was the muses glory.

Dryope.

And, ye soft-footed hours,
Make ready cypress bowers;
Instead of roses sweet,
(For pleasant Spring-time meet)
Strew all the paths with yew,
Night-shade and bitter rue.
Bid Flora hide her treasure;
Say, 'tis no time of pleasure.

Thenot.

And, you divinest graces,
Veil all your sacred faces,
With your bright shining hair,
Shew every sign of care:
The heart, that was your fane,
The cruel fates have slain:
From earth no power can raise her,
Only our hymns may praise her.

Chloris.

Muses, and hours, and graces,
Let all the hallow'd places,
Which the clear moon did view,
Look like a fable hue:
Let not the sun be seen,
But weeping for the queen,
That grace and muse did cherish;
O that such worth should perish!

Collin.

So turn our verse, and on this lofty pine
Each one engrave for her some funeral line:
Thus I begin.

Collin's Epitaph.

Elisa, maiden mirror of this age,
Earth's true Astræa, while she liv'd and reign'd,
Is thrown by death from her triumphant stage;
But by that fall hath endless glory gain'd;
And foolish death would fain, if he could weep,
For killing her, he had no power to keep.

Thenot's Epitaph.

Elisa, rich and royal, fair and just,
Gives heaven her soul, and leaves her flesh to dust.

Dryope's Epitaph.

There is no beauty but it fades,
No glory, but is veil'd with shades:
So is Elisa, queen of maids
Stoop'd to her fate.
Yet death, in this, hath little thriv'd,
For thus her virtues have achiev'd,
She shall, by verse, live still reviv'd,
In spight of hate.

Chloris's Epitaph.

Elisa, that astonished her foes,
Stoop'd her rebellious subjects at her feet;
Whose mind was **still the same* in joy, in woes;
Whose frown was fearful, and her favours sweet:
Sway'd all this land, but most herself she sway'd,
Liv'd a chaste queen, and dy'd a royal maid.

These epitaphs ended, the nymphs and shepherds
led by Collin and Thenot, who before plaid heavy
tunes on their oaten pipes, got to their several cottages,
and spent their time till midnight, mourning for Elisa:
but sleep, the equaler of kings and captives, banished
their sorrows. What humour they are in after rest,
you shall in the morning hear; for commonly, as the
day is, so are our affections disposed.

* Her royal word or motto was, *semper eadem*.

The Order and Proceeding at the Funeral of the Right, High, and Mighty Princess Elizabeth, Queen of England, France, and Ireland, from the Palace of Westminster, called Whitehall, to the Cathedral Church of Westminster, the 28th of April, 1603.

FIRST, the night marshal's man to make way.
Next, the two hundred and forty poor women,
by four and four.
Then, servants of gentlemen, esquires, and knights.

Two porters.

Next, four trumpets.

After them

Rose, purfuant at arms.

Two serjeants at arms.

The standard of the dragon.

Two equeries leading a horse.

Then the messengers of the chamber, four by four.

Children of the almonry.

Children of the wood-yard.

Children of the scullery.

Children and furners of the pastry.

The scalding-house.

The larder.

After them

Grooms.

Wheat-porters.

Coopers.

Wine-porters.

Conducts in the bake-house.

Bell-ringer.

Maker of spice-bags.

Cart-takers, chosen by the board.

Long-carts.

Cart-takers.

Of the almonry.

Of the stable.

Of the wood-yard.

Scullery.

Pastry.

Scalding-house.

Poultry.

Catery.

Boiling-house.

Larder.

Kitchen.

Laundry.

Ewry.

Confectionary.

Wafery.

Chaundry.

Pitcher-house.

Buttery.

Cellar.

Pantry.

Bake-house.

Compting-house.

Then noblemen's and ambassador's servants.

Grooms of the chamber.

Four trumpets.

Bluemantle.

A serjeant at arms.

The standard of the Greyhound.

Two equeries leading a horse.

Yeomen of the servitors in the hall, four and four.

Cart-takers.

Porters.

Almonry.

Harbingers.

Wood-yard.

Scullery.

Pastry.

Poultry and scalding-house.

Purveyors of the poultry.

Purveyors of the acatry.

Stable.

Boiling-house.

Larder.

Kitchen.

Ewry.

Confectionary.

Wafery.

Purveyor of the wax.

Tallow-chandlers.

Chaundry.

Pitcher-house.

Brewers.

Buttery.

Purveyors.

Cellar.

Pantry.

Garneter.

Bake-house.

Compting-house.

Spicery.

Chamber.

Robes.

Wardrobe.

Earls and countesses servants.

Four trumpets.

Portcullis.

A serjeant at arms.

The standard of the lion.

Two equeries leading a horse trapped with velvet.

Serjeant of the vestry.

Children of the chapel in surplices.

Gentlemen of the chapel in copes.

E c 2

Clerks.

Clerks.

Deputy Clerk of the Market.
 Clerks extraordinary.
 Cofferer.
 Diet.
 Master Cook for the Household.
 Pastry.
 Larder.
 Scullery.
 Wood-yard.
 Poultry.
 Bake-house.
 Acatry.
 Stable.

Serjeants.

Gentleman Harbinger.
 Wood-yard.
 Scullery.
 Pastry.
 Catery.
 Larder.
 Ewry.
 Cellar.
 Pantry.
 Bake-house.

Master Cook of the Kitchen.

Clerks of the Equery.

Second and third Clerk of the Chaundry.

Second and third Clerk of the Kitchen.

Supervisors of the Dresser.

Surveyor of the Dresser for the Chamber.

Musicians.

Apothecaries and Surgeons.

Sewers of the Hall.

Marshal of the Hall.

Sewers of the Chamber.

Groom-Porter.

Gentlemen-Ushers and Waiters.

Clerk, Marshal, and Avenor.

Chief Clerk of the Wardrobe.

Chief Clerk of the Kitchen.

Two Clerks Comptrollers.

Clerk of the Green-cloth.

Master of the Household.

Coffier.

Rouge Dragon.

A Serjeant at Arms.

The Banner of Chester.

Clerks of the Council, four and four.

Clerks of the Privy Seal.

Clerks of the Signet.

Clerks of the Parliament.

Doctors of Physick.

The Queen's Chaplains.

Secretaries for the Latin and French Tongues.

Rouge Crofs.

Two Serjeants of Arms.

The Banner of Cornwall.

Aldermen of London.

Sollicitor, Attorney, and Serjeant.

Master of the Revels, and Master of the Tents.

Knights Batchelors.

Lord Chief Baron, and Lord Chief Justice of the Common-Pleas.

Master of the Jewel-house.

Knights Ambassadors, and Gentlemen-Agents.

Sewers for the Queen.

Sewers for the Body.

Esquires of the Body.

Lancaster and Windsor.

The Banner of Wales.

The Banner of Ireland.

Master of the Requests.

Agents for Venice and the States.

Lord Mayor of London.

Sir John Popham, Sir John Fortescue.

Sir Robert Cecill, principal Secretary.

Comptroller and Treasurer of the Household.

Barons.

Bishops.

Earls eldest Sons.

Viscounts.

Dukes second Sons.

Earls.

Marquisses.

Bishop Almoner, Preacher.

Lord-Keeper.

The French Ambassador.

Archbishop of Canterbury.

Four Serjeants of Arms.

The great embroidered Banner of England.

Somerfet and Richmond.

York, Helmet and Crest.

Chester, Target.

Norroy King at Arms, Sword.

Clarenceux King at Arms, Coat.

After them the Gentlemen-Ushers with white Rods.
 The lively Picture of her Highness's whole Body,
 crowned, and in her Parliament Robes, lying on
 the corpse, embalmed and leaded, borne in a Cha-
 riot, drawn by four horses trapped in black velvet.
 About it, six Banner-Rolls on each side: Gentlemen-
 Pensioners, with their Axes downwards.

With them the Footmen.

A Canopy borne over the Chariot by four Noblemen.

The Earl of Worcester, Master of the Horse, leading
 the Palfry of Honour.

Two Esquires and a Groom, to attend and lead him
 away.

Gentleman-Usher, Garter King at Arms.

Lady

Lady Marchioness of Northampton, assisted by the
Lord-Treasurer and Lord-Admiral.
Chief Mourner, her train supported by Mr. Vice-
Chamberlain.
Two Earls, Assistants to her.
Fourteen Countesses, Assistants.
Gentlewomen of the Privy-chamber.

Countesses.
Viscountesses.
Earls Daughters.
Baronesses.
Maids of honour of the Privy-chamber.
Captain of the Guard, with all the Guard following,
five and five in a rank, their Halberds downward.

*The Shepherd's Spring Song, in gratulation of the royal, happy, and flourishing entrance, to the
majesty of England, by the most potent and prudent sovereign, James, King of England,
Scotland, France, and Ireland.*

C O L L I N.

THenot and Chloris, red-lipp'd Dryope,
Shepherds, nymphs, swains, all that delight in field,
Living by harmless thrift your fat herds yield,
Why slack ye now your loved company?
Up, sluggards, learn, the lark doth mounted sing,
His chearful carols, to salute our king.
The manis, black-bird, and the little wren,
The nightingale upon the haw-thorn brier,
And all the wing'd musicians in a quire,
Do with their notes rebuke dull lazy men.
Up, shepherds, up, your sloth breeds all your
shames,
You sleep like beasts, while birds salute King James.
The grey-ey'd morning with a blust'ring cheek,
Like England's royal rose, mixt red and white,
Summons all eyes to pleasure and delight,
Behold the evening's dew do upwards reek,
Drawn by the sun, which now doth gild the sky,
With his light-giving and world-cheering eye.
O that's well done; I see your cause of stay,
Was to adorn your temples with fresh flowers:
And gather beauty to bedeck your bowers,
That they may seem the cabinets of May:
Honour this time, sweetest of all sweet springs,
That so much good, so many pleasures brings.
For now alone the livery of the earth
Gives not life, comfort to your bleating lambs,
Nor fills the strutting udders of their dams,
It yields another cause of gleesome mirth,
This ground wears all her best embroidery,
To entertain her sovereign's majesty.
And well she may, for never English ground
Bore such a sovereign as this royal lord:
Look upon all antiquities record,
In no inrollment such a king is found.
Begin with Brute (if that of Brute be true)
As I'll not doubt, but give old bards their due.
He was a prince unsettled, fought a shore
To rest his long-toss'd Trojan scatter'd race:
And (as 'tis said) found here a resting-place:
Grant this: but yield, he did false gods adore.
The nations were not call'd to Christ that time,
Black Pagan clouds darken'd this goodly clime.

So, when dissension brought the Romans in,
No Cæsar, till the godly Constantine,
(Descended truly from the British line)
Purged this isle's air from idol-hated sin;
Yet he in care of Rome left deputies.
Our James maintains (himself) his dignities.
The Saxon, and the Dane, scourg'd with sharp
steel,
(So did the Norman duke) this beauteous land,
Invading lords reign with an iron hand:
A gentler ruling in this change we feel,
Our lion comes as meekly as a dove,
Not conqu'ring us by hurt, but hearty love.
Even as a calm to tempest-tossed men,
As bread to the faint soul with famine vex'd;
As a cool spring to those with heat perplex'd,
As the sun's light into a fearful den,
So comes our king: even in a time of need,
To save, to shine, to comfort, and to feed.
O shepherds, sing his welcome with sweet notes,
Nymphs, strew his way with roses red and white,
Provide all pastimes that may sense delight,
Offer the fleeces of your flocks white coats:
He, that now spares, doth in that saving spill;
Where worth is little, virtue likes good-will.
Now from the Orcades to the Cornish isles,
From thence to Cambria, and the Hiberian shore,
The sound of civil war is heard no more;
Each countenance is garnished with smiles,
All in one hymn, with sweet contentment, sing
The praise and power of James their only king.
Our only king, one isle, one sovereign;
O long-desired and perfected good!
By him the heat of wrath, and boiling blood,
Is mildly quench'd; and envy counted vain.
One king, one people, blessed unity,
That ties such mighty nations to agree.
Shepherds, I'll not be tedious in my song;
For that I see you bent to active sport;
Though I persuade me all time is too short,
To welcome him, whom we have wish'd for long.
Well done, dance on; look how our little lambs
Skip as you spring, about their fleecy dams.

Thus

Thus were ye wont to trip about the green,
 And dance in ringlets, like to fairy elves,
 Striving in cunning to exceed yourselves,
 In honour of your late fall'n summer queen:
 But now exceed; this May excels all springs,
 Which king and queen, and prince and princess,
 brings.
 Shout joyfully, ye nymphs, and rural swains,
 Your master Pan will now protect your folds,
 Your cottages will be as safe as holds,
 Fear neither wolves, nor subtle foxes trains,
 A royal king will of your weal take keep,
 He'll be your shepherd, you shall be his sheep.

He comes in pomp; so should a king appear,
 God's deputy should set the world at gaze;
 Yet his mild looks drive us from all amaze.
 Clap hands for joy, our sovereign draweth near,
 Sing *Io, Io* shepherds, dance and sing,
 Express all joy, in welcoming our king.
 The air, the season, and the earth accord
 In pleasure, order, both for sight and sense:
 All things look fresh to greet his excellence,
 And Collin humbly thus salutes his lord:
 Dread and beloved, live England's happy king,
 While seasons last fresh as the lively spring.

A Declaration of the Demeanour and Carriage of Sir Walter Raleigh, Knight, as well in his voyage, as in and sithence his return; and of the true motives and inducements which occasioned his majesty to proceed in doing justice upon him, as hath been done.

The execution of Sir Walter Raleigh, for a crime of which he had been convicted fourteen years before, and then convicted without legal evidence against him; and which, in the opinion of most, was pardoned by the commission, which made him supreme commander, and invested him with judicial authority, was an act so cruel in itself, so unusual in England, and so plainly intended for the gratification of the Spanish court, that it filled the whole nation with murmurs and discontent, and obliged the king to give his subjects an account, to which he appears not to think them intitled, of the reasons of his conduct.

This account, whoever was the author, is very artfully and elegantly drawn up, nor can it be denied, that the whole behaviour of Raleigh, in his last attempt, appears sufficiently deceitful. Many circumstances are collected to prove that the mine was a mere fiction, and that his original and only design was to plunder the Spanish settlements, which was undoubtedly a violation of his commission, and of natural justice, since the English and Spaniards were then at peace.

There is likewise a recital of the stratagems which he used to facilitate his escape, which, if these had succeeded, would have afforded a very agreeable amusement; but the reflexion, that they were defeated by treachery, puts an end to all pleasing thoughts, and it is not without a very melancholy kind of commiseration, that any man can behold the great Raleigh reduced to such little artifices, applauding these stratagems which his agent has discovered, and making sport for his enemies by those practices, by which he imagines himself deceiving them, more than once on the verge of liberty, and then hurried to prison and to death.

It is observed by the author of King James's character that he naturally hated a man of valour, and it is probable that his own cowardice rather than his resentment of Raleigh's conduct, however unjustifiable, prompted the fatal sentence, for which he gives one reason very remarkable, that Raleigh attempted to escape, and declined his justice, that he was not willing to lie in prison fourteen years longer without a crime.

What were the real views of Raleigh in his pretended quest of the golden mine, it is not easy to determine; the answer which is most obvious, that he hoped to find an opportunity of escaping, is by

by no means satisfactory, because he made no use of the opportunities that were offered him, but returned to England, when he might undoubtedly have landed in another country, where his reputation would have secured him from being given up to a prince, who had so little influence among his neighbours. That he did not rather go to another country than his own, has been much wondered at, and sometimes censured; but it appears from Howel's Letters, that several of his friends were bound for his return. The question then recurs, if he thought himself obliged to return, Why did he set out? Perhaps he might propose the enterprise before that condition was required, and could not then recede from his own scheme, without betraying his design. The exact dates of all the occurrences would contribute very much to solve the difficulties that arise on every supposition.

*Many more questions might be started, as, Why, when he was at large, he could not escape, without such an undertaking? Why he projected a design that must necessarily end in his disgrace? And by what necessity he was reduced to trust Manoury, whom he knew but little? But these, and many others, it is perhaps now impossible to answer, and therefore superfluous to mention. — J.**

ALTHOUGH kings be not bound to give account of their actions to any but God alone; yet such are his majesty's proceedings, as he hath always been willing to bring them before sun and moon, and carefully to satisfy all his good people with his intentions and courses, giving as well to future times, as to the present, true and undisguised declarations of them; as judging, that, for actions not well founded, it is advantage to let them pass in uncertain reports; but for actions, that are built upon sure and solid grounds, such as his majesty's are, it belongeth to them, to be published by open manifests: especially his majesty is willing, to declare and manifest to the world his proceedings, in a case of such a nature, as this which followeth is; since it not only concerns his own people, but also a foreign prince and state abroad.

Accordingly, therefore, for that which concerneth Sir Walter late executed for treason, leaving the thoughts of his heart, and the protestations that he made at his death to God that is the searcher of all hearts, and judge of all truth, his majesty hath thought fit to manifest unto the world, how things appeared unto himself, and upon what proofs and evident matter, and the examination of the commanders that were employed with him, in the voyage (and namely of those which Sir Walter Raleigh himself, by his own letter to Secretary Winwood, had commended for persons of worth and credit, and as most fit for greater employments) his majesty's proceedings have been grounded: whereby it will evidently appear how agreeable they have been in all points to honour and justice.

Sir Walter Raleigh having been condemned of high-treason, at his majesty's entrance into this kingdom, and for the space of fourteen years, by his majesty's princely clemency and mercy, not only spared from his execution, but permitted to live, as in *libera custodia* in the Tower, and to enjoy his lands and living, till all was by law evicted from him upon another ground,

and not by forfeiture; (which notwithstanding, his majesty out of his abundant grace gave him a competent satisfaction for the same) at length he fell upon an enterprise of a golden mine in Guiana.

This proposition of his was presented and recommended to his majesty by Sir Ralph Winwood, then secretary of state, as a matter not in the air, or speculative, but real and of certainty; for that Sir Walter Raleigh had seen of the ore of the mine with his eyes, and tried the richness of it. It is true that his majesty, in his own princely judgment, gave no belief unto it; as well, for that his majesty was verily persuaded, that in nature there are no such mines of gold intire, as they described this to be; and, if any such had been, it was not probable that the Spaniards, who were so industrious in the chase of treasure, would have neglected it so long; as also, for that it proceeded from the person of Sir Walter Raleigh, invested with such circumstances both of his disposition and fortune. But, nevertheless, Sir Walter Raleigh had so enchanted the world, with his confident affirmation of that which every man was willing to believe, as his majesty's honour was, in a manner, engaged, not to deny unto his people the adventure and hope of so great riches, to be fought and achieved, at the charge of volunteers; especially for that it stood with his majesty's politick and magnanimous courses, in these his flourishing times of peace, to nourish and encourage noble and generous enterprises, for plantations, discoveries, and opening of new trades.

Hereupon the late Spanish ambassador, the count de Gondamore, took great alarm, and represented unto his majesty by loud and vehement assertions, upon iterated audiences, that he knew and had discovered the intention and enterprise of Sir Walter Raleigh to be but hostile and piratical, and tending to the breach of the peace between the two crowns, and danger and destruction of the king his master's subjects in those parts; protesting, in a sort, against the same. To which his majesty's answer always was, that he would send Sir Walter Raleigh with a limited commission, and

and that he durst not, upon peril of his head, attempt any such matter; and, if he did, he would surely do justice upon him, or send him bound hand and foot into Spain, and all the gold and goods he should obtain by robbery, and bring home, were they never so great. And, for further caution, his majesty enjoined Secretary Winwood, to urge Sir Walter Raleigh upon his conscience and allegiance to his majesty, to deal plainly, and express himself, whether he had any other intention, but only to go to those golden mines in Guiana; which he not only solemnly protested unto the said Sir Ralph Winwood, but by him writ a close letter to his majesty, containing a solemn profession thereof, confirmed with many vehement asseverations, and that he never meant or would commit any outrages or spoils upon the king of Spain's subjects. But, notwithstanding his majesty acquainted the Spanish ambassador with this his protestation, yet the said ambassador would never recede from his former jealousy, and importuning his majesty to stay his voyage, alledging that the great number of ships that Sir Walter Raleigh had prepared for that voyage, shewed manifestly, that he had no such peaceable intent; and offering, upon Sir Walter Raleigh's answer thereunto, that those ships were only provided for his safe convoy, that, if Sir Walter Raleigh would go with one or two ships only to seek the said mine, that he would move the king of Spain to send two or three ships with him back again, for his safe convoy hither with all his gold; and the said ambassador's person to remain here in pledge for the king his master's performance thereof. But such were the constant fair offers of the said Sir Walter Raleigh, and specious promises, as his majesty in the end rejected the importunate suit of the said Spanish ambassador for his stay, and resolved to let him go; but therewithal took order, both that he, and all those that went in his company, should find good security, to behave themselves peaceably towards all his majesty's friends and allies, and to observe strictly all the articles of the commission, which his majesty, for that cause, had the greater care to have it well and clearly penned and set down. And, that his majesty's honest intention may herein the better appear, the words of the commission are here inserted, as followeth:

‘ JAMES, by the grace of God, &c. To all to whom these presents shall come, to be read, heard, or seen, and to every of them greeting.

‘ Whereas Sir Walter Raleigh, knight, intendeth to undertake a voyage by sea and shipping, unto the south parts of America, or elsewhere within America, possessed and inhabited by heathen and savage people, to the end to discover and find out some commodities and merchandises in those countries, that be necessary and profitable for the subjects of these our kingdoms and dominions, whereof the inhabitants there make little or no use or estimation; whereupon also may ensue, by trade and commerce, some propagation of the Christian faith and reformed

‘ religion amongst those savage and idolatrous people. And whereas we are credibly informed, that there are divers merchants and owners of ships, and others, well disposed to assist the said Sir Walter Raleigh in this his enterprise, had they sufficient assurance to enjoy their due parts of the profits returned, in respect of the peril of law wherein the said Sir Walter Raleigh now standeth. And, whereas, also, we are informed, that divers other gentlemen, the kinsmen and friends of the said Sir Walter Raleigh, and divers captains and other commanders are also desirous to follow him, and to adventure their lives with him, in this his journey, so as they might be commanded by no other than himself.

‘ Know ye, that we, upon deliberate consideration had of the premisses, being desirous by all ways and means to work and procure the benefit and good of our loving subjects, and to give our princely furtherance to the said Walter Raleigh, his friends and associates herein, to the encouragement of others in the like laudable journies and enterprises, to be hereafter prosecuted and pursued; and especially in advancement and furtherance, as well of the conversion of savage people, as of the increase of the trade, traffick, and merchandises used by our subjects of this our kingdom, being most famous throughout all nations: of our special grace, certain knowledge, and mere motion, have given and granted, and by these presents, for us, our heirs, and successors, do give and grant unto the said Sir Walter Raleigh full power and authority, and free license and liberty, out of this our realm of England, or any other our dominions, to have, carry, take, and lead, for and towards his said intended voyage into the said south parts, or other parts of America, possessed and inhabited as aforesaid, and to travel thither, all such, and so many of our loving subjects, or any others, strangers, that will become our loving subjects, and live under our obedience and allegiance, as shall willingly accompany him, with sufficient shipping, armour, weapons, ordnance, ammunition, powder, shot, habiliments, victuals, and such wares and merchandises, as are esteemed by the wild people in those parts, clothing, implements, furniture, cattle, horses, and mares, and all other such things as he shall think most necessary for his voyage, and for the use and defence of him and his company, and trade with the people there; and in passing and returning to and fro, and in those parts, to give away, sell, barter, exchange, or otherwise dispose of the same goods, merchandises, and premisses to the most benefit, and at the will and pleasure of the said Sir Walter Raleigh and his company, and such other person, or persons, as shall be adventurers or assistants with, or unto him in this his intended voyage, and from thence to return, import, convey, and bring into this our kingdom, or any other our dominions, such gold, silver, bullion, or any other wares, or merchandises, or commodities whatsoever, as they shall think most fit and convenient

venient; and the same being so returned, imported, conveyed, and brought into this our kingdom, or any other our dominions, to have, take, keep, retain, and convert to the only proper use, benefit, and behoof of the said Sir W. Raleigh, and his said company, and other persons, adventurers and assistants with or to him in this voyage, without the lett interruption, molestation, and disturbance of us, our heirs or successors whatsoever, paying and answering unto us, our heirs and successors, the full fifth part in five parts to be divided, of all such gold, and silver, and bullion, and ore of gold or silver, and pearl, and precious stone, as shall be so imported, over and besides, and together with such customs, subsidies, and other duties, as shall be due for, or in respect of any other goods, wares, or merchandises whatsoever, to be imported by the true meaning of these presents. And to the end the said Sir Walter Raleigh may be the more encouraged to go forward in this his enterprise, and all our loving subjects desirous to be adventurers with him, or assistant unto him, may be the more incited to further his proceedings: we do hereby, *in verbo Regis*, for us, our heirs and successors, covenant, promise, and grant, to and with the said Sir Walter Raleigh, and all other persons that shall accompany him, or to be attendant upon him, or to be adventurers, or assistants, with or to him in this his voyage, that no gold, silver, goods, wares, or merchandises whatsoever, of what kind or sort soever, by him, or them, or any of them, to be imported into this our kingdom of England, or any other our dominions, from any the said south or other parts of America, possessed or inhabited as aforesaid, shall be attached, seized, or taken by us, our heirs or successors, or to the use of us, our heirs or successors, or by any the officers or ministers of us, our heirs or successors whatsoever; but that the same, and every of them (the fifth part of the said gold, silver, or bullion, and ore of gold, and silver, and pearl, and precious stone, and other the customs and duties aforesaid, being duly answered and paid) shall be, and remain to the sole proper use and behoof of the said Sir Walter Raleigh, and his said company, and such persons as shall be adventurers with him, or assistant to him in this his voyage, any law, statute, or act of parliament, proclamation, provision, or restraint, or any right, title, or claim of us, our heirs or successors, or any other matter or thing whatsoever to the contrary, in any wise notwithstanding. And further, of our more especial grace, certain knowledge, and mere motion, we do hereby for us, our heirs and successors, ordain, constitute, and appoint the said Sir Walter Raleigh, to be the sole governor and commander of all persons that shall travel, or be with him in the said voyage, to the said south, or other parts of America, so possessed and inhabited as aforesaid, or in returning from thence. And we do hereby give unto him full power and authority to correct, punish, pardon, go-

vern, and rule them, or any of them, according to such orders, ordinances, constitutions, directions, and instructions, as by the said Sir Walter Raleigh shall be from time to time established, as well in cases capital and criminal, as civil, both marine and other; so always as the said statutes, ordinances, and proceedings, as near as conveniently may be, be agreeable to the laws, statutes, government and policy of this our realm of England, and not against the true Christian faith now professed in the church of England. And because that, in such and the like enterprises and voyages, great inconveniences have grown by the mutinous and disorderly carriage of the mariners and sailors employed in the same, for want of sufficient authority to punish them according to their offences: we do therefore by these presents, for us, our heirs and successors, give full power and authority to the said Sir Walter Raleigh, in case of rebellion, or mutiny by sea or land, to use and exercise martial law (upon just ground and apparent necessity) in as large and ample manner as our lieutenant-general by sea or land, or lieutenants in our counties, within our realm of England, have, had, or ought to have by force of their commission of lieutenancy. And we do further, by these presents, give full power and authority to the said Sir Walter Raleigh, to collect, nominate, and appoint such captains, and other inferior commanders and ministers under him, as shall be requisite for the better ordering and governing of his company, and the good of the voyage. And further, we do by these presents, for us, our heirs and successors, straightly charge and command the warden of our Cinque-ports, and all the customers, comptrollers, surveyors, searchers, waiters, and other officers and ministers of us, our heirs and successors, for the time being, that they, and every of them, do quietly permit and suffer the said Sir Walter Raleigh, and all person and persons that shall be willing to travel and adventure with him in this voyage with their ships, ammunition, goods, wares, and merchandises whatsoever out of this our realm, or any other our dominions, to pass into the said south, or other parts of America, possessed and inhabited as aforesaid, and from thence to return and import into this our realm, or any other our dominions, any goods, wares, or merchandises whatsoever, and there to sell, or otherwise to dispose of the same, to the best benefit and advantage, and to the only use and behoof of the said Sir Walter Raleigh, and his company, and such other persons as shall be adventurers with him in this voyage, paying the fifth part of all gold and silver, bullion, and ore of gold and silver, and of pearl and precious stone imported, and other the customs and duties aforesaid. And these presents, or the inrollment thereof, shall be unto the said warden of the Cinque-ports, customers, comptrollers, and other the officers and ministers aforesaid, for the time being, a sufficient warrant and discharge in that behalf. And our will and pleasure is, and by these presents,

‘for us, our heirs and successors, we do grant unto the
 ‘said Sir Walter Raleigh, that these our letters-pa-
 ‘tents, or the inrollment thereof, and all and singular
 ‘grants, clauses, and things therein contained, shall
 ‘be firm, strong, sufficient, and effectual in law, ac-
 ‘cording to our gracious pleasure, and meaning here-
 ‘in expressed; any law, statute, act, provision, ordi-
 ‘nance, or restraint, or any other matter or thing to
 ‘the contrary thereof, in any wise notwithstanding.
 ‘Although express mention, &c. In witness where-
 ‘of, &c. Witness ourself, at Westminster, the six
 ‘and twentieth day of August, in the fourteenth year
 ‘of our reign of England, France, and Ireland, and
 ‘of Scotland, the fiftieth.

‘*Per breve de privato Sigillo.*’

THIS commission so drawn and framed, as you see, his majesty himself did oft peruse and revise, as foreseeing the future events; the tenor whereof appeareth to be so far from giving Sir Walter Raleigh warrant, or colour, to invade any of the territories, occupied and possessed by the Spaniards, as it tended to a direction, rather of commerce than spoil even towards the savages themselves. And the better to contain Sir Walter Raleigh, and to hold him upon his good-behaviour, his majesty denied, though much sued unto for the same, to grant him pardon for his former treasons, both to disauthorise him with those that were under his command, in case he should attempt to exceed his commission, and to reserve him to the justice of the law, if, by new offences, he should make himself indigne of former mercies. And as for the good security which his majesty ordered to be taken, for their good and peaceable behaviour in the voyage; his majesty never heard any thing to the contrary but that it was performed till they were upon their parting; and then was it told him, that every one of the principals that were in the voyage, had put in security one for another, which, if his majesty had known in time, he would never have accepted of.

But, howsoever, the commission was penned; and whatsoever the cautions were which his majesty intended or used, and whatsoever the protestations and promises were, that Sir Walter Raleigh made or exhibited, it appeareth plainly, by the whole sequel of his actions, that he went his own way, and had his own ends: first, To secure his liberty, and then to make new fortunes for himself, casting abroad only this tale of the Mine as a lure to get adventurers and followers, having in his eye the Mexico fleet, the sacking and spoil of towns planted with Spaniards, the depredation of ships, and such other purchase; and making account, that, if he returned rich, he would ransom his offences, little looking into the nature and character of his majesty’s justice and government; and, if otherwise, he would seek his fortune by flight, and new enterprises in some foreign country.

In execution therefore of these his designs, Sir Walter Raleigh, carrying the reputation of an active, witty, and valiant gentleman, and especially of a great commander at sea, by the inticement of this golden

bait of the mine, and the estimation of his own name, drew unto him many brave captains, and other knights and gentlemen of great blood and worth, to hazard and adventure their lives, and the whole, or a great part of their estates and fortunes in this his voyage; whose ruins and decays, following, remain as sad and grievous relicks and monuments of his unfortunate journey and unfaithful proceedings.

But, before he went from London, he was not so reserved nor so constant unto his pretence of the mine, but that some sparks broke forth of that light, which afterwards appeared. For he cast forth some words to some particular friends of his company, that he knew a town in those parts, upon which he could make a saving voyage in tobacco, though there were no other spoil. Nevertheless, to make the better faith of that he had given out touching the mine, he promised his company at London, that, when he came to Plymouth, he would take a great company of pioneers out of the west, where the best workmen are of that kind, and he maintained this his pretence so far, as he billeted the said pioneers for several ships; but, when he came into the west, this vanished. For it is testified of all parts, and by himself confessed, that he carried none at all, excusing it, that there were many other tall men of the mariners and common soldiers, that he would have made fall to work; which is a slender excuse of omitting so principal a point. As for pickaxes, mattocks, and shovels for the working of the mine, it is true, he carried some small quantity for a show, but, by the judgment of all that were in his company, nothing near sufficient for that which had been requisite for the working of the mine; which he excused only by saying, that his men never saw them unpacked, and that the mine was not past a foot and a half under ground.

After, when he was once at sea, he did not much labour to nourish and maintain the belief, that he meant to make his voyage upon the profit of the mine, but fell a degree, as if it were sufficient to bring home certainty and visible proofs, that such a mine there was, though he brought not the riches of it. For, soon after his setting forth from Ireland, he professed, that if he brought home but a handful or basketful of ore, to shew the king, he cared for no more, for it was enough to save his credit; and, being charged therewith, he confessed the speech; with this argument and inference, that, if there had been a handful of the mine, it followed there was a mine to be confessed; as if so many ships, so many lives of men, such charge of provisions, and such an honourable commission, had been but for an experiment.

About the same time, likewise, he began to forget his commission, as well as his pretences of the mine; for he did declare himself to divers of his company, that he meant to take St. Thome, and that he would make his voyage good upon that town, for that it was very rich; so as, whereas it was blown abroad, that the assault of St. Thome was enforced by a kind of necessity, for that our troops were first assailed, it appeareth manifestly, both by his speech at London, of

of a town indefinitely, and by this his speech early in his voyage at sea, of St. Thome by name, that it was an original design of his from the beginning; and yet it is confessed by all, that the parts of Guiana, where St. Thome was situate, were planted by Spaniards, who had divers towns in the same tract, with some Indians intermixed, that are their vassals, so as it is plain, both place and persons were out of his commission.

And that this was well known to him, it appears notably in a letter of his own hand, written since his return from his voyage, wherein he complains, that the Spaniards of the same place did murder divers of his men, which came in peace to trade with them some seven years past; neither doth he in that letter any way decline his knowledge, that those parts were inhabited by the Spaniards, but stands upon a former title, which he would needs now have strengthened by a new possession; notwithstanding that this his pretence is no way compatible with his commission, and that himself, before his going, made no overture, or allegation, of any such pretext, nor so much as intimated, or insinuated, any such design or purpose.

Again, before he came to the islands, he made no difficulty to tell many in express terms, that he meant to surprize and set upon the Mexico fleet, though sometimes he would qualify it, by saying: *If all failed, or, If the action of the mine were defeated.*

And Sir Walter Raleigh himself, being charged with these speeches, confessed the words, but saith, that, in time, they were spoken after the action of the mine was defeated; and that it was propounded by him, to the end to keep his men together; and, if he spoke it before, it was but discourse at large.

After, when he began to be upon the approaches of his pretended design of the mine, and was come to Trinidad, he fell sick in some extremity, and in doubt of life, as was thought, at what time he was moved, by some principal persons about him, upon two points, in case he should decease; the one, that he would nominate a general to succeed him; the other, that he would give some direction for prosecution of the action of the mine. To the first he made answer, that his commission could not be set over, and therefore left them to agree of that among themselves; but, for the mine, he professed he could give them no direction, and staid not there, but told them, there was another course which he did particularise unto them to be a French commission, whereby they might do themselves most good upon the Spaniards.

When he was upon recovery, he dispatched the land forces pretended for the mine, and had designed Captain Sentleger to command in that expedition; but, by reason of Sentleger's infirmity at that time, he resorted to his kinsman, Captain George Raleigh, who was his serjeant-major; in whose written commission which he gave him, he was wary enough not to express the taking of St. Thome, but only inserted a clause of commandment: *That they should in all things obey him, as they would do to himself in person*; yet, in private

directions and instructions, he did open himself to divers of his company, that, in case they should not receive some advertisement, that the town was reinforced by new supplies of men, whereby the enterprize might be of too great hazard for their number, they should take the town first, telling them, that the mine was but three miles distant short of the town, and inferring, as Kemish expounded it afterwards, that it was in vain to meddle with the mine, except the town were first taken, and the Spaniards chased; for that otherwise they should but discover it, and work it for the Spaniards; and when he had opened himself thus far, some of his company, of the more intelligent and dutiful sort, did in plain terms turn it upon him, setting before him, that the taking of the town would break the peace, and that they should go against the commission; whereupon, most falsely and scandalously, he doubted not with confidence to affirm, that he had order by word of mouth, from the king and his council, to take the town, if it were any hindrance to the digging of the mine.

But the event did sufficiently expound and manifest the direction; and yet that kind of interpretation little needed, for that young Mr. Raleigh, who was likest to know his father's secret, when he led his soldiers upon the town, used these or the like words: *Come on, my hearts, here is the mine that you must expect; they that look for any other mine are fools*; and with this did well concur that which followed, in the prosecution of the mine after the town was taken; for this mine was not only imaginary but moveable, for that which was directed to be three miles short of St. Thome, was after fought thirty miles beyond St. Thome.

All this while Sir Walter Raleigh staid at Pont de Gallo, for the space of some nine weeks, during which time it was much noted by those that remained with him, that the speech of the mine was dead, whereas men in expectation do commonly feed themselves with the talk of that they long to hear of; nay more, after he had received news of the taking of the town, which had been the fittest time to pursue the enterprize of the mine, in regard the town, that might have been the impediment, was mastered, he never entertained any such design, but contrariwise, having knowledge at the same time that his son was slain, who, as it seems, was his only care amongst the land soldiers, he did move very inhumanly, to remove not a little from Pont de Gallo to Pont-Hercule, in respect of the danger of the current, as he pretended, but to go for the Caribbees many leagues off; accounting, as it seemeth, the land soldiers but as *fruges consumere natos*, and having his thoughts only upon sea forces, which how they should have been employed, every man may judge. And whereas some pretence is made by him, as if he should leave some word at Pont de Gallo of direction, to what place the land soldiers should follow him; it is plain, he knew them at that time so distressed for victuals, as famine must have overtaken them before they could overtake him; at which time one of his captains told him, that he

had delivered out fifty-two men to that service, which were then at the enterprize on land, whose lives he held at a dear rate, and that he would not weigh anchor as long as he had a cable to ride by, or a cake of bread to eat; so Sir Walter Raleigh finding no consent in that which he propounded, that cruel purpose was diverted.

It was also much observed, that, after that unfortunate return of Kemish, notwithstanding Sir Walter Raleigh did publicly give out, that he would question him for failing to prosecute the mine, he had him at dinner and supper, and used him as familiarly and as kindly as before. And to George Raleigh the serjeant-major (to whom he did use the like discountenances in publick, who took it more tenderly, and complained, and brake with him about it) he did open himself more plainly, telling him that he must seem to do as much as he did to give satisfaction.

After all this, when the prosecution of this imaginary mine vanished, and was defeated, and that his company cast a sad eye homewards, finding they were but abused, Sir Walter Raleigh called a council of his captains, and held the same in his cabin, where he propounded to them, that his intention and design was, first, to make to the Newfoundlands, and there to re-victual and refresh his ships; and thence to go to the Western Islands, and there to lie in wait to meet with the Mexico fleet, or to surprize some carracks; and so having gotten treasure, which might make him welcome into any foreign country, to take some new course for his future fortunes, valuing himself as a man of great enterprize and fame abroad; but then, and at divers times, he did directly and openly declare, that it was no coming for England, for that he knew not how things would be construed, and that he, for his part, would never put his head under the king's girdle, except he first saw the great seal for his pardon.

At which time, his cogitations embracing east and west, rather than any return into his country, he did in particular make promise to a principal commander in his company, to give him a ship to go into the East-Indies, if he would accompany him thither. But, according to his first project, he went to Newfoundland, which he needed not to have done, if his purpose had been for England, for that he had victuals enough and to spare for that journey; and there at Newfoundland, his other company having formerly dispersed and forsaken him, his own company which was in his own ship began likewise to mutiny. And, although some old pirates, either by his inciting, or out of fear of their own case, were fierce and violent for the sea, and against the return, yet the far greater number were for the return; at which time himself got a-land, and stood upon the sea-bank, and put it to a question, Whether they should return for England, or land at Newfoundland? Whereupon there was a division of voices, the one part to the starboard, and the other to the larboard; of which that part, which was for the return for England, was two parts of three,

and would by no means be drawn to set foot on land, but kept themselves in the ship, where they were sure they were masters; which he perceiving, for fear of further mutiny, professed, in dissimulation, that he himself was for the return into England, and came and stood amongst them that had most voices; but, nevertheless, after that he despaired to draw his company to follow him further, he made offer of his own ship, which was of great value to his company, if they would set him aboard a French barque: the like offer he made, when he came upon the coast of Ireland, to some of his chief officers there.

But about the time of his arrival upon the coast of Ireland, the forcing and sacking of St. Thome, and the firing of the town, and the putting the Spaniards to the sword, was noised abroad in all parts, and was by special advertisement come unto the knowledge of the Count de Gondamore, then ambassador for the king of Spain with his majesty, who thereupon prayed audience of his majesty, and with great instance demanded justice against the persons, and their goods, who had committed those outrages, and made those spoils upon his majesty's subjects, according to his majesty's promise, and the treaty of peace. Whereupon his majesty published his royal proclamation for the discovery of the truth of Raleigh's proceedings, and the advancement of justice. Notwithstanding all which, his majesty used a gracious and mild course towards Sir Walter Raleigh, sending down Sir Lewis Stukeley, vice-admiral of the county of Devon, to bring Sir Walter Raleigh, in fair manner, and, as his health would give leave, by easy journies to London. For, about this time, Sir Walter Raleigh was come from Ireland into England, into the port of Plymouth, where it was easy to discern with what good will he came thither, by his immediate attempt to escape from thence; for, soon after his coming to Plymouth, before he was under guard, he dealt with the owner of a French barque, pretending it was for a gentleman a friend of his, to make ready his barque for a passage, and offered him twelve crowns for his pains. And one night he went in a little boat, to have seen the barque that should have transported him, but the night being very dark he missed of the barque, and came back again, nothing done; wherein, by the way, appears, that it was not any train laid for him by Sir Lewis Stukeley, or any other, as was voiced, to move or tempt him to an escape, but that he had a purpose to fly, and escape from his first arrival into England.

But, in this his purpose, he grew to be more resolute and fixed, after that the lords of his majesty's council, observing the delays in his coming up, had sent unto Stukeley some quick letters for the hastening thereof; but, thereupon, as his desire of escape increased, so did the difficulty thereof increase also; for that Stukeley, from that time forth, kept a better guard upon him; whereof he took that apprehension, in so much as knowing Stukeley to be witty and watchful, he grew to an opinion that it would be impossible for

for him to escape, except he could win one of these two points, either to corrupt Stukeley, or at least to get to have some liberty when he came to London, of remaining in his own house; for guiltiness did tell him, that, upon his coming to London, it was like he should be laid prisoner in the Tower. Wherefore he saw no other way, but, in his journey to London, to counterfeit sickness in such a manner, as might, in commiseration of his extremity, move his majesty to permit him to remain in his own house, where he assured himself, before long, to plot an opportunity of an escape. And having in his company one Manoury, a Frenchman, a professor of physick, and one that had many chymical receipts, he practised by crowns, and promised to draw him into his comfort, the better to make faith of his counterfeiting to be sick, the story whereof Manoury himself reported to have passed in this manner.

Upon Saturday the twenty-fifth of July, Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir Lewis Stukeley, and Manoury, went to lie at Master Drake's, where the letters of commission from the privy-council were brought unto Sir Lewis Stukeley, by one of his majesty's messengers, which caused a sudden departure with much more haste than was expected before; and the countenance of Sir Walter Raleigh was much changed, after Sir Lewis Stukeley had shewed the commission; for Manoury saw him from the stair-head; he being alone in his chamber, the door standing half open, how he stamped with his feet, and pulled himself by the hair, swearing in these words, 'God's wounds, is it possible my fortune should return upon me thus again?'

From Master Drake's they went on their journey to the house of Master Horsey, distant from thence four miles, or thereabouts. It was in that hour that Sir Walter Raleigh began first to cause Manoury to be founded, what was in his heart, by an old domestick of his called Captain King, who there began to discourse unto Manoury of the infortuniness of his master, and, amongst other things, said thus: 'I would we were all at Paris;' to whom Manoury answered, 'I would we were all at London; alas! what should we do at Paris?' 'Because, quoth King, that as soon as we come to London, they will commit Sir Walter Raleigh to the Tower, and cut off his head;' Whereupon Manoury answered, that he hoped better than so, and that he was sorry for his ill fortune; and that, according to his small ability, he was ready to do him all honest service he could, so it might be done without offence.

After dinner, it being Sunday, Sir Walter Raleigh departed from Master Horsey's house, and went to Sherbourn; and in the way, when he came within view thereof, turning to Manoury, and shewing him the place, and the territory about it, he said unto him sighing, that all that was his, and that the king had unjustly taken it from him. He and Stukeley lay not at Sherbourn, but were invited to the house of old Master Parham; Manoury and their train went to lie at Sherbourn, at the sign of the George. The next

day, being Monday, the twenty-seventh of July, Manoury went to them, and from thence they took their way towards Salisbury, thirty-five miles from Sherbourn; and arriving there, Sir Walter Raleigh, going a foot down the hill, addressed himself unto Manoury, and asked him if he had any of his vomits, or other medicines; which he telling him that he had, he prayed him to make one ready against the next morning, and to tell nobody thereof. 'I know, quoth he, that it is good for me to evacuate many bad humours, and by this means I shall gain time to work my friends, give order for my affairs, and, it may be, pacify his majesty before my coming to London; for I know well, that as soon as I come there I shall go to the Tower, and that they will cut off my head if I use no means to escape it; which I cannot do without counterfeiting to be sick, which your vomits will effect without suspicion.' For which cause the same evening, as soon as he arrived, he laid him down upon a bed, complaining much of his head, and blaming his great day's journey from Sherbourn to Salisbury, notwithstanding he supped very well; but after supper he seemed to be surprised with a dimness of sight, by a swimming or giddiness in his head, and, holding his hand before his face, he rose from his bed; and, being led by the arm by Sir Lewis Stukeley, he staggered so, that he struck his head with some violence against a post of the gallery before his chamber, which made Sir Lewis Stukeley think that he was sick indeed; in which belief Manoury left him for that time.

The next day in the morning, he sent the lady his wife, and most of his servants, to London, and also Captain King; and Cuthbert and Manoury, and Sir Lewis Stukeley, being in Stukeley's chamber, a servant of Sir Walter, named Robin, come and told them, that his master was out of his wits, and that he was naked in his shirt upon all fours, scratching and biting the rushes upon the planks; which greatly pitied Sir Lewis Stukeley, who, rising in haste, sent Manoury to him, who, when he came, found him gotten again to his bed; and asking him what he ailed, he answered, he ailed nothing, but that he did it for the purpose. And Sir Walter Raleigh asking him for his vomit, he gave it him, who made no bones, but swallowed it down incontinently: at which time, Sir Lewis Stukeley coming in, Sir Walter began again to cry and rave; then Manoury went out of the chamber, and the vomit which he had given him, was an hour and a half before it wrought; but in the mean time Sir Walter Raleigh began to draw up his legs and arms all on a heap, as it had been in a fit of convulsions and contractions of his sinews; and that with such vehemency, that Sir Lewis Stukeley had much ado with the help of others to pull out straight, sometimes an arm, sometimes a leg; which, against all the strength they had, he would draw up again as it was before; whereat the said Sir Lewis Stukeley took great compassion, causing him to be well rubbed and chafed; which Sir Walter Raleigh himself

himself afterwards told unto Manoury, laughing that he had well exercised Sir Lewis Stukeley, and taught him to be a physician.

This feigned fit being thus past, Sir Walter Raleigh called Manoury, and when he came, he prayed him to stay by him, and said he would take some rest. Manoury shut the door, and being alone with him, Sir Walter Raleigh told him, that his vomit had done nothing as yet, and said, that he would take another more violent; but Manoury assuring him, that without doubt it would work, he contented himself, and asked Manoury if he could invent any thing that might make him look horrible and loathsome outwardly, without offending his principal parts, or making him sick inwardly: Manoury studied a little, and then told him, that he would make a composition presently, of certain things which would make him like a leper from head to foot, without doing him any harm, which at his intreaty he effected speedily; at which time Sir Walter Raleigh gave him the reason why he did it, telling him that his being in that case would make the lords of the council afraid to come near him, and move them with more pity to favour him. Soon after that Manoury had put this composition upon his brow, his arms, and his breast, Sir Lewis Stukeley came into the chamber, and Manoury went away; and Sir Lewis Stukeley perceiving the places where Manoury had put this composition to be all pimpled, his face full of great blisters of divers colours, having in the midst a little touch of yellow, and round about like a purple colour, and all the rest of his skin as it were inflamed with heat, he began to apprehend the danger of the disease, that it was contagious; and being very much astonished at the sudden accident, he asked Manoury what he thought thereof; but Manoury judged it fit to conceal it from him at that time, seeing Sir Walter Raleigh had not yet told him, that he meant to fly out of England, but that it was only to gain time to satisfy his majesty.

Upon Manoury's uncertain answer to Sir Lewis Stukeley, touching Sir Walter Raleigh's malady, Stukeley resolved to go to my lord bishop of Ely, now of Winchester, to relate unto him in what case Sir Walter Raleigh was, and brought unto Raleigh two physicians, to see and visit him; who, being come, could tell nothing of what humour the said sickness was composed. There came also a third, a batchelor in physick, who all could not, by all that they could do, discover this disease; only they gave their opinion and advice, that the patient could not be exposed to the air without manifest peril of his life, and thereof they made their report in writing, unto which Manoury also set his hand.

Sir Walter Raleigh, seeing that all these things fell out according to his intention, was exceedingly contented thereat, especially that, in the presence of the said physicians, the vomit began to work both upwards and downwards. And, because he doubted that the physicians would ask to see his water, he prayed Manoury to do something to make it seem

troubled and bad; which to content him, giving him the urinal into his bed, Manoury rubbed the inside of the glass with a certain drug, which as soon as he had made water therein, the urine, even in the hands of the physicians, turned all into an earthy humour, of a blackish colour, and made the water also to have an ill favour; which made the physicians judge the disease to be mortal, and without remedy, but from heaven.

He made Manoury also to tie his arms about with black silk ribband, which he took from his poniard, to try if it would distemper the pulse; but that succeeded not as he thought it would. The day following he called Manoury, and prayed him to make some more such blisters upon him, as, upon his nose, his head, his thighs, and his legs, which Manoury having done, it succeeded according to his desire; for which he was very jocund and merry with Manoury, and said unto him that the evacuation which his physick had caused, had so opened his stomach that he was exceeding hungry, and prayed Manoury that he would go and buy him some meat secretly; for, quoth he, if I eat publicly, it will be seen that I am not sick: so, according to his request, Manoury went to the Whitehart in Salisbury, and bought him a leg of mutton and three loaves, which he eat in secret; and by this subtlety it was thought that he lived three days without eating, but not without drink: thus he continued until Friday, the last of July, seeming always to be sick in the presence of company, and nevertheless, being alone, he writ his declaration or apology, and prayed Manoury to transcribe it, which was since presented to his majesty.

The same evening, Sir Lewis Stukeley discoursing upon his sickness, and whence it should proceed, Sir Walter Raleigh said in these words, 'As God save me, I think I have taken poison where I lay the night before I came to this town; I know that Mr. Parham is a great lover of the king of Spain, and a papist, and that he keeps always a priest in his house; but I will not have any of you to speak of it, nor you Monsieur (quoth he) speaking to Manoury.' Also Sir Walter Raleigh, his chamber doors being shut, walked up and down, and only Manoury with him, there naked in his shirt, and took a looking-glass, and looking upon the spots in his face, whereat he took great pleasure, and laughing, said unto Manoury these words, 'We shall laugh well one day, for having thus cozened and beguiled the king, his council, and the physicians, and the Spaniards and all.'

Upon the Saturday that his majesty arrived at Salisbury, which was the first of August, Sir Walter Raleigh desired to speak with Manoury in secret, and seemed to have a very great apprehension of something, and having made him shut the doors, prayed him to give him a red leathern coffer, which was within another coffer; which when he had, he was a good while looking in it, and then called Manoury, and putting nine pieces of Spanish money of gold into his hand, he said thus: 'There is twenty crowns in pistolets, which

• which I give you for your physical receipts, and the
• victuals you bought me; and I will give you fifty
• pounds a year, if you will do that which I shall tell
• you; and if it happen that Sir Lewis Stukeley do
• ask you what conference you had with me, tell him,
• that you comfort me in my adversity, and that I
• make you no other answer than thus, as is here writ-
• ten.' Which he had already written with his own
hand, in a little piece of paper, for Manoury's in-
struction, as followeth:

'Vela M. Manoury l'acceptance de tout mes tra-
vaux, pertie de mon estat, & de mon fils, mes ma-
ladies & douleurs. Vela l'effect de mon confidence
'au roy.' Which paper of Raleigh's hand-writing
Manoury produced.

And now Sir Walter Raleigh began to practise with
Manoury, and to tell him, that he would fly and get
himself out of England, and that if Manoury would
aid him in his escape, it was all in his power; and
that Sir Lewis Stukeley trusted in nobody but Ma-
noury: whereupon Manoury made him an overture,
that, at his coming to London, he should keep him-
self close in a friend's house of Manoury's, in Sher-
lane in London; whereunto he seemed to incline,
and found Manoury's advice good for a while; but,
in the end, he told him, that he was resolved other-
wise, and that he had already sent Captain King to
hire him a barque below Gravesend, which would go
with all winds, and another little boat to carry him
to it. 'For, quoth he, to hide myself in London, I
should be always in fear to be discovered by the ge-
neral searchers that are there; but to escape I must
get leave to go to my house, and, being there, I will
handle the matter so, that I will escape out of the
hands of Sir Lewis Stukeley by a back-door, and get
me into the boat; for nobody will doubt that I can
go on foot, seeing me so feeble as I seem to be.'
And then, Raleigh having mused a while without
speaking, Manoury asked him, 'Sir, wherefore will
you fly? Your apology, and your last declaration,
'do not they justify you sufficiently?' Then, all in
choler, Raleigh answered him in English, thus: 'Ne-
ver tell me more; a man that fears is never secure.'
Which fashion of his put Manoury to silence for that
time.

Now there rested nothing but his majesty's licence
to permit him to go to his own house; without which,
he said, he could not possibly escape. This licence
was after granted him, by the means of Master Vice-
chamberlain, and Master Secretary Naunton; which
being obtained, Manoury took occasion to say to him.
'That hereby one might see, that his majesty had no
meaning to take his life, seeing that he suffered him
to go to his own house to recover his health. No,
quoth Raleigh, they used all these kinds of flatteries
to the duke of Byron, to draw him fairly to the pri-
son, and then they cut off his head: I know that they
have concluded amongst them, that it is expedient
that a man should die, to re-assure the traffick which
'I have broken in Spain.' And thereupon broke

forth into most hateful and traiterous words against
the king's own person, ending in a menace and bravery,
'That, if he could save himself for that time, he would
plot such plots, as should make the king think him-
self happy to send for him again, and render him
his estate with advantage; yea, and force the king
of Spain to write into England in his favour.'

Manoury, at that time, did ask him further, If he
escaped, what should become of Sir Lewis Stukeley?
And whether he should be put to death for him, or
not? And whether he should lose his office and estate?
'Not to death (quoth Raleigh) but he will be im-
prisoned for a while; but his lands the king cannot
have, for that they are already assured to his eldest
son; and, for the rest, it was no part of his care.'
Manoury further asked him, If it were not treason in
himself to be aiding to his escape? 'No, quoth he,
'for that you are a stranger; nevertheless, you must
not be known of any thing, for then you will be
sure to be put in prison.' In conclusion, Manoury
demanded of him yet further. 'But what if it be
discovered, that I had any hand in your escape?'
'Why, quoth he, follow me into France (that is your
country) and quit all, and I will make you amends
for all.'

After, Raleigh went on his journey to Andover,
and so to Hertford-bridge, and from thence to Staines;
during which time, Sir Lewis Stukeley, being made
acquainted by Manoury with Raleigh's purpose to
escape, used extraordinary diligence in guards and
watches upon him: which Raleigh perceiving, said to
Manoury at Staines: 'I perceive well, it is not pos-
sible for me to escape by our two means alone;
'Stukeley is so watchful, and sets such strait guard
upon me, and will be too hard for us for all our
cunning; therefore there is no way but to make him
of our council, and if we can persuade him to let
me save myself, I will give him in hand two hun-
dred pounds sterling worth:' and thereupon drew
forth a jewel, and shewed it to Manoury, and gave it
into his hand, made in the fashion of hail, powdered
with diamonds, with a ruby in the midst, which he
valued at an hundred and fifty pounds sterling; and
said, 'Besides this jewel, he shall have fifty pounds
in money; I pray you, go tell him so from me, and
persuade him to it; I know he will trust you.'

Manoury went presently to Stukeley, and told him
as before, and concluded with him, that Manoury
should report back to Raleigh, that he would accept
of his offer; and bade him tell Raleigh also, that he
was content to do as he desired, but he would chuse
rather to go away with him, than to tarry behind with
shame and reproach: and he bade Manoury ask him
further, How he thought he could do this, without
losing his office of vice-admiral, which cost him six
hundred pounds? And how they should live after-
wards? And to what place they should go? And what
means he would carry with him to furnish this in-
tended journey? Which Manoury did, and was an-
swered by the said Raleigh; and prayed to tell Stuke-
ley,

ley, that, if he would swear unto him not to discover him, he would tell him his whole intent; and that, for the first point, though Stukeley should lose his office, yet he should be no loser upon the matter; and, for afterwards, as soon as he was gotten into France, or Holland, his wife was to send him a thousand pounds sterling, and that he carried with him only a thousand crowns in money and jewels, to serve him for the present in escape. But after supper Raleigh said unto Manoury, 'Oh, if I could escape without Stukeley, I should do bravely: but it is no matter, said he, I'll carry him along, and afterwards I'll dispatch myself of him well enough.' And after Manoury, relating all that had passed to Stukeley, brought them together; at which time Raleigh shewed the jewel to Stukeley, and he making shew to be content, prayed him a little respite to dispose of his office: whereupon Manoury, seeing them so accorded upon the matter in appearance, took his leave of them to go to London; and in the morning Manoury, upon the taking of his leave, said to Raleigh, 'That he did not think to see him again, while he was in England.' Whereupon Raleigh gave him a letter, directed to Mistress Herry's of Radford, that she should deliver him an iron furnace, with a distillatory of copper belonging unto it; and charged him to tell every man he met, that he was sick, and that he left him in an extreme looseness that very night.

But Raleigh, having formerly dispatched a messenger to London to prepare him a barque for his escape, came at last to London; and having won his purpose by these former devices of feigned sickness, to be spared from imprisonment in the Tower, and to be permitted to remain at his own house till his better recovery; there fell out an accident which gave him great hopes and encouragement speedily to facilitate his intended design for escape. For as he came on his way to London, in his inn at Brentford, there came unto him a Frenchman named La Chesnay, a follower of Le Clere, last agent here for his majesty's dearest brother the French king, who told him that the French agent was very desirous to speak with him as soon as might be after his arrival at London, for matters greatly concerning the said Walter's weal and safety; as in effect it fell out, that the very next night after his arrival at London, the said Le Clere and La Chesnay came unto him to his house; and there did the said Le Clere offer unto him a French barque, which he had prepared for him to escape in, and withal his letters commendatory for his safe conduct and reception to the governor of Calais, and to send a gentleman expressly that should attend and meet him there. To which offer of his Raleigh, after some questions passed, finding the French barque not to be so ready, nor so fit, as that himself had formerly provided, gave him thanks, and told him that he would make use of his own barque; but for his letters, and the rest of his offer, he should be beholden to him, because his acquaintance in France was worn out. So passionately

bent was he upon his escape, that he did not forbear to trust his life, and to communicate a secret importing him so near, upon his first acquaintance, and unto a stranger, whom he hath since confessed that he never saw before. And thus, after two nights stay, the third night he made an actual attempt to escape, and was in a boat towards his ship, but was by Stukeley arrested, brought back, and delivered into the custody of the lieutenant of the Tower.

For these his great and heinous offences, in acts of hostilities upon his majesty's confederates, depredations, and abuses, as well of his commission, as of his majesty's subjects under his charge, impostures, attempts of escape, declining his majesty's justice, and the rest evidently proved, or confessed by himself, he had made himself utterly unworthy of his majesty's further mercy: and because he could not by law be judicially called in question, for that his former attainder of treason is the highest and last work of the law, whereby he was *civiliter mortuus*, his majesty was forced, except attainders should become privileges for all subsequent offences, to resolve to have him executed upon his former attainder.

His majesty's just and honourable proceedings being thus made manifest to all his good subjects, by this preceding declaration, not founded upon conjectures or likelihoods, but either upon confession of the party himself, or upon the examination of divers unsuspected witnesses, he leaves it to the world to judge, how he could either have satisfied his own justice (his honourable intentions having been so perverted and abused by the said Sir Walter Raleigh) or yet make the uprightness of the same his intentions appear to his dearest brother, the king of Spain, if he had not, by a legal punishment of the offender, given an example, as well of terror to all his other subjects, not to abuse his gracious meanings, in taking contrary courses for the attaining to their own unlawful ends, as also of demonstration to all other foreign princes and states, whereby they might rest assured of his majesty's honourable proceeding with them, when any the like case shall occur. By which means his majesty may the more assuredly expect and claim an honourable concurrence, and a reciprocal correspondence from them, upon any the like occasion. But as to Sir Walter Raleigh's confession at his death, what he confessed or denied, touching any the points of this declaration, his majesty leaves him and his conscience therein to God, as was said in the beginning of this discourse. For sovereign princes cannot make a true judgment upon the bare speeches, or asseverations of a delinquent, at the time of his death; but their judgment must be founded upon examinations, re-examinations, and confrontments, and such like real proofs, as all this former discourse is made up of and built upon; all the material and most important of the said examinations being taken under the hands of the examiners that could write, and that in the presence of no fewer than six of his majesty's privy-council, and attested by their alike several subscriptions under their hands;

hands; which were my lords, the archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord Verulam lord chancellor of England, the earl of Worcester lord privy-seal, Master

Secretary Naunton, the master of the rolls, and Sir Edward Coke.

A brief Relation * of Sir Walter Raleigh's Troubles: With the taking away the Lands and Castle of Sherburn in Dorset from him and his Heirs, being his indubitable Inheritance.

To the Right Honourable the Commons of England, assembled in Parliament. The humble Petition of Carew Raleigh, Esq; only Son of Sir Walter Raleigh, late deceased,

Humbly sheweth,

THAT whereas your petitioner conceiveth, that his late father, Sir Walter Raleigh, was most unjustly and illegally condemned and executed; and his lands and castle of Sherburn wrongfully taken from him and his, as may more at large appear by this brief narrative hereunto annexed; the particulars whereof your petitioner is, upon due proofs, ready to make good: your petitioner therefore, humbly submitting to the great justice and integrity of this house (which is no way more manifested, than by relieving the oppressed) humbly craveth, that he may receive such satisfaction, for these his great oppressions and losses, as to the wisdom and clemency of this honourable house shall seem fit.

And your petitioner shall humbly pray, &c.

WHEN King James came into England, he found Sir Walter Raleigh (by the favour of his late mistress Queen Elizabeth) lord warden of the Stannaries, lord lieutenant of Devonshire and Cornwall, captain of the guard, and governor of the isle of Jersey; with a large possession of lands both in England and Ireland. The king for some weeks used him with great kindness, and was pleased to acknowledge divers presents, which he had received from him being in Scotland, for which he gave him thanks. But finding him (as he said himself) a martial man, addicted to foreign affairs, and great actions, he feared, lest he should engage him in a war, a thing most hated, and contrary to the king's nature; wherefore he began to look upon him with a jealous eye, especially after he had presented him with a book, wherein, with great animosity, he opposed the peace with Spain, then in treaty, persuading the king rather vigorously to prosecute the war with that prince then in hand, promising, and that with great probability, within few years to reduce the West-Indies to his obedience. But Sir Walter Raleigh's enemies, soon discovering the king's humour, resolved at once to rid the king of this doubt and trouble, and to enrich themselves with the lands and offices of Sir Walter Raleigh. Wherefore they plotted to accuse him, and the Lord Cobham, a

simple passionate man, but of very noble birth and great possessions, of high treason. The particulars of their accusation I am utterly ignorant of, and I think all men, both then and now living; only I find in general terms, they were accused for plotting with the Spaniard, to bring in a foreign army, and proclaim the infanta of Spain, queen of England; but without any proofs, and the thing itself as ridiculous as impossible. However, Sir Walter Raleigh was condemned without any witness brought in against him, and the Lord Cobham, who was pretended to have accused him barely in a letter, in another letter to Sir Walter Raleigh, upon his salvation, cleared him of all treason, or treasonable actions either against king or state to his knowledge; which original letter is now in the hands of Mr. Carew Raleigh, son of Sir Walter, to be produced at any time. Upon this condemnation, all his lands and offices were seized, and himself committed close prisoner to the Tower; but they found his castle of Sherburn, and the lands thereunto belonging, to be long before entailed on his children, so that he could not forfeit it, but during his own life. And the king, finding in himself the iniquity of Sir Walter's condemnation, gave him all what he had forfeited again, but still kept him close prisoner; seven years after his imprisonment, he en-

* This is the 100th number in the catalogue of pamphlets in the Harleian library.

joyed Sherburn; at which time, it fell out, that one Mr. Robert Car, a young Scotch gentleman, grew in great favour with the king; and having no fortune, they contrived to lay the foundation of his future greatness upon the ruins of Sir Walter Raleigh. Whereupon they called the conveyance of Sherburn in question, in the exchequer chamber, and for want of one single word (which word was found notwithstanding in the paper-book, and was only the oversight of a clerk) they pronounced the conveyance invalid, and Sherburn forfeited to the crown; a judgment easily to be foreseen without witchcraft, since his chiefest judge was his greatest enemy, and the case argued between a poor friendless prisoner, and a king of England.

Thus was Sherburn given to Sir Robert Car (after earl of Somerset;) the Lady Raleigh* with her children, humbly and earnestly petitioning the king for compassion on her, and her's, could obtain no other answer from him, but that he must have the land, he must have it for Car. She being a woman of a very high spirit, and noble birth and breeding, fell down upon her knees, with her hands heaved up to heaven, and in the bitterness of spirit, beseeched God Almighty to look upon the justice of her cause, and punish those who had so wrongfully exposed her, and her poor children, to ruin and beggary. What hath happened since to that royal family, is too sad and disastrous for me to repeat, and yet too visible not to be discerned. But to proceed: Prince Henry, hearing the king had given Sherburn to Sir Robert Car, came with some anger to his father, desiring he would be pleased to bestow Sherburn upon him, alledging that it was a place of great strength and beauty, which he much liked, but indeed, with an intention to give it back to Sir Walter Raleigh, whom he much esteemed.

The king who was unwilling to refuse any of that prince's desires, (for indeed, they were most commonly delivered in such language, as sounded rather like a demand than an intreaty) granted his request; and to satisfy his favourite gave him five and twenty thousand pounds in ready money, so far was the king or crown from gaining by this purchase. But that excellent prince within a few months, was taken away; how and by what means is suspected by all, and I fear was then too well known by many. After his death, the king gave Sherburn again to Sir Robert Car, who not many years after, by the name of earl of Somerset, was arraigned and condemned for poisoning Sir Thomas Overbury, and lost all his lands. Then Sir John Digby, now earl of Bristol, begged Sherburn of the king, and had it. Sir Walter Raleigh, being of a vigorous constitution, and perfect health, had now worn out sixteen years imprisonment, and had seen the disastrous end of all his greatest enemies; so that new persons and new interests now springing up in court, he found means to obtain his liberty, but upon condition, to go a voyage to Guiana, in discovery of a gold

mine; that unhappy voyage is well known, almost to all men, and how he was betrayed from the very beginning, his letters and designs being discovered to Gondamore, the Spanish ambassador, whereby he found such opposition upon the place, that though he took and fired the town of St. Thomas, yet he lost his eldest son in that service, and being desperately sick himself, was made frustrate of all his hopes.

Immediately upon his return home, he was made prisoner, and by the violent pursuit of Gondamore, and some others, who could not think their estates safe, while his head was upon his shoulders, the king resolved to take advantage of his former condemnation sixteen years past, being not able to take away his life for any new action, and though he had given him a commission under the broad seal to execute martial law upon his own soldiers, which was conceived, by the best lawyers, a full pardon for any offence committed before that time, without any further trouble of the law, cut off his head.

Here justice was indeed blind, blindly executing one and the same person upon one and the same condemnation, for things contradictory; for Sir Walter Raleigh was condemned for being a friend to the Spaniard, and lost his life for being their utter enemy. Thus kings, when they will do what they please, please not him they should, God, and having made their power subservient to their will, deprive themselves of that just power whereby others are subservient to them. To proceed: Mr. Carew Raleigh, only son of Sir Walter, being at this time a youth of about thirteen, bred at Oxford, after five years, came to court, and by the favour of the Right Honourable William Earl of Pembroke, his noble kinsman, hoped to obtain some redress in his misfortunes; but the king, not liking his countenance, said, he appeared to him like the ghost of his father; whereupon the earl advised him to travel, which he did until the death of King James, which happened about a year after. Then coming over, and a parliament sitting, he, according to the custom of this land, addressed himself to them by petition to be restored in blood, thereby to enable him to inherit such lands, as might come unto him either as heir to his father, or any other way; but his petition having been twice read in the lord's house, King Charles sent Sir James Fullerton (then of the bed-chamber) unto Mr. Raleigh, to command him to come unto him; and being brought into the king's chamber by the said Sir James, the king, after using him with great civility, notwithstanding told him plainly, that when he was prince, he had promised the earl of Bristol to secure his title to Sherburn against the heirs of Sir Walter Raleigh; whereupon the earl had given him, then prince, ten thousand pounds, that now he was bound to make good his promise, being king; that therefore, unless he would quit all his right and title to Sherburn, he neither could nor would pass his

* She was the only daughter of Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, who was arraigned, in Queen Mary's time, and acquitted. See Fox's Acts and Monuments.

bill of restoration. Mr. Raleigh urged the justice of his cause; that he desired only the liberty of a subject, and to be left to the law, which was never denied any free-man. Notwithstanding all which allegations, the king was resolute in his denial, and so left him. After which Sir James Fullerton used many arguments to persuade submission to the king's will; as the impossibility of contesting with kingly power; the not being restored in blood, which brought along with it so many inconveniences, that it was not possible without it to possess or enjoy any lands or estate in this kingdom; the not being in a condition, if his cloke were taken from his back, or hat from his head, to sue for restitution. All which things being considered, together with splendid promises of great preferment in court, and particularly favours from the king not improbable, wrought much in the mind of young Mr. Raleigh, being a person not full twenty years old, left friendless and fortuneless, and prevailed so far, that he submitted to the king's will.

Whereupon there was an act passed for his restoration, and, together with it, a settlement of Sherburn to the earl of Bristol; and in shew of some kind of re-

compense, four hundred pounds a year pension; during life, granted to Mr. Raleigh after the death of his mother, who had that sum paid unto her, during life, in lieu of jointure.

Thus have I, with as much brevity, humility, and candour (as the nature of the case will permit) related the pressures, force, and injustice committed upon a poor oppressed, though not undeserving* family; and have forborne to specify the names of those, who were instruments of this evil, lest I should be thought to have an inclination to scandalise particular, and perchance noble families.

Upon the consideration of all which, I humbly submit myself to the commons of England, now represented in parliament; desiring, according to their great wisdom and justice, that they will fight me and my posterity, according to their own best liking; having, in my own person (though bred at court) never opposed any of their just rights and privileges, and for the future, being resolved to range myself under the banner of the commons of England; and so far forth as education and fatherly instruction can prevail, promise the same for two sons whom God hath sent me.

* Sir Walter Raleigh discovered Virginia at his own charge, which cost him forty thousand pounds. He was the first of all the English, that discovered Guiana in the West-Indies. He took the islands of Fayall from the Spaniard, and did most signal

and eminent service at the taking of Cadiz. He took from the Spaniard the greatest and richest carick, that ever came into England: and another ship laden with nothing but gold, pearls, and cochineal.

The Prerogative of Parliaments in England*, proved in a Dialogue between a Counsellor of State, and a Justice of Peace. Written by the worthy Knight, Sir Walter Raleigh. Dedicated to the King's Majesty, and to the House of Parliament now assembled. Preserved to be now happily, in these distracted times, published and printed 1640.

Counf. **N**OW, sir, what think you of Mr. St. John's trial in the star-chamber? I know that the bruit ran that he was hardly dealt withal, because he was imprisoned in the Tower, seeing his dissuasion from granting a benevolence to the king was warranted by the law.

Just. Surely, sir, it was made manifest at the hearing, that Mr. St. John was rather in love with his own letter; he confessed he had seen your lordship's letter, before he wrote his to the mayor of Marlborough, and in your lordship's letter, there was not a word, whereto the statutes, by Mr. St. John alledged, had reference; for those statutes did condemn the gathering of money from the subject, under title of a

free gift; whereas a fifth, a sixth, a tenth, &c. was set down, and required. But, my good lord, though divers shires have given to his majesty, some more, some less, What is this to the king's debt?

Counf. We know it well enough, but we have many other projects.

Just. It is true, my good lord; but your lordship will find, that when by these you have drawn many petty sums from the subjects, and those sometimes spent, as fast as they are gathered, his majesty being nothing enabled thereby, when you shall be forced to demand your great aid, the country will excuse itself, in regard of their former payments.

Counf. What mean you by the great aid?

* This is the 287th number in the catalogue of pamphlets in the Harleian library.

Just. I mean the aid of parliament.

Counf. By parliament! I would fain know the man, that durst persuade the king unto it, for if it should succeed ill, In what case were he?

Just. You say well for yourself, my lord, and perchance, you that are lovers of yourselves, under pardon, do follow the advice of the late duke of Alva, who was ever opposite to all resolution in business of importance; for if the things enterprised succeeded well, the advice never came in question: if ill, whereto great undertakings are commonly subject, he then made his advantage, by remembering his country council: but my good lord, these reserved politicians are not the best servants, for he that is bound to adventure his life for his master, is also bound to adventure his advice: *Keep not back counsel, saith Ecclesiasticus, when it may do good.*

Counf. But, sir, I peak it not in other respect, than I think it dangerous for the king to assemble the three estates, for thereby have our former kings always lost somewhat of their prerogatives. And, because that you shall not think, that I speak it at random, I will begin with elder times, wherein the first contention began, betwixt the kings of this land, and their subjects in parliament.

Just. Your lordship shall do me a singular favour.

Counf. You know that the king of England had no formal parliament till above the eighteenth year of Henry the First, for in his seventeenth year, for the marriage of his daughter, the king raised a tax upon every hide of land by the advice of his privy-council alone. But you may remember how the subjects, soon after the establishment of this parliament, began to stand upon terms with the king, and drew from him by strong hand, and the sword, the great charter.

Just. Your lordship says well, they drew from the king the great charter by the sword, and hereof the parliament cannot be accused, but the lords.

Counf. You say well, but it was after the establishment of the parliament, and by colour of it, that they had so great daring, for before that time they could not endure to hear of St. Edward's laws, but resisted the confirmation in all they could, although by those laws, the subjects of this island were no less free than any of all Europe.

Just. My good lord, the reason is manifest; for while the Normans, and other of the French that followed the conqueror, made spoil of the English, they would not endure that any thing but the will of the conqueror should stand for law; but after a descent or two, when themselves were become English, and found themselves beaten with their own rods, they then began to favour the difference between subjection and slavery, and insist upon the law, *meum & tuum*; and to be able to say unto themselves, *Hoc fac & vives*; yea, that the conquering English in Ireland did the like, your lordship knows it better than I.

Counf. I think you guess aright: and to the end the subject may know, that being a faithful servant to his prince, he might enjoy his own life, and paying to his

prince what belongs to a sovereign, the remainder was his own to dispose; Henry the First, to content his vassals, gave them the great charter, and the charter of forests.

Just. What reason then had King John to deny the confirmation?

Counf. He did not, but he on the contrary confirmed both the charters with additions, and required the pope, whom he had then made his superior, to strengthen them with a golden bull.

Just. But your honour knows, that it was not long after, that he repented himself.

Counf. It is true, and he had reason so to do, for the barons refused to follow him into France, as they ought to have done; and to say true, this great charter, upon which you insist so much, was not originally granted regally and freely; for Henry the First did usurp the kingdom, and therefore the better to assure himself against Robert his eldest brother, he flattered his nobility and people with those charters: yea, King John that confirmed them had the like respect; for Arthur, duke of Bretagne, was the undoubted heir of the crown, upon whom John usurped. And so to conclude, these charters had their original from kings *de facto*, but not *de jure*.

Just. But King John confirmed the charter, after the death of his nephew Arthur, when he was then *Rex de jure* also.

Counf. It is true, for he durst do no other, standing accursed, whereby few or none obeyed him, for his nobility refused to follow him into Scotland; and he had so grieved the people by pulling down all the park pales before harvest, to the end his deer might spoil the corn; and by seizing the temporalities of so many bishopricks into his hands, and chiefly for practising the death of the duke of Bretagne his nephew, as also having lost Normandy, to the French, so as the hearts of all men were turned from him.

Just. Nay, by your favour, my lord, King John restored King Edward's laws, after his absolution, and wrote his letters in the fifteenth of his reign, to all sheriffs, countermanding all former oppressions; yea, this he did, notwithstanding the lords refused to follow him into France.

Counf. Pardon me, he did not restore King Edward's laws then, nor yet confirmed the charters, but he promised upon his absolution to do both: but after his return out of France, in his sixteenth year he denied it, because, without such a promise, he had not obtained restitution, his promise being constrained, and not voluntary.

Just. But what think you? Was he not bound in honour to perform it?

Counf. Certainly no, for it was determined in the case of King Francis the First of France, that all promises by him made, whilst he was in the hands of Charles the Fifth, his enemy, were void, by reason, the judge of honour, which tells us he durst do no other.

Just. But King John was not in prison.

Counf.

Counf. Yet, for all that, restraint is an imprisonment, yea, fear itself is an imprisonment, and the king was subject to both: I know there is nothing more kingly in a king, than the performance of his word; but, yet of a word freely and voluntarily given. Neither was the charter of Henry the First so published, that all men might plead it for their advantage; but a charter was left, *in deposito*, in the hands of the archbishop of Canterbury, for the time, and so to his successors. Stephen Langton, who was ever a traitor to the king, produced this charter, and shewed it to the barons, thereby encouraging them to make war against the king. Neither was it the old charter simply the barons sought to have confirmed, but they presented unto the king other articles and orders, tending to the alteration of the whole commonwealth; which when the king refused to sign, the barons presently put themselves into the field, and in rebellious and outrageous fashion, sent the king word, except he confirmed them, they would not desist from making war against him, till he had satisfied them therein. And in conclusion, the king being betrayed of all his nobility, in effect, was forced to grant the charter of *Magna Charta*, and *Charta de Forestis*, at such time as he was invironed with an army in the meadows of Staynes; which charters, being procured by force, Pope Innocent afterwards disavowed, and threatened to curse the barons, if they submitted not themselves, as they ought, to their sovereign lord; which when the lords refused to obey, the king entertained an army of strangers, for his own defence, wherewith having mastered and beaten the barons, they called in Lewis of France, a most unnatural resolution, to be their king. Neither was *Magna Charta* a law in the nineteenth of Henry the Third, but simply a charter, which he confirmed in the twenty-first of his reign, and made it a law in the twenty-fifth, according to Littleton's Opinion. Thus much for the beginning of the great charter, which had first an obscure birth from usurpation, and was secondly fostered and shewed to the world by rebellion.

Just. I cannot deny but that all your lordship hath said is true; but, seeing the charters were afterwards so many times confirmed by parliament and made laws, and that there is nothing in them unequal or prejudicial to the king; doth not your honour think it reason they should be observed?

Counf. Yes, and observed they are in all that the state of a king can permit, for no man is destroyed, but by the laws of the land; no man disseized of his inheritance, but by the laws of the land; imprisoned they are by the prerogative where the king hath cause to suspect their loyalty; for were it otherwise, the king should never come to the knowledge of any conspiracy or treason, against his person or state, and being imprisoned, yet doth not any man suffer death, but by the law of the land.

Just. But may it please your lordship, were not Cornwallis, Sharp, and Hoskins imprisoned, there being no suspicion of treason there?

Counf. They were, but it cost them nothing.

Just. And what got the king by it? For in the conclusion, besides the murmur of the people, Cornwallis, Sharp, and Hoskins having greatly overshot themselves, and repented them, a fine of five or six hundred pounds was laid on his majesty, for their offences, for so much their diet cost his majesty.

Counf. I know who gave the advice, sure I am that it was none of mine: but thus I say, if you consult your memory, you shall find, that those kings, which did in their own times, confirm the *Magna Charta*, did not only imprison, but they caused of their nobility, and others to be slain, without hearing or trial.

Just. My good lord, if you will give me leave to speak freely, I say, that they are not well advised, that persuade the king, not to admit the *Magna Charta*, with the former reservations. For as the king can never lose a farthing by it, as I shall prove anon; so except England were as Naples is, and kept by garrisons of another nation, it is impossible for a king of England to greaten and enrich himself by any way so assuredly, as by the love of his people. For by one rebellion the king hath more loss, than by a hundred years observance of *Magna Charta*: for therein have our kings been forced to compound with rogues and rebels, and to pardon them, yea, the state of the king, the monarchy, the nobility have been endangered by them.

Counf. Well, sir, let that pass, Why should not our kings raise money, as the kings of France do, by their letters and edicts only? For, since the time of Lewis the Eleventh, of whom it is said, that he freed the French kings of their wardship, the French kings have seldom assembled the states for any contribution.

Just. I will tell you why; the strength of England doth consist of the people and yeomanry; the peasants of France have no courage nor arms: in France, every village and borough hath a castle, which the French call *Chastiau Villina*; every good city hath a good citadel; the king hath the regiments of his guards, and his men at arms always in pay; yea, the nobility of France in whom the strength of France consists, do always assist their king in those levies upon their tenants. But, my lord, if you mark it, France was never free, in effect, from civil wars; and lately it was endangered either to be conquered by the Spaniard, or to be cantonised by the rebellious French themselves, since that freedom of wardship. But, my good lord, to leave this digression, that wherein I would willingly satisfy your lordship is, that the kings of England have never received loss, by parliament, or prejudice.

Counf. No, sir? you shall find that the subjects in parliament have decreed great things to the disadvantage and dishonour of our kings in former times.

Just. My good lord, to avoid confusion, I will make a short report of them all, and then your lordship may object, where you see cause: and I doubt not but to give your lordship satisfaction. In the sixth year of Henry the Third, there was no dispute, the house gave the king two shillings of every plough-land within

Eng-

England; and in the end of the same year, he had escuage paid him, to wit, for every knight's fee, two marks in silver. In the fifth year of that king, the lords demanded the confirmation of the great charter, which the king's council, for that time present, excused, alledging that those privileges were extorted by force, during the king's minority; and yet the king was pleased to send forth his writ to the sheriffs of every county, requiring them to certify, what those liberties were, and how used; and in exchange of the lords demand, because they pressed him so violently, the king required all the castles and places, which the lords held of his, and had held in the time of his father, with those manors and lordships, which they had heretofore wrested from the crown; which at that time, the king being provided of forces, they durst not deny. In the fourteenth year, he had the fifteenth penny of all goods given him, upon condition to confirm the great charter: for by reason of the wars in France, and the loss of Rochelle, he was then forced to consent to the lords, in all they demanded. In the tenth year of his reign, he fined the city of London, at fifty thousand marks, because they had received Lewis of France. In the eleventh year, in the parliament at Oxford, he revoked the great charter, being granted when he was under age, and governed by the earl of Pembroke, and the bishop of Winchester. In his eleventh year, the earls of Cornwall and Chester, Marshal, Edward Earl of Pembroke, Gilbert Earl of Gloucester, Warren, Hereford, Ferrars, and Warwick, and others rebelled against the king, and constrained him to yield unto them in what they demanded for their particular interest; which rebellion being appeased, he sailed into France; and in his fifteenth year, he had a fifteenth of the temporality, and a dism and a half of the spirituality, and withal, escuage of every knight's fee.

Counf. But what say you to the parliament of Westminster, in the sixteenth year of the king; where, notwithstanding the wars of France, and his great charge in repulsing the Welch rebels, he was flatly denied the subsidy demanded?

Just. I confess, my lord, that the house excused themselves, by reason of their poverty, and the lords taking of arms; in the next year, it was manifest that the house was practised against the king: and was it not so, my good lord, think you in our two last parliaments? for in the first, even those whom his majesty trusted most, betrayed him in the union; and in the second, there were other of the great ones ran counter. But your lordship spoke of dangers of parliaments; in this, my lord, there was a denial, but there was no danger at all: but to return where I left, What got the lords, by practising the house at that time? I say, that those, that broke this staff upon the king, were overturned with the counterbuff, for he refused all those lands which he had given in his minority; he called all his exacting officers to account, he found them all faulty; he examined the corruption of other magistrates, and from all these, he drew sufficient

money to satisfy his present necessity; whereby, he not only spared his people, but highly contented them with an act of so great justice: yea, Hubert, earl of Kent, the chief justice, whom he had most trusted, and most advanced, was found as false to the king, as any one of the rest; and for conclusion, in the end of that year, at the assembly of the states at Lambeth, the king had the fortieth part of every man's goods given him freely towards his debts; for the people, who, the same year, had refused to give the king any thing, when they saw he had squeezed those sponges of the commonwealth, they willingly yielded to give him satisfaction.

Counf. But, I pray you, what became of this Hubert, whom the king had favoured above all men, betraying his majesty as he did?

Just. There were many that persuaded the king to put him to death, but he could not be drawn to consent, but the king seized upon his estate, which was great; yet, in the end, he left him a sufficient portion, and gave him his life, because he had done great service in former times: for his majesty, though he took advantage of his vice, yet he forgot not to have consideration of his virtue. And upon this occasion it was, that the king, betrayed by those whom he most trusted, entertained strangers, and gave them their offices, and the charge of his castles and strong places in England.

Counf. But the drawing in of those strangers was the cause, that the marshal, Earl of Pembroke, moved war against the king.

Just. It is true, my good lord, but he was soon after slain in Ireland, and his whole masculine race, ten years extinguished, though there were five sons of them; and the marshal being dead, who was the mover and ring-leader of that war, the king pardoned the rest of the lords that had assisted the marshal.

Counf. What reason had the king so to do?

Just. Because he was so persuaded, that they loved his person, and only hated those corrupt counsellors, that then bore the greatest sway under him, as also, because they were the best men of war he had, whom, if he destroyed, having war with the French, he had wanted commanders to have served him.

Counf. But what reason had the lords to take arms?

Just. Because the king entertained the Poictovins: Were not they the king's vassals also? Should the Spaniards rebel, because the Spanish king trusts to the Neapolitans, Portuguese, Milanese, and other nations, his vassals; seeing those that are governed by the viceroy and deputies, are in policy, to be well entertained, and to be employed, who would otherwise devise how to free themselves; whereas, being trusted and employed by their prince, they entertained themselves with the hopes, that others the king's vassals do. If the king had called in the Spaniards, or other nations, not his subjects, the nobility of England had reason of grief.

Counf. But what people did ever serve the king of England more faithfully than the Gascoignes did, even to the last of the conquest of that duchy?

Just. Your lordship says well, and I am of that opinion, that if it had pleased the queen of England to have drawn some of the chief of the Irish nobility into England, and by exchange to have made them good freeholders in England, she had saved above two millions of pounds, which were consumed in times of those rebellions. For what held the Gascoignes firm to the crown of England, of whom the duke of Espernon married the inheritrix, but his earldom of Kendal in England, whereof the duke of Espernon, in right of his wife, bears the title to this day? And, to the same end I take it, hath James, our sovereign lord, given lands to divers of the nobility of Scotland; and if I were worthy to advise your lordship, I should think that your lordship should do the king great service, to put him in mind to prohibit all the Scottish nation, to alienate and sell away their inheritance here; for by the selling, they not only give cause to the English to complain, that the treasure of England is transported into Scotland, but his majesty is thereby also frustrated of making both nations one, and of assuring the service and obedience to the Scots in the future.

Counf. You say well; for though those of Scotland, that are advanced and enriched by the king's majesty, will, no doubt, serve him faithfully; yet, how their heirs and successors, having no inheritance to lose in England, may be seduced, is uncertain. But let us go on with our parliament. And what say you to the denial in the twenty-sixth year of his reign, even when the king was invited to come into France by the earl of March, who had married his mother, and who promised to assist the king in the conquest of many places lost?

Just. It is true, my good lord, that a subsidy was then denied, and the reasons are delivered in English histories; and indeed, the king, not long before, had spent much treasure, in aiding the duke of Bretagne to no purpose, for he drew over the king, but to draw on good conditions for himself, as the earl of March, his father-in-law, now did; as the English barons did invite Lewis of France, not long before, as in elder times, all the kings and states had done, and in late years, the leaguers of France entertained the Spaniards, and the French protestants and Netherlands, Queen Elizabeth; not with any purpose to greaten those that aid them, but to purchase to themselves an advantageous peace. But what say the histories to this denial? They say, with a world of payments there mentioned, that the king had drawn the nobility dry; and besides that, whereas, not long before, great sums of money were given, and the same appointed to be kept in four castles, and not to be expended, but by the advice of the peers: it was believed that the same treasure was yet unspent.

Counf. Good sir, you have said enough: Judge you, whether it were not a dishonour to the king, to be so tied, as not to expend his treasure, but by other mens advice, as it were, by their licence.

Just. Surely, my lord, the king was well advised,

to take the money upon any condition, and they were fools that propounded the restraint: for it doth not appear, that the king took any great heed to those overseers; kings are bound by their piety, and by no other obligation. In Queen Mary's time, when it was thought she was with child, it was propounded in parliament, that the rule of the realm should be given to King Philip, during the minority of the hoped prince or princess; and the king offered his assurance, in great sums of money, to relinquish the government, at such time as the prince or princess should be of age: at which motion, when all else were silent in the house, Lord Dacres, who was none of the wisest, asked who shall sue the king's bond, which ended the dispute: for what bond is between a king and his vassals, but the bond of the king's faith? But, my good lord, the king, notwithstanding the denial at that time, was, with gifts from particular persons, and otherwise, supplied for proceeding on his journey, for that time, into France; he took with him thirty casks, filled with silver and coin, which was a great treasure in those days. And, lastly, notwithstanding the first denial, in the king's absence, he had escuage granted him, to wit, twenty shillings of every knight's fee.

Counf. What say you then to the twenty-eighth year of that king, in which when the king demanded relief, the states would not consent, except the same order had been taken for the appointing of four overseers for the treasure? As also that the lord chief justice and the lord chancellor should be chosen by the states, with some barons of the exchequer, and other officers.

Just. My good lord, admit the king had yielded their demands, then whatsoever had been ordained by those magistrates to the dislike of the commonwealth, the people had been without remedy: whereas, while the king made them, they had their appeal, and other remedies. But those demands vanished, and in the end, the king had escuage given him, without any of their conditions. It is an excellent virtue in a king to have patience, and to give way to the fury of men's passions. The whale, when he is struck by the fisherman, grows in that fury, that he cannot be resisted, but will overthrow all the ships and barques that come in his way, but when he hath tumbled awhile, he is drawn to the shore with a twine-thread.

Counf. What say you then to the parliament in the twenty-ninth year of that king?

Just. I say, that the commons being unable to pay, the king relieves himself upon the richer sort; and so it likewise happened in the thirty-third year of the king, in which he was relieved chiefly by the city of London. But, my good lord, in the parliament in London, in the thirty-eighth year, he had given him the tenth of all the revenues of the church for three years, and three marks of every knight's fee throughout the kingdom, upon his promise and oath for the observing of *Magna Charta*; but, in the end of the same year, the king being then in France, he was denied the aids which he required. What is this to the danger

danger of a parliament? Especially at this time they had reason to refuse, they had given so great a sum in the beginning of the same year; and again, because it was known that the king had but pretended war with the king of Castile, with whom he had secretly contracted an alliance, and concluded a marriage between his son Edward and the Lady Eleanor. These false fires do but fright children; and it commonly falls out, that when the cause given is known to be false, the necessity pretended is thought to be feigned; royal dealing hath evermore royal success; and, as the king was denied in the thirty-eighth year, so was he denied in the thirty-ninth year, because the nobility and the people saw it plainly, that the king was abused by the pope, who, as well in despite to Manfred, bastard son to the emperor Frederick the Second, as to counsel the king, and to waste him, would needs bestow on the king the kingdom of Sicily; to recover which, the king sent all the treasure he could borrow or scrape to the pope, and withal gave him letters of credence, for to take up what he could in Italy, the king binding himself for the payment. Now, my good lord, the wisdom of princes is seen in nothing more than in their enterprises. So how unpleasing it was to the state of England to consume the treasure of the land, and in the conquest of Sicily, so far off, and otherwise, for that the English had lost Normandy under their noses, and so many goodly parts of France of their own proper inheritance: the reason of the denial is as well to be considered as the denial.

Counf. Was not the king also denied a subsidy in the forty-first year of his reign?

Just. No, my lord, for, although the king required money, as before, for the impossible conquest of Sicily, yet the house offered to give fifty-two thousand marks, which, whether he refused or accepted, is uncertain; and, whilst the king dreamed of Sicily, the Welch invaded and spoiled the borders of England, for, in the parliament of London, when the king urged the house for prosecuting the conquest of Sicily, the lords, utterly disliking the attempt, urged the prosecuting of the Welchmen; which parliament being prorogued, did assemble at Oxford, and was called the mad-parliament, which was no other than an assembly of rebels; for the royal assent of the king, which gives life to all laws, formed by the three estates, was not a royal assent, when both the king and the prince were constrained to yield to the lords. A constrained consent is the consent of a captive, and not of a king, and therefore there was nothing done there either legally or royally. For, if it be not properly a parliament where the subject is not free, certainly it can be none where the king is bound, for all kingly rule was taken from the king, and twelve peers appointed, and, as some writers have it, twenty-four peers to govern the realm; and therefore the assembly made by Jack Straw, and other rebels, may as well be called a parliament as that of Oxford. *Principis nomen habere, non est esse princeps*; for thereby was the king driven not only to compound all quarrels with the French, but to have

means to be revenged on the rebel lords; but he quitted his right to Normandy, Anjou, and Mayne.

Counf. But, Sir, what needed this extremity, seeing the lords require but the confirmation of the former charter, which was not prejudicial to the king to grant?

Just. Yes, my good lord, but they insulted upon the king, and would not suffer him to enter into his own castles; they put down the purveyor of the meat for the maintenance of his house, as if the king had been a bankrupt, and gave order that, without ready money, he should not take up a chicken. And although there is nothing against the royalty of a king in these charters (the kings of England being kings of freemen and not of slaves) yet it is so contrary to the nature of a king to be forced even to those things which may be to his advantage, as the king had some reason to seek the dispensation of his oath from the pope, and to draw in strangers for his own defence; yea, *Jure salvo coronæ nostræ* is intended inclusively in all oaths and promises exacted from a sovereign.

Counf. But you cannot be ignorant how dangerous a thing it is to call in other nations, both for the spoil they make, as also, because they have often held the possession of the best places with which they have been trusted.

Just. It is true, my good lord, that there is nothing so dangerous for a king as to be constrained and held as prisoner to his vassals, for by that Edward the Second and Richard the Second lost their kingdoms and their lives. And for calling in of strangers, Was not King Edward the Sixth driven to call in strangers against the rebels in Norfolk, Cornwall, Oxfordshire, and elsewhere? Have not the kings of Scotland been oftentimes constrained to entertain strangers against the kings of England? And the king of England at this time, had he not been divers times assisted by the kings of Scotland, had been endangered to have been expelled for ever.

Counf. But yet you know those kings were deposed by parliament.

Just. Yea, my good lord, being prisoners, being out of possession, and being in their hands that were princes of the blood, and pretenders. It is an old country proverb, *That might overcomes right*: a weak title, that wears a strong sword, commonly prevails against a strong title that wears but a weak one, otherwise Philip the Second had never been duke of Portugal, nor duke of Milan, nor king of Naples and Sicily. But, good lord, *Errores non sunt trahendi in exemplum*: I speak of regal, peaceable, and lawful parliaments. The king, at this time, was but a king in name, for Gloucester, Leicester, and Chichester made choice of other nine, to whom the rule of the realm was committed, and the prince was forced to purchase his liberty from the earl of Leicester, by giving for his ransom the county palatine of Chelster. But, my lord, let us judge of those occasions by their events: What became of this proud earl? Was he not soon after slain in Evesham? Was he not left naked

naked in the field, and left a shameful spectacle, his head being cut off from his shoulders, his privy-parts from his body, and laid on each side of his nose? And did not God extinguish his race? After which, in a lawful parliament at Westminster, confirmed in a following parliament of Westminster, Were not all the lords that followed Leicester disinherited? And when that fool Gloucester, after the death of Leicester, whom he had formerly forsaken, made himself the head of a second rebellion, and called in strangers, for which, not long before, he had cried out against the king, Was not he in the end, after that he had seen the slaughter of so many of the barons, the spoil of their castles and lordships, constrained to submit himself, as all the survivors did, of which they, that sped best, paid their fines and ransoms, the king reserving to his younger son the earldoms of Leicester and Darby?

Counf. Well, Sir, we have disputed this king to his grave; though it be true that he outlived all his enemies, and brought them to confusion; yet those examples did not terrify their successors, but the earl marshal, and Hereford, threatened King Edward the First with a new war.

Just. They did so; but, after the death of Hereford, the earl marshal repented himself, and, to gain the king's favour, he made him heir of all his lands. But what is this to the parliament? For there was never a king of this land had more given him for the time of his reign, than Edward the son of Henry the Third had.

Counf. How doth it appear?

Just. In this sort, my good lord; in this king's third year, he had given him the fifteenth part of all goods. In his sixth year, a twentieth; in his twelfth year, a twentieth; in his fourteenth year he had escuage, to wit, forty shillings of every knight's fee; in his eighteenth year, he had the eleventh part of all moveable goods within the kingdom; in his nineteenth year, the tenth part of all church livings in England, Scotland, and Ireland, for six years, by agreement from the pope; in his three and twentieth year, he raised a tax upon wool and fells, and, on a day, caused all the religious houses to be searched, and all the treasure in them to be seized and brought to his coffers, excusing himself, by laying the fault upon his treasurer; he had also, in the end of the same year, of all goods, of all burghesses, and of the commons, the tenth part; in the twenty-fifth year of the parliament of St. Edmundsbury, he had an eighteenth part of the goods of the burghesses, and of the people in general, the tenth part. He had also the same year, by putting the clergy out of his protection, a fifth part of their goods; and, in the same year, he set a great tax upon wools, to wit, from half a mark to forty shillings upon every sack; whereupon the earl marshal and the earl of Hereford, refusing to attend the king into Flanders, pretended the grievances of the people. But, in the end, the king having pardoned them, and confirmed the great charter, he had the ninth penny

of all goods, from the lords and commons of the clergy; in the fourth he had the tenth penny, and in the sixth the fifth penny. In the two and thirtieth year, he had a subsidy freely granted: in the three and thirtieth year, he confirmed the great charter of his own royal disposition, and the states, to shew their thankfulness, gave the king, for one year, the sixth part of their goods. And the same year the king used the inquisition, called Traile Baston: by which all justices and other magistrates were grievously fined, that had used extortion or bribery, or had otherwise misdeemeaned themselves, to the great contentation of the people. This commission likewise did enquire of intruders, barrators, and all other the like vermin, whereby the king gathered a great mass of treasure, with a great deal of love. Now, for the whole reign of this king, who governed England thirty-five years, there was not any parliament to prejudice.

Counf. But there was taking of arms by the earl marshal and Hereford.

Just. That is true, but why was that? Because the king, notwithstanding all that was given him by parliament, did lay the greatest taxes that ever king did without their consent. But what lost the king by those lords? One of them gave the king all his lands, the other died in disgrace.

Counf. But what say you to the parliament in Edward the Second's time, his successor: did not the house of parliament banish Pierce Gaveston, whom the king favoured?

Just. But what was this Gaveston, but an esquire of Gascoigne, formerly banished the realm by King Edward the First, for corrupting the Prince Edward, now reigning? And, the whole kingdom fearing and detesting his venomous disposition, they besought his majesty to cast him off; which the king performed by an act of his own, and not by an act of parliament; yea, Gaveston's own father-in-law, the earl of Gloucester, was one of the chiefest lords that procured it. And yet, finding the king's affection to follow him so strongly, they all consented to have him recalled. After which, when his credit so increased, that he despised and set at nought all the ancient nobility, and not only persuaded the king to all manner of outrages and riots, but withal transported what he lifted of the king's treasure, and jewels, the lords urged his banishment the second time; but neither was the first, nor the second banishment forced by act of parliament, but by the forceable lords his enemies. Lastly, He being recalled by the king, the earl of Lancaster caused his head to be struck off, when those of his party had taken him prisoner. By which presumptuous act, the earl and the rest of his company committed treason and murder; treason, by raising an army without warrant; murder, by taking away the life of the king's subject. After which, Gaveston being dead, the Spencers got possession of the king's favour, though the younger of them was placed about the king by the lords themselves.

Counf. What say you, then, to the parliament, held at London about the sixth year of that king?

Just. I say, that king was not bound to perform the acts of this parliament, because the lords, being too strong for the king, forced his consent; for these be the words of our own history: 'They wrested too much beyond the bounds of reason.'

Counf. What say you to the parliaments of the white wands, in the three-and-thirtieth year of the king?

Just. I say, the lords, that were so moved, came with an army, and, by strong hand, surprised the king. 'They constrained (saith the story) the rest of the lords, and compelled many of the bishops to consent unto them.' Yea, it saith further, That the king durst not but grant all that they required, to wit, for the banishment of the Spencers. Yea, they were so insolent, that they refused to lodge the queen, coming through Kent, in the castle of Leeds, and sent her to provide her lodging where she could get it, late in the night; for which, notwithstanding, some that kept her out, were soon after taken and hanged, and therefore your lordship cannot call this a parliament, for the reasons before alledged. But, my lord, What became of these lawgivers to the king? Even when they were greatest, a knight of the north, called Andrew Herkeley, assembled the forces of the country; overthrew them and their army; slew the earl of Hereford, and other barons; took their general, Thomas earl of Lancaster, the king's cousin-german, at that time possessed of five earldoms; the Lords Clifford, Talbot, Mowbray, Maudint, Willington, Warren; Lords Darcy, Withers, Knevil, Leybourne, Bekes, Lovell, Fitzwilliams, Watervild, and divers other barons, knights, and esquires; and, soon after, the Lord Percy and the Lord Warren took the Lord Baldfemere and the Lord Audley, the Lords Teis, Gifford, Tutchet, and many others, that fled from the battle; the most of which passed under the hands of the hangman, for constraining the king under the colour and name of a parliament. By this your good lordship may judge, to whom those tumultuous assemblies, which our histories falsely call parliaments, have been dangerous; the kings in the end ever prevailed, and the lords lost their lives and estates; after which, the Spencers, in their banishment at York, in the fifteenth year of the king, were restored to their honours and estates; and therein the king had a subsidy given him, the sixth penny of goods throughout England, Ireland, and Wales.

Counf. Yet, you see, the Spencers were soon after dissolved.

Just. It is true, my lord, but that is nothing to our subject of parliament; they may thank their own insolency, for they branded and despised the queen, whom they ought to have honoured as the king's wife; they were also exceeding greedy, and built themselves upon other men's ruins; they were ambitious, and exceeding malicious; whereupon that came, that, when Chamberlain Spencer was hanged in Hereford,

a part of the four-and-twentieth psalm was written over his head: *Quid gloriaris in malitia, potens?*

Counf. Well, Sir; you have all this while excused yourself upon the strength and rebellions of the lords; but what say you now to King Edward the Third? In whose time (and during the time of this victorious king, no man durst take arms, or rebel) the three estates did him the greatest affront, that ever king received or endured; therefore I conclude where I began, that these parliaments are dangerous for a king.

Just. To answer your lordship in order: May it please you first to call to mind what was given this great king, by his subjects, before the dispute betwixt him and the house happened, which was in his latter days. From his first year to his fifth year, there was nothing given the king by his subjects; in the eighth year, at the parliament at London, a tenth and a fifteenth was granted. In his tenth year, he seized upon the Italians goods here in England to his own use, with all the goods of the monks Cluniacks, and others of the order of the Cisterians. In the eleventh year, he had given him by parliament a notable relief, the one half of the wools throughout England, and, of the clergy, all their wools; after which, in the end of the year, he had granted, in this parliament at Westminster, forty shillings upon every sack of wool, and, for every thirty wool-fells, forty shillings; for every last of leather as much, and for all other merchandises after the same rate. The king promising, that, this year's gathering ended, he would thenceforth content himself with the old custom, he had, over and above this great aid, the eighth part of all goods of all citizens and burghesses, and others, as of foreign merchants: and, of such as lived not of the gain of breeding of sheep and cattle, the fifteenth of their goods. Nay, my lord, this was not all, though more than ever was granted to any king; for the same parliament bestowed on the king the ninth sheaf of all the corn within the land, the ninth fleece, and the ninth lamb, for two years next following: now, What thinks your lordship of this parliament?

Counf. I say, they were honest men.

Just. And I say, the people are as loving to their king now, as ever they were, if they be honestly and wisely dealt withal; and so his majesty had found them in his last two parliaments, if his majesty had not been betrayed by those whom he most trusted.

Counf. But, I pray you, Sir, Whom shall a king trust, if he may not trust those, whom he hath so greatly advanced?

Just. I will tell your lordship whom the king may trust.

Counf. Who are they?

Just. His own reason, and his own excellent judgment, which have not deceived him in any thing, wherein his majesty hath been pleased to exercise them. 'Take counsel of thine heart, saith the book of Wisdom, for there is none more faithful unto thee, than it.'

Counf. It is true; but his majesty found, that those wanted

wanted no judgment, whom he trusted ; and how could his majesty divine of their honesties ?

Just. Will you pardon me, if I speak freely ? For I speak out of love, which, as Solomon saith, *covereth all trespasses*. The truth is, That his majesty would never believe any man that spoke against them, and they knew it well enough ; which gave them boldness to do what they did.

Counf. What was that ?

Just. Even, my good lord, to ruin the king's estate, so far as the estate of so great a king may be ruined by men ambitious and greedy without proportion. It had been a brave increase of revenue, my lord, to have raised five hundred thousand pounds in land of the king's to twenty thousand pounds revenue, and to raise the revenue of wards to twenty thousand pounds more : forty thousand pounds, added to the rest of his majesty's estate, had so enabled his majesty, that he could never have wanted ; and, my good lord, it had been an honest service to the king, to have added seven thousand pounds in lands of the Lord Cobham's woods and goods, being worth thirty thousand pounds more.

Counf. I know not the reason why it was not done.

Just. Neither doth your lordship, perchance, know the reason why the ten thousand pounds, offered by Swinnerton, for a fine of the French wines, was, by the then Lord Treasurer, conferred on Devonshire and his mistress.

Counf. What moved the treasurer to reject and cross that raising of the king's lands ?

Just. The reason, my good lord, is manifest ; for, had the land been raised, then had the king known, when he had given or exchanged land, what he had given or exchanged.

Counf. What hurt had that been to the treasurer ? whose office is truly to inform the king of the value of all that he giveth ?

Just. So he did, when it did not concern himself, nor his particular ; for he could never admit any one piece of a good manor to pass in my Lord Aubigne's book of a thousand pounds land, till he himself had bought, and then all the remaining flowers of the crown were culled out. Now, had the treasurer suffered the king's lands to have been raised, How could his lordship have made choice of the old rents, as well in that book of my Lord Aubigne, as in exchange of Theobalds ; for which he took Hatfield in it, which the greatest subject, or favourite, Queen Elisabeth had, never durst have named unto her, by way of gift or exchange ? Nay, my lord, so many other goodly manors have passed from his majesty, that the very heart of the kingdom mourneth to remember it, and the eyes of the kingdom shed tears continually at the beholding it ; yea, the soul of the kingdom is heavy unto death with the consideration thereof that so magnanimous a prince should suffer himself to be so abused.

Counf. But, Sir, you know, that Cobham's lands were intailed upon his cousins.

Just. Yea, my lord ; but, during the lives and races of George Brooke's children, it had been the king's, that is to say, forever in effect ; but, to wrest the king, and to draw the inheritance upon himself, he persuaded his majesty to relinquish his interest for a petty sum of money ; and, that there might be no counter-working, he sent Brooke six thousand pounds to make friends ; whereof himself had two thousand pounds back again, Buckhurst and Berwick had the other four thousand pounds, and the treasurer and his heirs the mass of land for ever.

Counf. What then, I pray you, came to the king, by this great confiscation ?

Just. My lord, the king's majesty, by all those goodly possessions, woods, and goods, loseth five hundred pounds by the year, which he giveth in pension to Cobham, to maintain him in prison.

Counf. Certainly, even in conscience, they should have reserved so much of the land in the crown, as to have given Cobham meat and apparel, and not made themselves so great gainers, and the king five hundred pounds *per annum* loser by the bargain : but it is past ; ' *Consilium non est eorum, quæ fieri nequeunt.* '

Just. Take the rest of the sentence, my lord : ' *Sed consilium versatur in iis, quæ sunt in nostra potestate.* ' It is yet, my good lord, *in potestate Regis* to right himself. But this is not all, my lord ; and, I fear, knowing your lordship's love to the king, it would put you into a fever to hear all ; I will, therefore, go on with my parliaments.

Counf. I pray do so, and, amongst the rest, I pray you, What think you of the parliament holden at London in the fifteenth year of King Edward the Third ?

Just. I say, there was nothing concluded therein to the prejudice of the king : it is true, that, a little before the sitting of the house, the king displaced his chancellor, and his treasurers, and most of all his judges, and officers of the Exchequer, and committed many of them to prison, because they did not supply him with money, being beyond the seas : for the rest, the states assembled besought the king, that the laws of the two charters might be observed, and that the great officers of the crown might be chosen by parliament.

Counf. But what success had these petitions ?

Just. The charters were observed, as before, and so they will be ever ; and the other petition was rejected, the king being pleased, notwithstanding, that the great officers should take an oath in parliament to do justice. Now for the parliament of Westminster : in the seventeenth year of the king, the king had three marks and a half for every sack of wool transported ; and, in his eighteenth, he had a tenth of the clergy, and a fifteenth of the laity, for one year. His majesty forbore, after this, to charge his subjects with any more payments, until the twenty-ninth of his reign, when there was given the king, by parliament, fifty shillings for every sack of wool transported, for six years, by which grant the king received a thousand marks a day, a greater matter than a thousand pounds

in these days; and a thousand pounds a day amounts to three hundred sixty-five thousand pounds a year, which was one of the greatest presents that ever was given to a king of this land. For, besides the cheapness of all things in that age, the king's soldiers had but three-pence a day wages, a man at arms six-pence, and a knight but two shillings. In the parliament at Westminster, in the thirty-third year, he had twenty-six shillings and eight-pence for every sack of wool transported; and, in the forty-second year, three disins and three fifteenths. In his forty-fifth year he had fifty thousand pounds of the laity; and, because the spirituality disputed it, and did not pay so much, the king changed his chancellor, treasurer, and privy-seal, being bishops, and placed laymen in their room.

Counf. It seems, that, in those days, the kings were no longer in love with their great chancellors, than when they deserved well of them.

Just. No, my lord, they were not, and that was the reason they were well served; and it was the custom then, and in many ages after, to change the treasurer and the chancellor every three years, and withal, to hear all men's complaints against them.

Counf. But, by this often change, the saying is verified, That there is no inheritance in the favour of kings. *He that keepeth the fig-tree, saith Solomon, shall eat the fruit thereof;* for reason it is, that the servant live by the master.

Just. My lord, you say well in both; but, had the subject an inheritance in the prince's favour, where the prince had no inheritance in the subject's fidelity, then were kings in a more unhappy state than common persons. For the rest, Solomon meaneth not, That he, that *keepeth the fig-tree*, should surfeit; though he meaneth he should eat, he meaneth not he should break the branches in gathering the figs, or eat the ripe, and leave the rotten for the owner of the tree; for what saith he in the following chapter, he saith, That he, that *maketh haste to be rich, cannot be innocent*. And, before that, he saith, That *the end of an inheritance, hastily gotten, cannot be blessed*. Your lordship hath heard of few, or none, great with kings, that have not used their power to oppress, that have not grown insolent and hateful to the people; yea, insolent towards those princes that advanced them.

Counf. Yet you see that princes can change their fancies.

Just. Yea, my lord, when favourites change their faith, when they forget, that, how familiar soever kings make themselves with their vassals, yet they are kings: *He that provoketh a king to anger, saith Solomon, sinneth against his own soul*. And he further saith, That *pride goeth before destruction, and a high mind before a fall*. I say therefore, that in discharging those Lucifers, how dear soever they have been, kings make the world know, that they have more of judgment than of passion; yea, they thereby offer a satisfactory sacrifice to all their people; too great benefits of subjects to their king, where the mind is blown up

with their own deservings, and too great benefits of kings conferred upon their subjects, where the mind is not qualified with a great deal of modesty, are equally dangerous. Of this latter, and insolenter, had King Richard the Second delivered up to justice but three or four, he had still held the love of the people, and thereby his life and estate.

Counf. Well, I pray you go on with your parliaments.

Just. The life of this great King Edward draws to an end, so do the parliaments of this time, where, in fifty years reign, he never received any affront, for, in his forty-ninth year, he had a disin and a fifteen granted him freely.

Counf. But, Sir, it is an old saying, That all is well that ends well; judge you, whether, that, in his fiftieth year in the parliament at Westminster, he received not an affront, when the house urged the king to remove and discharge from his presence the duke of Lancaster, the Lord Latimer his chamberlain, Sir Richard Sturry, and others, whom the king favoured and trusted. Nay, they pressed the king to thrust a certain lady out of the court, which at that time bore the greatest sway therein.

Just. I will with patience answer your lordship to the full; and, first, your lordship may remember by that which I even now said, that never king had so many gifts, as this king had from his subjects, and it hath never grieved the subjects of England to give to their king; but when they knew there was a devouring lady, that had her share in all things that passed, and the duke of Lancaster was as scraping as she; that the chancellor did eat up the people as fast as either of them both: it grieved the subjects to feed these cormorants. But, my lord, there are two things by which the kings of England have been pressed, to wit, by their subjects, and by their own necessities. The lords in former times were far stronger, more warlike, and better followed, living in their countries, than now they are. Your lordship may remember in your reading, that there were many earls could bring into the field a thousand barbed horses, and many a baron five or six hundred barbed horses; whereas, now, very few of them can furnish twenty fit to serve the king. But to say the truth, my lord, the justices of peace in England have opposed the unjusticers of war in England; the king's writ runs over all, and the great seal of England, with that of the next constables, will serve the turn to affront the greatest lords in England, that shall move against the king. The force, therefore, by which our kings in former times were troubled, is vanished away: but the necessities remain. The people, therefore, in these latter ages, are no less to be pleased than the peers; for, as the latter are become less, so, by reason of the training through England, the commons have all the weapons in their hands.

Counf. And was it not so ever?

Just. No, my good lord, for the noblemen had in their

their armories to furnish some of them a thousand, some two thousand; and some three thousand men; whereas, now, there are not many that can arm fifty.

Counf. Can you blame them? But I will only answer for myself, between you and me be it spoken, I hold it not safe to maintain so great an armory, or stable; it might cause me, or any other nobleman, to be suspected, as to the preparing of some innovation.

Just. Why so, my lord? Rather to be commended, as preparing against all danger of innovation.

Counf. It should be so; but call your observation to account, and you shall find it as I say; for, indeed, such a jealousy hath been held, ever since the time of the civil wars, over the military greatness of our nobles, as made them have little will to bend their studies that way; wherefore, let every man provide according as he is rated in the muster-book; you understand me.

Just. Very well; my lord, as what might be replied in the perceiving so much; I have ever, to deal plainly and freely with your lordship, more feared at home popular violence, than all the foreign that can be made, for it can never be in the power of any foreign prince, without a papistical party, either to disorder or endanger his majesty's estate.

Counf. By this it seems, it is no less dangerous to leave the power in the people, than in the nobility.

Just. My good lord, the wisdom of our own age is the foolishness of another; the time present ought not to be preferred to the policy that was, but the policy that was, to the time present. So that the power of the nobility being now withered, and the power of the people in the flower, the care to content them should not be neglected, the way to win them often practised, or, at least, to defend them from oppression. The motive of all dangers, that ever this monarchy hath undergone, should be carefully heeded, for this maxim hath no postern, *Potestas humana radicitur in voluntatibus hominum*. And now, my lord, for King Edward; it is true, he was not subject to force, yet he was subject to necessity, which, because it was violent, he gave way unto it: *Potestas, faith Pythagoras, juxta necessitatem habitat*. And it is true, that at the request of the house, he discharged and put from him those beforenamed; which done, he had the greatest gift, but one, that he received in all his days, to wit, from every person, man, and woman, above the age of fourteen years, four-pence of old money, which made many millions of groats, worth six-pence of our money. This he had in general; besides, he had, of every beneficed priest, twelve-pence; and, of the nobility and gentry, I know not how much, for it is not set down. Now, my good lord, What lost the king by satisfying the desires of the parliament-house? For, as soon as he had the money in purse, he recalled the lords, and restored them, and who durst call the king to account, when the assembly were dissolved? *Where the word of a king is, there is power, faith Ecclesiasticus. Who shall say unto him, What doest thou?* faith the same author; for to

every purpose there is a time and judgment; the king gave way to the time, and his judgment persuaded him to yield to necessity, *Consularius nemo melior est quam tempus*.

Counf. But yet, you see the king was forced to yield to their demands?

Just. Doth your lordship remember the saying of Monsieur de Lange, That he that hath the profit of the war, hath also the honour of the war, whether it be by battle or retreat; the king, you see, had the profit of the parliament, and therefore the honour also: What other end had the king than to supply his wants? A wise man hath evermore respect unto his ends: and the king also knew, that it was the love that the people bore him, that they urged the removing of those lords; there was no man amongst them, that sought himself in that desire, but they all sought the king, as by the success it appeared. My good lord, Hath it not been ordinary in England, and in France, to yield to the demands of rebels? Did not King Richard the Second grant pardon to the outrageous rogues and murderers, that followed Jack Straw, and Wat Tyler, after they had murdered his chancellor, his treasurer, chief justice, and others, broke open his exchequer, and committed all manner of outrages and villanies? And why did he do it? But to avoid a greater danger: I say, the kings have then yielded to those that hated them and their estates, to wit, to pernicious rebels. And yet, without dishonour, shall it be called dishonour for the king to yield to honest desires of his subjects? No, my lord, those that tell the king those tales, fear their own dishonour, and not the king's; for the honour of the king is supreme, and, being guarded by justice and piety, it cannot receive neither wound nor stain.

Counf. But, Sir, what cause have any, under our king, to fear a parliament?

Just. The same cause that the earl of Suffolk had in Richard the Second's time, and the treasurer Fartham, with others; for these great officers, being generally hated for abusing both the king and the subject, at the request of the states were discharged, and others put in their rooms.

Counf. And was not this a dishonour to the king?

Just. Certainly, no; for King Richard knew that his grandfather had done the like, and, though the king was, in his heart, utterly against it, yet had he the profit of his exchange; for Suffolk was fined at twenty thousand marks, and one thousand pounds lands.

Counf. Well, Sir, we will speak of those that fear the parliament some other time; but I pray you go on with that, that happened in the troublesome reign of Richard the Second who succeeded, the grandfather being dead.

Just. That king, my good lord, was one of the most unfortunate princes that ever England had; he was cruel, extreme prodigal, and wholly carried away with his two minions, Suffolk and the duke of Ireland, by whose ill advice, and others, he was in danger to have lost

lost his estate, which, in the end, being led by men of the like temper, he miserably lost. But for his subsidies he had given him in his first year, being under age, two tenths and two fifteenths: in which parliament Alice Pierce, who was removed in king Edward's time, with Lancaster, Latimer, and Sturry, were confiscated and banished. In his second year, at the parliament at Gloucester, the king had a mark upon every sack of wool, and six-pence the pound upon wards. In his third year, at the parliament at Winchester, the commons were spared, and a subsidy given by the better sort; the dukes gave twenty marks, and earls six marks; bishops and abbots with mitres six marks, every mark three shillings four-pence; and every knight, justice, esquire, sheriff, parson, vicar, and chaplain paid proportionably, according to their estates.

Counf. This, methinks, was no great matter.

Just. It is true, my lord, but a little money went far in those days: I myself once moved it in parliament in the time of Queen Elizabeth, who desired much to spare the common people, and I did it by her commandment; but when we cast up the subsidy books, we found the sum but small, when the thirty pounds men were left out. In the beginning of his fourth year, a tenth with a fifteenth were granted, upon condition, that for one whole year no subsidies should be demanded; but this promise was as suddenly forgotten as made, for, in the end of that year, the great subsidy of poll-money was granted in the parliament at Northampton.

Counf. Yea, but there followed the terrible rebellion of Baker, Straw, and others; Leicester, Wrais, and others.

Just. That was not the fault of the parliament, my lord, it is manifest that the subsidy given was not the cause; for it is plain, that the bondmen of England began it, because they were grievously pressed by their lords in their tenure of villenage, as also for the hatred they bore to the lawyers and attornies; for the story of those times say, that they destroyed the houses and manors of men of law, and such lawyers, as they caught, slew them, and beheaded the lord chief justice; which commotion being once begun, the head money was by other rebels pretended. A fire is often kindled with a little straw, which oftentimes takes hold of greater timber, and consumes the whole building: and that this rebellion was begun by the discontented slaves, whereof there have been many in elder times the like, is manifest by the charter of manumission, which the king granted *in hæc verba*, Rich. *Dei Gratia, &c. sciatis quod de gratia nostra spiritali manumissimus, &c.* To which, seeing the king was constrained by force of arms, he revoked the letters patents, and made them void, the same revocation being strengthened by the parliament ensuing. In which the king had given him a subsidy upon wools, called a Maletot. In the same fourth year was the lord treasurer discharged of his office, and Hales, lord of St. John's, chosen in his place. In his fifth year was

the treasurer again changed, and the staff given to Segrave, and the lord chancellor was also changed, and the staff given to the Lord Scroope: which Lord Scroope was again, in the beginning of his sixth year, turned out; and the king, after that he had for a while kept the seal in his own hand, gave it to the bishop of London, from whom it was soon after taken and bestowed on the earl of Suffolk, who, they say, had abused the king, and converted the king's treasure to his own use. To this the king condescended; and though, faith Walsingham, he deserved to lose his life and goods, yet he had the favour to go at liberty upon good sureties; and because the king was but young, and that the relief granted was committed to the trust of the earl of Arundel, for the furnishing of the king's navy against the French.

Counf. Yet you see it was a dishonour to the king to have his beloved chancellor removed.

Just. Truly, no, for the king had both his fine, one thousand pound lands, and a subsidy to boot. And though, for the present, it pleased the king to fancy a man all the world hated, the king's passion overcoming his judgment, yet it cannot be called a dishonour, for the king is to believe the general council of the kingdom, and to prefer it before his affection, especially when Suffolk was proved to be false, even to the king; for, were it otherwise, love and affection might be called a frenzy and a madness, for it is the nature of human passions, that the love, bred by fidelity, doth change itself into hatred, when the fidelity is first changed into falsehood.

Counf. But, you see, there were thirteen lords chosen in parliament, to have the oversight of the government under the king.

Just. No, my lord, it was to have the oversight of those officers, which, faith the story, had imbezzled, lewdly wasted, and prodigally spent the king's treasure; for to grant the commission to those lords, or to any six of them, joined with the king's council, was one of the most royal and most profitable things he ever did, if he had been constant to himself. But, my good lord, man is the cause of his own misery; for I will repeat the substance of the commission granted by the king, and confirmed by a parliament, which, whether it had been profitable for the king to have prosecuted, your lordship may judge.

The preamble hath these words:

'Whereas our sovereign lord the king perceiveth, by the grievous complaints of the lords and commons of this realm, that the rents, profits, and revenues of this realm, by the singular and insufficient counsel and evil government, as well of some his late great officers, &c. are so much withdrawn, wasted, elained, given, granted, alienated, destroyed, and evil dispended, that he is so much impoverished and void of treasure and goods, and the substance of the crown so much diminished and destroyed, that his estate may not honourably be sustained as appertaineth: the king, of his free-will, at the request of the

‘ the lords and commons, hath ordained William archbishop of Canterbury, and others, with his chancellor, treasurer, keeper of his privy-seal, to survey and examine as well the estate and governance of his house, &c. as of all the rents, and profits, and revenues that to him appertain, and to be due, or ought to appertain and be due, &c. And all manner of gifts, grants, alienations, and confirmations made by him of lands, tenements, rents, &c. bargained and sold to the prejudice of him and his crown, &c. And of his jewels and goods which were his grandfather’s at the time of his death, &c. and where they be become.’

This is, in effect, the substance of the commission, which your lordship may read at large in the book of statutes, this commission being enacted in the tenth year of the king’s reign. Now, if such a commission were in these days granted to the faithful men, that have no interest in the sales, gifts, nor purchases, nor in the keeping of the jewels at the queen’s death, nor in the obtaining grants of the king’s best lands, I cannot say what may be recovered, and justly recovered; and, what says your lordship, Was not this a noble act for the king, if it had been followed to effect?

Counf. I cannot tell whether it were or no; for it gave power to the commissioners to examine all the grants.

Just. Why, my lord, doth the king grant any thing that shames at the examination? Are not the king’s grants on record?

Counf. But, by your leave, it is some dishonour to a king, to have his judgment called in question.

Just. That is true, my lord, but in this, or whenever the like shall be granted in the future, the king’s judgment is not examined, but their knavery that abused the king. Nay, by your favour, the contrary is true, that when a king will suffer himself to be eaten up by a company of petty fellows, by himself raised, therein both the judgment and courage is disputed. And, if your lordship will disdain it at your own servants hands, much more ought the great heart of a king to disdain it. And surely, my lord, it is a greater treason, though it undercreep the law, to tear from the crown the ornaments thereof: and it is an infallible maxim, that he that loves not his majesty’s estate, loves not his person.

Counf. How came it then that the act was not executed?

Just. Because these, against whom it was granted, persuaded the king to the contrary, as the duke of Ireland, Suffolk, the Chief Justice Tresilian, and others; yea, that which was lawfully done by the king, and the great council of the kingdom, was by the mastery which Ireland, Suffolk, and Tresilian had over the king’s affections, broken and disavowed. Those that devised to relieve the king not by any private invention, but by a general council, were, by a private and partial assembly, adjudged traitors; and

the most honest judges of the land, forced to subscribe to that judgment: infomuch, that Judge Belknap plainly told the duke of Ireland, and the earl of Suffolk, when he was constrained to set to his hand, that he wanted but a rope, that he might therewith receive a reward for his subscription. And in this council of Nottingham was hatched the ruin of those which governed the king, of the judges by them constrained, of the lords that loved the king, and sought a reformation, and of the king himself; for though the king found by all the sheriffs of the shires, that the people would not fight against the lords, whom they thought to be most faithful unto the king; when the citizens of London made the same answer, being at that time able to arm fifty thousand men, and told the mayor, that they would never fight against the king’s friends, and defenders of the realm; when the Lord Ralph Basset, who was near the king, told the king boldly, that he would not adventure to have his head broken for the duke of Ireland’s pleasure; when the lord of London told the earl of Suffolk in the king’s presence, that he was not worthy to live, &c. yet would the king, in the defence of the destroyers of his estate, lay ambushes to intrap the lords, when they came upon his faith; yea, when all was pacified, and that the king, by his proclamation, had cleared the lords, and promised to produce Ireland, Suffolk, and the archbishop of York, Tresilian and Bramber, to answer at the next parliament: these men confessed that they durst not appear; and when Suffolk fled to Calais, and the duke of Ireland to Chester, the king caused an army to be levied in Lancashire, for the safe conduct of the duke of Ireland to his presence, where as the duke, being encountered by the lords, ran like a coward from his company, and fled into Holland. After this was holden a parliament, which was called That Wrought Wonders; in the eleventh year of this king, wherein the forenamed lords, the duke of Ireland, and the rest, were condemned and confiscated, the chief justice hanged, with many others, the rest of the judges condemned and banished, and a tenth and fifteenth given to the king.

Counf. But, good Sir, the king was first besieged in the Tower of London, and the lords came to the parliament, and no man durst contradict them.

Just. Certainly, in raising an army, they committed treason; and though it did appear, that they all loved the king, for they did him no harm, having him in their power, yet our law doth construe all levying of war without the king’s commission, and all force raised to be intended for the death and destruction of the king, not attending the sequel. And it is so judged upon good reason, for every unlawful and ill action is supposed to be accompanied with an ill intent. And besides, those lords used too great cruelty, in procuring the sentence of death against divers of the king’s servants, who were bound to follow and obey their master and sovereign lord, in that he commanded.

Counf. It is true, and they were also greatly to blame to cause them so many seconds to be put to death,

death, seeing the principals, Ireland, Suffolk, and York, had escaped them. And what reason had they to seek to inform the state by strong hand? Was not the king's estate as dear to himself, as to them? He that maketh a king know his error mannerly and private, and gives him the best advice, he is discharged before God and his own conscience. The lords might have retired themselves, when they saw they could not prevail, and have left the king to his own ways, who had more to lose than they had.

Just. My lord, the taking of arms cannot be excused in respect of the law; but this might be said for the lords, that the king being under years, and being wholly governed by their enemies, and the enemies of the kingdom; and because, by those evil men's persuasions, it was advised, how the lords should have been murdered at a feast in London, they were excusable, during the king's minority, to stand upon their guards against their particular enemies. But we will pass it over, and go on with our parliaments that followeth, whereof that of Cambridge in the king's twelfth year was the next; therein the king hath given him a tenth and fifteenth; after which, being twenty years of age, he rechanged, saith H. Knighton, his treasurer, his chancellor, the justices of either bench, the clerk of the privy-seal, and others, and retook the government into his own hands. He also took the admiral's place from the earl of Arundel, and, in his room, he placed the earl of Huntingdon; in the year following, which was the thirteenth year of the king, in the parliament at Westminster, there was given to the king upon every sack of wool fourteen shillings, and six-pence in the pound upon other merchandise.

Counf. But, by your leave, the king was restrained this parliament, that he might not dispose of, but a third part of the money gathered.

Just. No, my lord, by your favour. But true it is, that part of this money was, by the king's consent, assigned towards the wars, but yet left in the lord treasurer's hands. And, my lord, it would be a great ease, and a great saving to his majesty, our lord and master, if it pleased him to make his assignations, upon some part of his revenues, by which he might have one thousand pounds, upon every ten thousand pounds, and save himself a great deal of clamour: for seeing, of necessity, the navy must be maintained, and that those poor men, as well carpenters as ship-keepers, must be paid, it were better for his majesty, to give an assignation to the treasurer of his navy, for the receiving of so much as is called *ordinary*, than to discontent those poor men, who being made desperate beggars, may perchance be corrupted by them that lie in wait to destroy the king's estate. And if his majesty did the like in all other payments, especially, where the necessity of such, as are to receive, cannot possibly give days; his majesty might then, in a little roll, behold his receipts and expences; he might quiet his heart, when all necessities were provided for, and then dispose the rest at his pleasure. And, my good lord, how excellently, and easily, might this have been

done, if the four hundred thousand pounds had been raised, as aforesaid, upon the king's lands, and wards; I say, that his majesty's house, his navy, his guards, his pensioners, his ammunition, his ambassadors, and all else of ordinary charge, might have been defrayed, and a great sum left for his majesty's casual expences, and rewards; I will not say, they were not in love with the king's estate, but I say, they were unfortunately born, for the king, that crossed it.

Counf. Well, Sir, I would it had been otherwise. But for the assignments, there are among us, that will not willingly endure it; charity begins with itself. Shall we hinder ourselves of fifty thousand pounds *per annum*, to save the king twenty? No, Sir, what will become of our new-years gifts, our presents, and gratuities? We can now say to those, that have warrants for money, that there is not a penny in the exchequer, but the king gives it away unto the Scots, faster than it comes in.

Just. My lord, you say well, at least you say the truth, that such are some of our answers; and hence comes that general murmur to all men, that have money to receive; I say, that there is not a penny given to that nation, be it for service, or otherwise, but it is spread over all the kingdom; yea, they gather notes, and take copies of all the privy-seals, and warrants, that his majesty hath given for the money for the Scots, that they may shew them in parliament. But of his majesty's gifts to the English, there is no bruit, though they may be ten times as much as the Scots. And yet, my good lord, howsoever they be thus answered, that to them sue for money out of the exchequer, it is due to them for ten, or twelve, or twenty in the hundred abated, according to their qualities that shew, they are always furnished. For conclusion, if it would please God to put into the king's heart, to make their assignations, it would save him many a pound, and gain him many a prayer, and a great deal of love, for it grieveth every honest man's heart, to see the abundance which even the petty officers in the exchequer and others gather both from the king and subject, and to see a world of poor men run after the king for their ordinary wages.

Counf. Well, well, did you never hear this old tale, that when there was a great contention about the weather, the seamen complaining of contrary winds, when those of the high countries desired rain, and those of the vallies, sun-shining days, Jupiter sent them word by Mercury, then, when they had all done, the weather should be as it had been; and it shall ever fall out so with them that complain, the course of payments shall be as they have been. What care we what petty fellows say? Or what care we for your papers? Have not we the king's ears, who dares contest with us? Though we cannot be revenged on such as you are, for telling the truth, yet upon some other pretence, we will clap you up, and you shall sue to us, before you get out. Nay, we will make you confess, that you were deceived in your projects, and eat your own words; learn this of me, Sir, that as a little good fortune

tune is better than a great deal of virtue ; so the least authority hath advantage over the greatest wit. Was he not the wisest man that said, ' The battle was not to the strongest, nor yet bread for the wise ; nor riches to men of understanding, nor favour to men of knowledge ; ' but that time and chance came to them all.

Just. It is well for your lordship that it is so. But Queen Elisabeth would set the reason of a mean man, before the authority of the greatest counsellor she had, and by her patience therein, she raised upon the usual and ordinary customs of London, without any new imposition, above fifty thousand pounds a year ; for though the treasurer Burleigh, and the earl of Leicester, and Secretary Walsingham, all three pensioners to Customer Smith, did set themselves against a poor waiter, of the custom-house, called Carwarden ; and commanded the grooms of the privy-chamber not to give him access ; yet the queen sent for him, and gave him countenance against them all. It would not serve the turn, my lord, with her, when your lordships would tell her, that the disgracing her great officers, by hearing the complaints of busy heads, was a dishonour to herself ; but she had always this answer, ' That if a man complain unjustly against a magistrate, it were reason he should be severely punished ; ' if justly, she was queen of the small, as well as of the great, and would hear their complaints.' For my good lord, a prince that suffereth himself to be besieged, forsaketh one of the greatest regalities belonging to a monarchy ; to wit, the last appeal, or as the French call it, *le dernier resort*.

Counf. Well, Sir, this from the matter, I pray you go on.

Just. Then my lord, in the king's fifteenth year, he had a tenth, and a fifteenth granted in the parliament of London. And the same year, there was a great council called at Stamford, to which divers men were sent for, of divers counties, besides the nobility, of whom the king took advice, Whether he should continue the war, or make a final end with the French ?

Counf. What needed the king to take the advice of any, but of his own council, in matter of peace and war ?

Just. Yea, my lord, for it is said in the Proverbs, *Where are many counsellors, there is health*. And if the king had made the war, by a general consent, the kingdom in general were bound to maintain the war, and they could not then say, when the king required aid, that he undertook a needless war.

Counf. You say well, but I pray you go on.

Just. After the subsidy in the fifteenth year, the king desired to borrow ten thousand pounds of the Londoners, which they refused to lend.

Counf. And was not the king greatly troubled therewith ?

Just. Yea, but the king troubled the Londoners soon after, for the king took the advantage of a riot, made upon the bishop of Salisbury's men ; sent for the

mayor, and other the ablest citizens ; committed the mayor to prison, in the castle of Windsor, and others to other castles, and made a lord warden of this city, till in the end, what with ten thousand pounds ready money, and other rich presents, instead of lending ten thousand pounds, it cost them twenty thousand pounds. Between the fifteenth year and twentieth year, he had two aids given him in the parliaments of Winchester and Westminster ; and this latter was given to furnish the king's journey into Ireland, to establish that estate which was greatly shaken, since the death of the king's grandfather, who received thence yearly, thirty thousand pounds ; and during the king's stay in Ireland, he had a tenth and a fifteenth granted.

Counf. And good reason, for the king had in his army four thousand horse, and thirty thousand foot.

Just. That by your favour, was the king's error ; for great armies do rather devour themselves, than destroy enemies ; such an army, whereof the fourth part would have conquered all Ireland, was in respect of Ireland, such an army as Xerxes led into Greece. In his twentieth year, wherein he had a tenth of the clergy, was the great conspiracy of the king's uncle, the duke of Gloucester, and of Mowbray, Arundel, Nottingham, and Warwick, the archbishop of Canterbury, and the abbot of Westminster, and others, who, in the twenty-first year of the king, were all redeemed by parliament. And what thinks your lordship, was not this assembly of the three estates, for the king's estate, wherein he so prevailed, that he not only overthrew those popular lords, but, besides, the English chronicle saith, the king so wrought and brought things about, that he obtained the power of both houses to be granted to certain persons, to fifteen noblemen and gentlemen, or to seven of them.

Counf. Sir, whether the king wrought well or ill, I cannot judge ; but our chronicles say, that many things were done in this parliament, to the displeasure of no small number of people, to wit, for that divers rightful heirs were disinherited of their lands and livings, with which wrongful doings, the people were much offended : so that the king, with those that were about him, and chief in council, came into great infamy and slander.

Just. My good lord, if your lordship will pardon me, I am of opinion, that those parliaments, wherein the kings of this land have satisfied the people, as they have been ever prosperous, so, where the king hath restrained the house, the contrary hath happened ; for the king's achievements, in this parliament, were the ready preparations to his ruin.

Counf. You mean by the general discontentment that followed, and because the king did not proceed legally with Gloucester and others. Why, Sir, this was not the first time that the kings of England have done things, without the council of the land ; yea, contrary to the law.

Just. It is true, my lord, in some particulars, as even at this time the duke of Gloucester was made away at Calais by a strong hand, without any lawful

trial; for he was a man so beloved of the people, and so allied, having the dukes of Lancaster and York, his brethren, the duke of Aumarle and the duke of Hereford his nephews, the great earls of Arundel and Warwick, with divers others of his part, in the conspiracy, as the king durst not try him, according to the law; for at the trial of Arundel and Warwick, the king was forced to entertain a petty army about him. And though the duke was greatly lamented, yet, it cannot be denied, but that he was then a traitor to the king: and was it not so, my lord, with the duke of Guise? Your lordship doth remember the spur-gauled proverb, that *Necessity hath no law*; and, my good lord, it is the practice of doing wrong, and of general wrongs done, that brings danger, and not where kings are pressed, in this, or that particular, for there is great difference between natural cruelty and accidental. And therefore it was Machiavel's advice, that, 'All that a king did in that kind, he should do at once, and by his mercies afterwards, make the world know, that his cruelty was not affected.' And, my lord, take this for a general rule, that the immortal policy of a state cannot admit any law or privilege whatsoever, but in some particular or other, the same is necessarily broken; yea, in an *Aristocratie*, or popular estate, which vaunts so much of equality, and common right, more outrage hath been committed, than in any Christian monarchy.

Counf. But whence came this hatred between the duke, and the king his nephew?

Just. My lord, the duke's constraining the king, when he was young, stuck in the king's heart, and now the duke's proud speech to the king, when he had surrendered Brest, formerly engaged to the duke of Bretagne, kindled again these coals, that were not altogether extinguished, for he used these words: 'Your grace ought to put your body in great pain, to win a strong-hold or town, by feats of arms, before you take upon you to sell or deliver any town, gotten by the manhood, and strong hand, and policy of your noble progenitors.' Whereat, saith the story, the king changed his countenance, &c. and to say truth, it was a proud and masterly speech of the duke; besides, that inclusively, he taxed him of sloth and cowardice, as if he had never put himself to the adventure of winning such a place; undutiful words of a subject do often take deeper root, than the memory of ill deeds does: the duke of Biron found it, when the king had him at advantage. Yea, the late earl of Essex told Queen Elisabeth, that her conditions were as crooked as her carcase, but it cost him his head; which his insurrection had not cost him, but for that speech: *Who will say unto a king*, saith Job, *thou art wicked?* Certainly, it is the same thing to say unto a lady, thou art crooked, and perchance more, as to say unto a king, he is wicked, and to say, that he is a coward, or to use any other words of disgrace; it is one and the same error.

Counf. But what say you for Arundel, a brave and valiant man, who had the king's pardon of his contempt, during his minority?

Just. My good lord, the parliament which, you say, disputes the king's prerogative, did quite contrary, and destroyed the king's charter and pardon formerly given to Arundel. And, my good lord, do you remember, that, at the parliament that wrought wonders, when these lords compounded that parliament, as the king did this, they were so merciless towards all, that they thought their enemies, as the earl of Arundel most insolently suffered the queen to kneel unto him, three hours, for the saving of one of her servants; and that scorn of his *manebat alta mente repertum*. And, to say the truth, it is more barbarous and unpardonable than any act, that ever he did, to permit the wife of his sovereign to kneel to him, being the king's vassal. For, if he had saved the Lord's servant freely at her first request, as it is like enough, that the queen would also have saved him, *Miseris succurrens paria obtinebis aliquando*: for your lordship sees, that the earl of Warwick, who was as far in the treason, as any of the rest, was pardoned. It was also, at this parliament, that the duke of Hereford accused Mowbray, duke of Norfolk; and that the duke of Hereford, son to the duke of Lancaster, was banished to the king's confusion, as your lordship well knows.

Counf. I know it well, and God knows, that the king had, then, a silly and weak council about him, that persuaded him to banish a prince of the blood, a most valiant man, and the best beloved of the people in general, of any man living; especially, considering that the king gave every day, more than other, offence to his subjects. For, besides that he fined the inhabitants, that assisted the lords in his minority, of the seventeen shires, which offence he had long before pardoned; his blank charters, and letting the realm to farm, to mean persons, by whom he was wholly advised, increased the people's hatred towards the present government.

Just. You say well, my lord, princes of an ill destiny do always follow the worst counsel, or, at least, embrace the best, after opportunity is lost: *Qui consilia non ex suo corde sed alienis viribus colligunt, non animo sed auribus cogitant*. And this was not the least grief of the subjects in general, and those men had the greatest part of the spoil of the commonwealth, which, neither by virtue, valour, or counsel, could add any thing unto it: *Nihil est sordidius, nihil crudelius*, saith Antoninus Pius, *quam remp. ab iis arroti, qui nihil in eam suo labore conferunt*.

Counf. Indeed, the letting to farm the realm was very grievous to the subject.

Just. Will your lordship pardon me, if I tell you that the letting to farm of his majesty's customs, the greatest revenue of the realm, is not very pleasing.

Counf. And why, I pray you, Doth not the king thereby raise his profits every third year, and one farmer outbid another to the king's advantage?

Just. It is true, my lord, but it grieves the subject to pay custom to the subject; for what mighty men are those farmers become, and if those farmers get many thousands every year, as the world knows they do,

do, why should they not now, being men of infinite wealth, declare unto the king, upon an oath, what they have gained, and henceforth become the king's collectors of his customs? Did not Queen Elizabeth, who was reputed both a wise and just princess, after she had brought Customer Smith, from fourteen thousand pounds a year, to forty-two thousand a year, make him lay down a recompence for that which he had gotten? And, if these farmers do give no recompense, let them yet present the king with the truth of their receivings and profits. But, my lord, for conclusion, after Bolingbrook arrived in England, with a small troop: notwithstanding the king, at his landing out of Ireland, had a sufficient and willing army: yet he, wanting courage to defend his right, gave leave to all his soldiers to depart, and put himself into his hands that cast him into his grave.

Counf. Yet you see, he was deposed by parliament.

Just. As well may your lordship say, he was knocked in the head by parliament, for your lordship knows, that if King Richard had ever escaped out of their fingers that deposed him, the next parliament would have made all the depoters traytors and rebels, and that justly. In which parliament, or rather unlawful assembly, there appeared but one honest man, to wit, the bishop of Carlisle, who scorned his life and estate, in respect of right and his allegiance, and defended the right of his sovereign lord, against the king elect and his partakers.

Counf. Well, I pray go on with the parliaments, held in the time of his successor Henry the Fourth.

Just. This king had, in his third year, a subsidy, and in his fifth, a tenth of the clergy, without a parliament: in his sixth year, he had so great a subsidy, that the house required there might be no record thereof left to posterity, for the house gave him twenty shillings of every knight's fee, and of every twenty pounds, land, twenty-pence, and twelve-pence the pound, for goods.

Counf. Yea, in the end of this year, the parliament pressed the king to annex unto the crown all temporal possessions belonging to church-men, within the land; which, at that time, was the third foot of all England. But the bishops made friends, and in the end saved their estates.

Just. By this you see, my lord, that Cromwell was not the first that thought on such a business. And, if King Henry the Eighth had reserved the abbies, and other church-lands, which he had given at that time, the revenue of the crown of England had exceeded the revenue of the crown of Spain, with both the Indies; whereas, used as it was, a little enriching the crown, it served but to make a number of pettifoggers, and other gentlemen.

Counf. But what had the king, instead of his great revenue?

Just. He had a fifteenth of the commons, and a tenth, and a half of the clergy; and withal, all pensions granted by King Edward, and King Richard,

were made void. It was also moved, that all crown lands formerly given, at least by King Edward, and King Richard, should be taken back.

Counf. What think you of that, Sir; Would it not have been a dishonour to the king? And would not his successors have done the like to those, that the king had advanced?

Just. I cannot answer your lordship, but by distinguishing, for, where the kings had given land for services, and had not been over-reached in his gifts, there it had been a dishonour to the king to have made void the grants of his predecessors, or his grants; but all those grants of the kings, wherein they were deceived, the very custom and policy of England makes them void, at this day.

Counf. How mean you that, for his majesty hath given a great deal of land among us, since he came into England, and would it stand with the king's honour, to take it from us again?

Just. Yea, my lord, very well with the king's honour; if your lordship, or any lord else, have, under the name of a hundred pounds land a year, gotten five hundred pounds land, and so after that rate.

Counf. I will never believe, that his majesty will ever do any such thing.

Just. And I believe, as your lordship doth, but we spoke before, of those that dissuaded the king from calling it a parliament: and your lordship asked me the reason, Why any man should dissuade it, to fear it; To which, this place gives me an opportunity to make your lordship an answer; for though his majesty will, of himself, never question those grants; yet, when the commons shall make humble petition to the king in parliament, that it will please his majesty to assist them in his relief, with that which ought to be his own; which, if it will please his majesty to yield unto, the house will most willingly furnish and supply the rest; With what grace can his majesty deny that honest suit of theirs, the like having been done in many kings times before? This proceeding, my good lord, may perchance prove all your phrases of the king's honour false English.

Counf. But this cannot concern many, and, for myself, I am sure it concerns me little.

Just. It is true, my lord, and there are not many that dissuade his majesty from a parliament.

Counf. But they are great ones, a few of which will serve the turn well enough.

Just. But, my lord, be they never so great, as great as giants, yet, if they dissuade the king from his ready and assured way of his subsistence, they must devise how the king may be elsewhere supplied, for they otherwise run into a dangerous fortune.

Counf. Hold you contented, Sir, the king needs no great dissuasion.

Just. My lord, learn of me, that there is none of you all, that can pierce the king. It is an essential property of a man truly wise, not to open all the boxes of his bosom, even to those, that are nearest and dearest unto him; for, when a man is discovered to the

very bottom, he is after the less esteemed. I dare undertake, that, when your lordship hath served the king twice twelve years more, you will find, that his majesty hath reserved somewhat beyond all your capacities; his majesty hath great reason to put off the parliament, as his last refuge; and in the mean time, to make trial of all your loves to serve him; for his majesty hath had good experience, how well you can serve yourselves: but when the king finds, that the building of your own fortunes and factions hath been the diligent studies, and the service of his majesty but the exercises of your leisures: he may then perchance cast himself upon the general love of his people; of which, I trust, he shall never be deceived, and leave as many of your lordships, as have pilfered from the crown, to their examination.

Counf. Well, sir, I take no great pleasure in this dispute; go on I pray.

Just. In that king's fifth year, he had also a subsidy, which is got by holding the house together, from Easter to Christmas, and would not suffer them to depart. He had also a subsidy in his ninth year. In his eleventh year, the commons did again press the king, to take all the temporalities of the churchmen into his hands, which they proved sufficient to maintain a hundred and fifty earls, fifteen hundred knights, and six thousand four hundred esquires, with a hundred hospitals; but they not prevailing, gave the king a subsidy.

As for the notorious prince, Henry the Fifth, I find that he had given him, in his second year, three hundred thousand marks, and after that two other subsidies; one in his fifth year, another in his ninth, without any disputes.

In the time of his successor, Henry the Sixth, there were not many subsidies. In his third year, he had a subsidy of a tonnage and poundage. And here, saith John Stow, began those payments which we call customs, because the payment was continued; whereas, before that time, it was granted but for a year, two, or three, according to the king's occasions. He had also an aid and gathering of money in his fourth year; and the like in his tenth year, and in his thirteenth year a fifteenth. He had also a fifteenth, for the conveying of the queen out of France into England. In the twenty-eighth year of that king, was the act of resumption of all honours, towns, castles, signories, villages, manors, lands, tenements, rents, reversions, fees, &c. But because the wages of the king's servants were, by the strictness of the act, also restrained, this act of resumption was expounded in the parliament at Reading, the thirty-first year of the king's reign.

Counf. I perceive that those acts of resumption were ordinary in former times; for King Stephen resumed the lands, which in former times he had given to make friends, during the civil wars; and Henry the Second resumed all, without exception, which King Stephen had not resumed; for though King Stephen took back

a great deal, yet he suffered his truest servants to enjoy his gift.

Just. Yes, my lord, and in after times also, for this was not the last, nor shall be the last, I hope. And judge you, my lord, whether the parliaments do not only serve the king, whatsoever is said to the contrary; for as all King Henry the Sixth's gifts and grants were made void by the duke of York, when he was in possession of the kingdom by parliament; so, in the time of King Henry, when King Edward was beaten out again, the parliament of Westminster made all his acts void, and him and all his followers traitors, and gave the king many of their heads and lands. The parliaments of England do always serve the king in possession; it served Richard the Second to condemn the popular lords; it served Bolingbroke to depose Richard. When Edward the Fourth had the sceptre, it made them all beggars, that had followed Henry the Sixth; and it did the like for Henry, when Edward was driven out. The parliaments are, as the friendship of this world is, which always followeth prosperity; for King Edward the Fourth, after that he was possessed of the crown, he had, in his thirteenth year, a subsidy freely given him, and, in the year following, he took a benevolence through England; which arbitrary taking from the people served that ambitious traitor, the duke of Bucks. After the king's death, it was a plausible argument to persuade the multitude, that they should not permit, saith Sir Thomas Moore, his line to reign any longer upon them.

Counf. Well, sir, what say you to the parliament of Richard the Third's time?

Just. I find but one, and therein he made divers good laws; for King Henry the Seventh, in the beginning of his third year, had by parliament an aid granted unto him, towards the relief of the duke of Bretagne, then assailed by the French king. And although the king did not enter into the war, but by the advice of the three estates, who did willingly contribute; yet those northern men, which loved Richard the Third, raised rebellion, under colour of the money imposed, and murdered the earl of Northumberland, whom the king employed in that collection. By which your lordship sees, that it hath not been for taxes and impositions alone, that the ill-disposed have taken arms, but even for those payments which have been appointed by parliament.

Counf. And what became of these rebels?

Just. They were fairly hanged, and the money levied notwithstanding; in the king's first year he gathered a marvellous great mass of money, by a benevolence, taking pattern, by this kind of levy, from Edward the Fourth; but the king caused it first to be moved in parliament, where it was allowed, because the poorer sort were therein spared. Yet it is true, that the king used some art; for in his letters he declared, that he would measure every man's affections by his gifts. In the thirteenth year he had also a subsidy,

a subsidy, whereupon the Cornish men took arms, as the northern men of the bishoprick of Durham had done in the third year of the king.

Counf. It is without example, that ever the people have rebelled for any thing granted by parliament, save in this king's days.

Just. Your lordship must consider, that he was not overmuch beloved, for he took many advantages, both upon the people and the nobility.

Counf. And I pray you, What say they now of the new impositions lately laid by the king's majesty? Do they say they are justly or unjustly laid?

Just. To impose upon all things brought into the kingdom is very ancient; which imposing, when it hath been continued a certain time, is then called customs, because the subjects are accustomed to pay it; and yet the great tax upon wine is still called impost, because it was imposed after the ordinary rate of payment had lasted many years. But we do now-a-days understand those things to be impositions, which are raised by the command of princes, without the advice of the commonwealth; though, as I take it, much of that which is now called custom, was at the first imposed by prerogative royal: now, whether it be time or consent that makes them just, I cannot define: Were they just because new, or not justified yet by time, or unjust because they want a general consent? Yet is this rule of Aristotle verified, in respect of his majesty: *Minus timent homines injustum pati a principe, quem cultorem Dei putant.* Yea, my lord, they are also the more willingly borne, because all the world knows, they are no new invention of the king's; and if those that advised his majesty to impose them, had raised his lands, as it was offered them, to twenty thousand pounds more than it was, and his wards to as much as afore said, they had done him far more acceptable service. But they had their own ends in refusing the one, and accepting the other. If the land had been raised, they could not have selected the best of it for themselves; if the impositions had not been laid, some of them could not have their silks, others pieces in farm; which, indeed, grieved the subject ten times more than that which his majesty enjoyeth. But certainly they made a great advantage, that were the advisers; for if any tumult had followed his majesty, a ready way had been to have delivered them over to the people.

Counf. But think you, that the king would have delivered them if any troubles had followed?

Just. I know not, my lord, it was Machiavel's counsel to Cæsar Borgia to do it; and King Henry the Eighth delivered Empson and Dudley: yea the same king, when the great Cardinal Wolsey, who governed the king, and all his estate, had, by requiring the sixth part of every man's goods for the king, raised rebellion; the king, I say, disavowed him absolutely, that had not the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk appeased the people, the cardinal had sung no more mass; for these are the words of our story: the king then came to Westminster, to the cardinal's pa-

lace, and assembled there a great council, in which he protested, That his mind was never to ask any thing of his commons, which might sound to the breach of his laws; wherefore, he then willed them to know by whose means they were so strictly given forth. Now, my lord, how the cardinal would have shifted himself by saying, I had the opinion of the judges, had not the rebellion been appeased, I greatly doubt.

Counf. But, good sir, you blanch my question, and answer me by examples. I ask you, Whether or no, in any such tumult, the people pretending against one or two great officers, the king should deliver them, or defend them?

Just. My good lord, the people have not staid for the king's delivery, neither in England nor in France; your lordship knows how the chancellor, treasurer, and chief justice, with many others, at several times, have been used by the rebels; and the marshals, constables, and treasurers in France, have been cut in pieces in Charles the Sixth's time. Now to your lordship's question, I say, that where any man shall give a king perilous advice, as may either cause a rebellion, or draw the people's love from the king; I say, that a king shall be advised to banish him; but if the king do absolutely command his servant to do any thing displeasing to the commonwealth, and to his own peril, there is the king bound in honour to defend him. But, my good lord, for conclusion; there is no man in England that will lay any invention, either grievous, or against law, upon the king's majesty; and therefore your lordships must share it amongst you.

Counf. For my part I had no hand in it, I think Ingram was he that propounded it to the treasurer.

Just. Alas! my good lord, every poor waiter in the Custom-house, or every promoter might have done it; there is no invention in these things. To lay impositions, and sell the king's lands, are poor and common devices. It is true that Ingram, and his fellows, are odious men, and therefore his majesty pleased the people greatly, to put him from the coffership. It is better for a prince to use such kind of men, than to countenance them; hangmen are necessary in a commonwealth; yet, in the Netherlands, none but a hangman's son will marry a hangman's daughter. Now, my lord, the last gathering which Henry the Seventh made, was in his twentieth year, wherein he had another benevolence both of the clergy and laity, a part of which, taken of the poorer sort, he ordained by his testament that it should be restored. And for King Henry the Eighth, although he was left in a most plentiful estate, yet he wonderfully pressed his people with great payments; for in the beginning of his time it was infinite, that he spent in masking and tilting, banqueting, and other vanities, before he was entered into the most consuming expence of the most fond and fruitless war that ever king undertook. In his fourth year, he had one of the greatest subsidies that ever was granted; for besides two-fifteenths and

two disms, he used David's law of capitation, or head-money; and had of every duke, ten marks; of every earl, five pounds; of every lord, four pounds; of every knight, four marks; and every man rated at eight pounds, in goods four marks, and so after the rate; yea, every man that was valued but at forty shillings, paid twelve-pence, and every man and woman, above fifteen years old, four-pence; he had also, in his sixth year, divers subsidies granted him. In his fourteenth, there was a tenth demanded of every man's goods, but it was moderated. In the parliament following, the clergy gave the king the half of their spiritual livings for one year, and of the laity there was demanded eight hundred thousand pounds, which could not be levied in England; but it was a marvellous great gift that the king had given him at that time. In the king's seventeenth year was the rebellion before spoken of, wherein the king disavowed the cardinal; in his seventeenth year, he had the tenth and fifteenth given by parliament, which were before that time paid to the pope; and before that time also the monies, that the king borrowed in his fifteenth year, were forgiven him by parliament in his seventeenth year. In his thirty-fifth year, a subsidy was granted of four-pence the pound of every man worth, in goods, from twenty shillings to five pounds, from five pounds to ten pounds, and upwards, of every pound two shillings. And all strangers, denizens, and others, doubled this sum; strangers, not being inhabitants above sixteen years, four-pence a head. All that had lands, fees, and annuities, from twenty to five, and so double, as they did for goods: and the clergy gave six-pence the pound. In the thirty-seventh year, a benevolence was taken, not voluntary, but rated by commissioners, which because one of the aldermen refused to pay, he was sent for a soldier into Scotland. He had also another great subsidy of six shillings the pound, of the clergy, and two shillings and eight-pence of the goods of the laity, and four shillings the pound upon lands.

In the second year of Edward the Sixth, the parliament gave the king an aid of twelve-pence the pound of goods of his natural subjects, and two shillings the pound of strangers, and this to continue for three years; and by the statute of the second and third of Edward the Sixth, it may appear, the same parliament did also give a second aid as followeth, to wit, of every ewe, kept in several pastures, three-pence; of every wether, kept as aforesaid, two-pence; of every sheep, kept in the common, one penny. Observation. The house gave the king also eight-pence the pound of every woollen-cloth made for sale, throughout England, for three years. In the third and fourth of the king, by reason of the troublesome gathering of the poll-money upon sheep, and the tax upon cloth, this act of subsidy was repealed, and other relief given the king, and in the king's seventh year he had a subsidy, and two-fifteenths.

In the first year of Queen Mary, tonnage and poundage were granted; in the second year, a subsidy was

given to King Philip and to the Queen; she had also a third subsidy, in *Annis 4 & 5*.

Now, my lord, for the parliaments of the late queen's [Elisabeth's] time, in which there was nothing new, neither head-money, nor sheep-money, nor escuage, nor any of these kinds of payments was required, but only the ordinary subsidies, and those as easily granted as demanded. I shall not need to trouble your lordship with any of them; neither can I inform your lordship of all the passages and acts which have passed, for they are not extant, nor printed.

Counf. No, it were but time lost to speak of the latter; and by those that are already remembered, we may judge of the rest; for those of the greatest importance are publick: But, I pray you, deal freely with me; what think you would be done for his majesty, if he should call a parliament at this time? Or what would be required at his majesty's hands?

Just. The first thing that would be required, would be the same that was required by the commons in the thirteenth year of Henry the Eighth; to wit, That if any man of the commons house should speak more largely, than of duty he ought to do, all such offences to be pardoned, and that to be of record.

Counf. So might every companion speak of the king what they list.

Just. No, my lord; the reverence which a vassal oweth to his sovereign, is always intended for every speech; howsoever, it must import the good of the king, and his estate, and so long it may be easily pardoned, otherwise not: for in Queen Elisabeth's time, who gave freedom of speech in all parliaments, when Wentworth made those motions, that were but supposed dangerous to the queen's estate, he was imprisoned in the Tower, notwithstanding the privilege of the house, and there died.

Counf. What say you to the Sicilian vespers, remembered in the last parliament?

Just. I say, he repented him heartily that used that speech; and indeed, besides that it was seditious, this example held not: the French in Sicily usurped that kingdom; they kept neither law nor faith; they took away the inheritance of the inhabitants; they took from them their wives, and ravished their daughters, committing all other insolencies that could be imagined. The king's majesty is the natural lord of England; his vassals of Scotland obey the English laws; if they break them, they are punished without respect: yea, his majesty put one of his barons to a shameful death, for being consenting only to the death of a common fencer; and which of these ever did, or durst commit any outrage in England? But, to say the truth, the opinion of packing the last was the cause of the contention and disorder that happened.

Counf. Why, sir, do you not think it best to compound a parliament of the king's servants and others, that shall in all obey the king's desires?

Just. Certainly no; for it hath never succeeded well, neither on the king's part, nor on the subjects, as by the parliament before remembered your lordship may

may gather; for, from such a composition, do arise all jealousies and all contentions. It was practised in elder times, to the great trouble of the kingdom, and to the loss and ruin of many. It was of later time used by King Henry the Eighth, but every way to his disadvantage. When the king leaves himself to his people, they assure themselves that they are trusted and beloved of their king; and there was never any assembly so barbarous, as not to answer the love and trust of their king. Henry the Sixth, when his estate was in effect utterly overthrown, and utterly impoverished, at the humble request of his treasurer, made the same known to the house: or otherwise, using the treasurer's own words, 'He humbly desired the king to take his staff, that he might save his wardship.'

Counf. But you know they will presently be in hand with those impositions, which the king hath laid by his own royal prerogative.

Just. Perchance not, my lord, but rather with those impositions, that have been by some of your lordships laid upon the king; which did not some of your lordships fear, more than you do the impositions laid upon the subjects, you would never dissuade his majesty from a parliament; for no man doubted, but that his majesty was advised to lay those impositions by his council: and for particular things on which they were laid, the advice came from petty fellows (though now great ones) belonging to the Custom-house. Now, my lord, what prejudice hath his majesty, his revenues being kept up, if the impositions that were laid by the advice of a few, be in parliament laid by the general council of the kingdom, which takes off all grudging and complaint?

Counf. Yea, sir; but that which is done by the king, with the advice of his private or privy-council, is done by the king's absolute power.

Just. And by whose power is it done in parliament, but by the king's absolute power? Mistake it not, my lord: the three estates do but advise, as the prime council doth; which advice, if the king embrace it, becomes the king's own act in the one, and the king's law in the other; for without the king's acceptation, both the publick and private advices are but as empty egg-shells. And what doth his majesty lose, if some of those things which concern the poorer sort, be made free again, and the revenue kept up upon that which is superfluous? Is it a loss to the king to be beloved of the commons? If it be revenue which the king seeks, is it not better to take it of those that laugh than of those that cry? Yea, if all be content to pay, upon moderation and change of the species, is it not more honourable, and more safe for the king, that the subjects pay by persuasion, than to have them constrained? If they be contented to whip themselves for the king, were it not better to give them the rod into their own hands, than to commit them to the executioner? Certainly, it is far more happy for a sovereign prince, that a subject open his purse willingly, than that the same be opened by violence. Besides that,

when impositions are laid by parliament, they are gathered by the authority of the law, which, as aforesaid, rejecteth all complaints, and stoppeth every mutinous mouth. It shall ever be my prayer, that the king embrace the counsel of honour and safety; and let other princes embrace that of force.

Counf. But, good sir, it is his prerogative which the king stands upon; and it is the prerogative of the king's, that the parliaments do all diminish.

Just. If your lordship would pardon me, I would say then, that your lordship's objection against parliaments is ridiculous. In former parliaments, three things have been supposed dishonour of the king: the first, That the subjects have conditioned with the king, when the king hath needed them, to have the great charter confirmed: the second, That the estates have made treasurers, for the necessary and profitable disbursing of those sums by them given, to the end that the kings to whom they were given, should expend them for their own defence, and for the defence of the commonwealth: the third, That these have pressed the king to discharge some great officers of the crown, and to elect others. As touching the first, my lord, I would fain learn what disadvantage the kings of this land have had by confirming the great charter; the breach of which hath served only men of your lordship's rank to assist their own passions, and to punish and imprison, at their own discretion, the king's poor subjects, concerning their private hatred, with the colour of the king's service; for the king's majesty takes no man's inheritance, as I have said before, nor any man's life, but by the law of the land, according to the charter: neither doth his majesty imprison any man (matter of practice, which concerns the preservation of his estate, excepted) but by the law of the land, and yet he useth his prerogative, as all the kings of England have ever used it; for the supreme reason causes to practise many things without the advice of the law; as, in insurrections and rebellions, it useth the martial, and not the common law, without any breach of the charter, the intent of the charter considered truly. Neither hath any subject made complaint, or been grieved, in that the kings of this land, for their own safeties and preservation of their estates, have used their prerogatives, the great ensign, on which there is written *Soli Deo*. And, my good lord, was not Buckingham in England, and Byron in France, condemned, their peers uncalled? And, withal, was not Byron utterly (contrary to the customs and privileges of the French) denied an advocate to assist his defence? For where law's forecast cannot provide remedies for future dangers, princes are forced to assist themselves by their prerogatives. But that which hath been ever grievous, and the cause of many troubles very dangerous, is, that your lordships, abusing the reasons of state, do punish and imprison the king's subjects at your pleasure: it is you, my lords, that, when subjects have sometimes need of the king's prerogative, do then use the strength of the law; and, when they require the law, you afflict them with the prerogative,

prerogative, and tread the great charter, which hath been confirmed by sixteen acts of parliament, under your feet, as a torn parchment, or waste paper.

Counf. Good sir, which of us do, in this sort, break the great charter? Perchance you mean, that we have advised the king to lay the new impositions.

Just. No, my lord, there is nothing in the great charter against impositions; and, besides that, necessity doth persuade them: and if necessity do, in somewhat, excuse a private man, *à fortiori*, it may then excuse a prince. Again, the king's majesty hath profit and increase of revenue by the impositions. But there are of your lordships, contrary to the direct letter of the charter, that imprison the king's subjects, and deny them the benefit of the law, to the king's disprofit. And what do you do otherwise thereby, if the impositions be in any sort grievous, but *renovare dolores*? And, withal, dig out of the dust the long-buried memory of the subjects former intentions with their kings.

Counf. What mean you by that?

Just. I will tell your lordship, when I dare: in the mean time, it is enough for me to put your lordship in mind, that all the estates in the world, in the offence of the people, have either had profit or necessity to persuade them to adventure it; of which, if neither be urgent, and yet the subject exceedingly grieved, your lordship may conjecture, that the house will be humble suitors for a redress. And if it be a maxim in policy, to please the people in all things indifferent, and never suffer them to be beaten but for the king's benefit (for there are no blows forgotten with the smart but those) then I say, to make them vassals to vassals, is but to batter down those mastering buildings erected by King Henry the Seventh, and fortified by his son, by which the people and gentry of England were brought to depend upon the king alone. Yea, my good lord, our late dear sovereign kept them up, and to their advantage as well repaired as ever prince did. *Defend me, and spend me, faith the Irish churl.*

Counf. Then you think, that this violent breach of the charter will be the cause of seeking the confirmation of it in the next parliament, which otherwise could never have been moved?

Just. I know not, my good lord, perchance not; for if the house press the king to grant unto them all that is theirs by the law, they cannot in justice refuse the king all that is his by the law. And where will be the issue of such a contention? I dare not divine, but sure I am, that it will tend to the prejudice both of the king and subject.

Counf. If they dispute not their own liberties, why should they then dispute the king's liberties, which we call his prerogative?

Just. Amongst so many and so divers spirits, no man can foretell what may be propounded; but howsoever, if the matter be not slightly handled on the king's behalf, these disputes will soon dissolve, for the king hath so little need of his prerogative, and so great ad-

vantage by the laws, as the fear of impairing the one, to wit, the prerogative, is so impossible; and the burthen of the other, to wit, the law, so weighty, as but by a branch of the king's prerogative, namely, of his remission and pardon, the subject is no way able to undergo it. This, my lord, is no matter of flourish that I have said, but it is the truth, and unanswerable.

Counf. But to execute the laws very severely would be very grievous?

Just. Why, my lord, are the laws grievous which ourselves have required of our kings? And are the prerogatives also, which our kings have reserved to themselves, also grievous? How can such a people then be well pleased? And if your lordship confess that the laws give too much, why does your lordship urge the prerogative that gives more? Nay, I will be bold to say it, that except the laws were better observed, the prerogative of a religious prince hath manifold less perils than the letter of the law hath. Now, my lord, for the second and third, to wit, for the appointing of treasurers, and removing of counsellors, our kings have evermore laughed them to scorn that have pressed either of these; and after the parliament dissolved, took the money of the treasurers of the parliament, and recalled and restored the officers discharged; or else they have been contented, that some such persons should be removed at the request of the whole kingdom, which they themselves, out of their noble natures, would not seem willing to remove.

Counf. Well, sir, would you, notwithstanding all these arguments, advise his majesty to call a parliament?

Just. It belongs to your lordships, who enjoy the king's favour, and are chosen for your able wisdom to advise the king. It were a strange boldness in a poor and private person, to advise kings, attended with so understanding a council. But, belike your lordships have conceived some other way how money may be gotten otherwise. If any trouble should happen, your lordship knows, that then there were nothing so dangerous for a king as to be without money: a parliament cannot assemble in haste, but present dangers require hasty remedies. It will be no time then to discontent the subjects, by using any inordinate ways.

Counf. Well, sir, all this notwithstanding, we dare not advise the king to call a parliament, for if it should succeed ill, we that advise should fall into the king's disgrace. And if the king be driven into any extremity, we can say to the king, that, because we found it extremely displeasing to his majesty to hear of a parliament, we thought it no good manners to make such a motion.

Just. My lord, to the first let me tell you, that there was never any just prince that hath taken any advantage of the success of counsels, which have been founded on reason. To fear that were to fear the loss of the bell more than the loss of the steeple, and were also the way to beat all men from the studies of the king's service. But for the second, where you say you
can

can excuse yourselves upon the king's own protesting against a parliament; the king, upon better consideration, may encounter that finesse of yours.

Counf. How, I pray you?

Just. Even by declaring himself to be indifferent, by calling your lordships together, and by delivering unto you, that he hears how his loving subjects in general are willing to supply him, if it please him to call a parliament, for that was the common answer to all the sheriffs in England, when the late benevolence was commanded. In which respect, and because you came short in all your projects, and because it is a thing most dangerous for a king to be without treasure, he requires such of you, as either dislike, or rather fear, a parliament, to set down your reasons in writing, why you either disliked or feared it. And such as I wish and desire it, to set down answers to your objections: and so shall the king prevent the calling, or not calling, on his majesty, as some of your great counsellors have done in many other things, shrinking up their shoulders, and saying, *The king will have it so.*

Counf. Well, sir, it grows late, and I will bid you farewell, only you shall take well with you this advice of mine: that, in all that you have said against our greatest, those men, in the end, shall be your judges in their own cause; you, that trouble yourself with reformation, are like to be well rewarded; for hereof you may assure yourself, that we will never allow of any invention, how profitable soever, unless it proceed, or seem to proceed, from ourselves.

Just. If then, my lord, we may presume to say, that princes may be unhappy in any thing, certainly they are unhappy in nothing more, than in suffering themselves to be so inclosed. Again, if we may believe Pliny, who tells us, 'That it is an ill sign of prosperity in any kingdom or state, where such, as deserve well, find no other recompence than the contentment of their own consciences;' a far worse sign is it, where the justly accused shall take revenge of the just accuser. But, my good lord, there is this hope remaining, that, seeing he hath been abused by them he trusted most, he will not, for the future dishonour of his judgment, so well informed by his own experience, expose such of his vassals (as have had no other motives to serve him, than simply the love of his person and his estate) to their revenge, who have only been moved by the love of their own fortunes and their glory.

Counf. But, good sir, the king hath not been deceived by all?

Just. No, my lord, neither have all been trusted, neither doth the world accuse all, but believe, that there be amongst your lordships very just and worthy men, as well of the nobility as others, but those, though most honoured in the commonwealth, yet have they not been most employed: your lordship knows it well enough, that three or four of your lordships have thought your hands strong enough to bear up alone the weightiest affairs in the commonwealth, and

strong enough all the land have found them to bear down whom they pleased.

Counf. I understand you: but how shall it appear, that they have only fought themselves?

Just. There needs no perspective-glass to discern it, for neither in the treaties of peace and war, in matters of revenue, and matters of trade, any thing hath happened either of love or judgment. No, my lord, there is not any one action of theirs eminent, great or small, the greatness of themselves only excepted.

Counf. It is all one; your papers can neither answer nor reply, we can. Besides, you tell the king no news in delivering these complaints, for he knows as much as can be told him.

Just. For the first, my lord, whereas he hath once the reasons of things delivered him, your lordships shall need to be well advised; in their answers, there is no sophistry will serve their turn, where the judge and the understanding are both supreme. For the second, to say that his majesty knows, and cares not, that, my lord, were but to despair all his faithful subjects. But by your favour, my lord, we see it is contrary; we find now, that there is no such singular power as there hath been; justice is described with a balance in her hand, holding it even; and it hangs as even now as ever it did in any king's days; for singular authority begets but general oppression.

Counf. Howsoever it be, that is nothing to you, that have no interest in the king's favour, nor, perchance, in his opinion; and, concerning such a one, the misliking, or but misconceiving of any one hard word, phrase, or sentence, will give argument to the king, either to condemn, or reject the whole discourse. And, howsoever his majesty may neglect your informations, you may be sure that others, at whom you point, will not neglect their revenges; you will therefore confess it when it is too late, that you are exceeding sorry that you have not followed my advice. Remember Cardinal Wolsey, who lost all men for the king's service, and when their malice, whom he grieved, had out-lived the king's affection, you know what became of him as well as I.

Just. Yea, my lord, I know it well, that malice hath a longer life than either love or thankfulness hath, for as we always take more care to put off pain, than to enjoy pleasure; because the one hath no intermission, and with the other we are often satisfied; so it is in the smart of injury and the memory of good turns: wrongs are written in marble: benefits are sometimes acknowledged, rarely requited. But, my lord, we shall do the king great wrong, to judge him by common rules, or ordinary examples, for seeing his majesty hath greatly enriched and advanced those that have but pretended his service, no man needs to doubt of his goodness towards those that shall perform any thing worthy reward. Nay, the not taking knowledge of those of his own vassals, that have done him wrong, is more to be lamented, than the relinquishing of those, that do him right, is to be suspected. I

am therefore, my good lord, held to my resolution, by these two, besides the former: the first, that God would never have blessed him with so many years, and in so many actions, yea, in all his actions, had he paid his honest servants with evil for good: the second, where your lordship tells me, that I will be sorry for not following your advice, I pray your lordship to believe, that I am no way subject to the common forrowing of worldly men, this maxim of Plato

being true: *Dolores omnes ex amore animi erga corpus nascuntur.* But, for my body, my mind values it at nothing.

Couns. What is it then you hope for, or seek?

Iust. Neither riches, nor honour, or thanks, but I only seek to satisfy his majesty (which I would have been glad to have done in matters of more importance) that I have lived, and will die an honest man.

THE AUTHOR'S EPITAPH, MADE BY HIMSELF.

EVEN such is time, which takes in trust
Our youth, and joys, and all we have,
And pays us but with age and dust;
Which in the dark and silent grave,

When we have wander'd all our ways,
Shuts up the story of our days:
And from which earth, and grave, and dust,
The Lord shall raise me up I trust.

The History of the Gunpowder-Treason: Collected from approved Authors, as well
Popish as Protestant *.

*Sæpe Divinitatis opera hæc sunt, & furias in ipso jam successu securas subita ultio excipiat;
ne vel unquam improbis timor, vel spes absit calamitosæ virtuti.*

Jo. Barclaii Conspiratio Anglicana.

THERE are no conspiracies and insurrections more dangerous to states and governments, than those, that the name of religion is made to patronise; for when that doth head and manage the party, as it makes it look somewhat considerable in itself, so it doth inspire those that are concerned, with a certain furious and intemperate zeal, and an ungovernable violence: they then rebel with authority, and kill with a safe conscience, and think they cannot do amiss, as long as it is to do God service. *The brother will then deliver up the brother to death, and the father the child; and the children will rise up against their parents, and cause them to be put to death;* and the laws of nature, which are of themselves sacred and inviolable, shall in such a case, be despised, and lose their authority. This, this is it, which in these latter ages more especially, hath disturbed governments, disposed of the crowns of princes, and troubled the peace of the world: from

hence spring all those mischiefs, that threatened and perpetually alarmed this nation, during the long and fortunate reign of Queen Elisabeth: from hence proceeded that barbarous and bloody design of the Gunpowder Treason, in 1605: such a design, as the world before never heard of, and which posterity will hardly believe, for the horror of it, say the soberer of their own † authors: such a design, as even some of the jesuits, after it miscarried, and they saw how ill it was reſented by the rest of mankind, professed their detestation of ‡; but how little to their own vindication, and the satisfaction of the world, will easily appear to any one, that doth impartially inquire into the history and the process of it. For this design was not taken up of a sudden, and what a small company of rash and hot-headed persons did without consideration attempt, but what proceeded from the same original, and was carried on by the same counsels and endea-

* The authors, from whence this narrative hath been collected, are, Thuanus; Jo. Barclaii *Conspiratio Anglicana*. Proceedings against the traitors, printed in 1606; *Historia Missionis Anglicanæ, Societatis Jesu, Collectore Henrico Moro*, printed at St. Omers, 1606. *Andrea Eudæmon-Joannis Apologia pro Garnetto. Rob.*

Abbati Antilogia adversus Apologiam Andrea Eudæmon-Joannis. Bibliotheca Scriptorum Societatis Jesu.

† Thuanus. Barclay. Rog. Widdrington, in his *Apolog pro Jure Principum*, page 1.

‡ Mori *Historia Missionis Anglicanæ Præfat.*

vours, that were in being in the time of Queen Elizabeth; the principals in which, for their time, were Garnet, the provincial of the jesuits in England, Baldwin in Flanders, and Creswel in Spain: these were the great projectors and encouragers of that which was called the Spanish Treason, in the last year of Queen Elizabeth; and which when defeated in by her death, and the peace that issued upon it betwixt the crowns of England and Spain, they were put upon new counsels, and forced to take other measures for the prosecution of it.

It was in December, in the year 1601, that Thomas Winter was sent into Spain, by the joint advice of Henry Garnet and Oswald Tesmond, jesuits, and of Robert Catesby and Francis Tresham, gentlemen of good quality and reputation, to try what could be done for their assistance, that were ready to sacrifice their lives and fortunes for the Catholick cause; and to assure the king of Spain, that, could they but prevail with him to send over an army, they would have in readiness fifteen hundred, or two thousand horses for the service. With Winter was sent over Oswald Tesmond, and by them a letter to Creswel, the jesuit, then residing there; by whose mediation the motion was readily hearkened to, and Don Pedro Francisco, second secretary of state, and the duke of Lerma did assure them of the king's furtherance and help; and in the conclusion, the count of Miranda particularly told them, that his master had resolved to bestow 200,000 crowns to that use, half to be paid that year, and the rest the next following; and that, at spring, he would, without fail, set footing in England.

About the latter end of the year, Thomas Winter returns with his joyful news, and they were now busy in preparing for it, and almost every day expecting the arrival of these forces, when of a sudden all was dashed by the death of Queen Elizabeth, which was March the 24th, 1602. Upon this, one of the Wrights is immediately dispatched into Spain, to give the king notice of it; and about the same time was Guy Fawkes sent, with letters and commission, from Sir William Stanley, Hugh Owen, and Baldwin the jesuit (who were then in Flanders, and ready to attend and to prosecute the same design) but that king told them, that he was now otherwise resolved, and it became him not to hearken to such proposals, after he had sent ambassadors to the new king of England to treat of a peace. It was now, therefore, fit either to let their design fall, or to betake themselves to some other course to effect it: but the former their temper and their principles would not permit; and therefore, since they could not promise themselves success therein by force, they did contrive how, without any noise, or visible and open preparations, it might be obtained.

That a king or queen, who is an heretick, may be deposed or killed, was current doctrine amongst them, in the time of Queen Elizabeth, and what they had been taught from father Creswel, or whoever was the author of the book called *Philopater*, and by Tresham, in his book, *De Officio hominis Christiani*, found with

them about this time. And though the king was not formally declared and proceeded against, as such, yet it was thought sufficient by them, that the pope, on Maunday-Thursday, did censure and condemn all hereticks in the general, as Guy Fawkes and others of them did confess; and therefore the question was not so much about the lawfulness of it, as about the order that was to be observed, and the way that was fit to be taken in it. Catesby, who was no novice in these affairs, and that from his acquaintance with Parsons, when in England, and Garnet, and the other jesuits (to whose order he and his family, from Campian down to this time, were particularly devoted) had learned great skill and subtilty, quickly contrived this for them; and when Percy, who was of the house of Northumberland, and at that time one of the king's pensioners, according to the bluntness of his temper, did offer himself for the service, and that he would, without any more ado, undertake to assassinate the king, this wary gentleman replied: that would be too dear a purchase, when his own life would be hazarded in it; and it was unnecessary, when it might as well be accomplished without it; and so acquaints him, in part, with what was intended.

Before this was fit to be fully communicated, he thought it necessary, that there should be some care taken to oblige all to secrecy; for which purpose, an oath was devised, that every one should take, and which was accordingly administered to them by Gerard the jesuit. The oath was:

“ You shall swear by the blessed Trinity, and by the Sacrament, you now purpose to receive, never to disclose, directly nor indirectly, by word or circumstance, the matter that shall be proposed to you to keep secret; nor desist from the execution thereof, until the rest shall give you leave.”

This was taken, and the sacrament upon it received by Catesby, Percy, Christopher Wright, Thomas Winter, and Fawkes, in May, 1604.

Upon which Catesby communicated the whole, and told them, that at the meeting of the parliament, which now drew on, they would have a fair opportunity to consummate all their wishes, and without being observed or discovered, by one fatal blow to destroy the king, the prince, the duke, and the parliament at once; for as long as there were those branches of the royal family remaining, to what purpose would it be to make away the king? And as long as there was a parliament in being, what should they get, if they could not as well destroy the branches, as the root? Therefore his design was to extirpate at once all the seeds of heresy, and by a train of powder conveniently laid under the house, in which at that time they should all be assembled, to blow them up, and their cause together. This was what the confederates very well approved of, and now they united counsels and endeavours to carry it on.

The first thing to be considered was the hiring of

the house, and this Percy undertook, and having, not without some difficulty, persuaded the present tenant, Ferris, to quit it, he became immediate tenant to Whinyard, keeper of the wardrobe; at whose disposal it was, in the intervals of parliament. The house was committed to the care of Fawkes, as being least known; who, the better to conceal himself, changed his name to Johnson, and gave himself out to be Percy's servant. Whilst they were thus busy in contriving and carrying on their plot, the parliament was prorogued till February the Seventh, upon which they dispersed themselves into several countries; but, to lose no time, did think of taking in some other persons, whom they might confide in, and expect some help from. Catesby was sensible, that he had given Thomas Bates, a servant of his, that attended him, too great cause of suspicion, and upon examination found him to have observed somewhat from his proceedings, and therefore invited him into the undertaking: but he, somewhat surpris'd at the horror of it, began to decline it, till his master referred him for advice to Telford; unto whom imparting it in confession, the subtle priest both invited him to it, as a work of great merit, and obliged him to secrecy and fidelity therein. Then were Robert Keyes, and the other Wright, gentlemen, and Ambrose Rockwood, and John Grant, and Robert Winter, esquires, admitted into the number. In Michaelmas-term they met again, and then they thought fit to provide a storehouse for the timber which they should use in the mine that they intended to make, and for the powder and other materials; from whence they might fetch it, as occasion served. And such a place they found and took at Lambeth. December the 11th, they began to work; but, what from the difficulty of the work (the wall, that they were to make their way through, being three ells thick) what from their want of skill in it, and of being used to such kind of labour, they found that their time would be too short for their enterprise, and they began to despair of success in it. But, when under this irresolution and discouragement, their hopes were revived by two unexpected accidents: for, first, the parliament was adjourned to the 5th of October following; by which means they should have time before them. And then they had an opportunity of hiring a vault much more for their turn, than the mine which they had so long employed themselves in. This they came to the knowledge of, upon this occasion: as they were one day busy at their work, they were not a little frighted by an unusual noise on the other side of the wall, which made them think that they were betrayed, and to betake themselves to their weapons, with a resolution of dying upon the place. But Fawkes, who was sent out to make discovery, returns with joy to tell them, that it was only the removing of coals, that were laid in the adjoining vault or cellar, which was now to be let. This they presently hire; thither they brought their stores. By this means they gained a double advantage: first, that their business was brought into a less room, which was more for their ease and

safety; and, then, that they were rid of their hard, and, but upon such a cause, to them intolerable labour; for this was a mine, as it were, already, and what was so well situated by its being almost under the royal throne, that they could not have chosen any thing more commodious. And now they were at leisure, not so much to think of this design (for that was brought to its head, and what they reckoned themselves sure of) as how to carry on the other part of it. The King and Prince Henry, they did not doubt, would fall in this common calamity; but the duke, being but four years old, they thought would be absent; of him, therefore, Percy took the charge, and said, he would attend about the chamber till the blow was given, and then in a trice convey him away, with the help of two or three, that should be ready on horseback: which they might the more easily do, as many of the court would be that day upon attendance, and perish with the rest; and the others would by it be put into confusion, and unprovided to make any opposition. As for the Lady Elizabeth, she might be reserved, and her name made use of by them in stilling and composing the minds of the people, and for making good whatever they thought fit to use her authority in; and her they might the more easily gain into their hands, as she was now at the Lord Harrington's, at Comb-Abbey in Warwickshire, whereabout they might securely be, under the pretence of an hunting-match, and with the first news there surprise her.

In the mean time, was care taken to give notice to those abroad, whom they might trust; and, in March, 1605, is Fawkes sent over to Sir William Stanley and Hugh Owen, and with letters from Garnet to Baldwin, the legier jesuit in Flanders. Sir William was absent, but, having first administered the oath of secrecy to Owen, he acquaints him with the plot; who promised to give his utmost assistance, and to dispose Sir William to it (whom he thought it not fit, for the present, to communicate it to, for fear he might be discovered, and fail in a design, that he was then about, in the court of England.)

To the twenty barrels of powder, laid in at first, they added, in July, twenty more with bars of iron and massy stones, and at the last made up the number thirty-six; over which they laid a thousand billets and five hundred faggots. And, at a meeting at the Bath of Percy and Catesby, it was agreed, that Catesby should take in whom he thought fit; who thereupon engaged Sir Everard Digby, that promised to advance fifteen hundred pounds towards it; and Mr. Francis Tresham, that gave him assurance of two thousand pounds.

All things thus being in readiness, the parliament was again prorogued till the 5th of November; upon which they retired, with a promise of meeting about ten days before: at which time, Catesby being informed by Winter, at a house by Enfield-chace, that the prince was not likely to be present with the king, there was another plot laid to surprise him, if it should so happen.

The

The time drew very near, and they, that had past so long without discovery, seemed now to be above the fear of it. All things had so happily concurred to further their design, and they had all approved themselves to be so trusty in it, that they were more concerned how to manage their success, than to fear it. But God, that had a reserve of favour for us, and that doth delight in catching the wise in their own craftiness, suffered them to proceed thus far in it, that the detection and overthrow of it might appear to be more from his, than man's providence. When Catesby first thought of this, the great difficulty, with him, was about the lawfulness of destroying the innocent with the guilty: for the blow would know no difference betwixt a catholick and an heretick, betwixt a friend or foe. When the nobles and the commons, those that were a part of that assembly, and those that came to be auditors and spectators only; those that were within, and those that were without the house; when no less than thirty thousand must perish at once by it (as Barclay saith it was computed) it must needs be, that many, whom they wished well to, and that also (if they knew it) would wish well to their cause, must be part of the sacrifice. What an havock would thirty-six barrells, or nine or ten thousand pounds of powder make, loaded thus with bars of iron, massy stones, and great pieces of timber? How would it tear the foundations of the strongest buildings, throw down all the tops of the neighbouring houses, and bury all within the ruins of both? What would become of their friends and allies, those that they had received much kindness from; and others, who neither did, nor knew how to do them an injury? How many families must they undo, by the loss of relations, estates, and records which were there deposited? This, and much more, was what they well foresaw, and what they could not foresee without some kind of horror, if they had but one spark of humanity left untouched by their unnatural religion. What must therefore be done? To whom should he resort for counsel, but to his fast friend, father Garnet? To him he opens the case (as far as it was fit, and as far as the other was willing to know of it) after this manner:

"Whether, for the good and promotion of the catholick cause (the necessity of time and occasion so requiring) it be lawful, or not, amongst many notions, to destroy and take away some innocents also?" To which the jesuit replies: "That, if the advantage was greater, on the side of the catholicks, by the destruction of the innocent with the nocent, than by the preservation of both, it was doubtless lawful;" further explaining himself by this comparison: "That if, at the taking of a town possessed by the enemy, there happen to be seen friends, they must undergo the fortune of war, and the general and common destruction of the enemy."

With this answer Catesby was satisfied, and with this answer he satisfied others; telling them, that it

was the resolution of the case given by the provincial.

But yet, though this did thus compose their minds, and what they were generally satisfied with, yet there wanted not one that, having a kindness for the Lord Monteagle, eldest son to the Lord Morley, sent this note to him by the hands of one of his foot-boys, that was abroad in the evening of the Saturday was se'nnight before the appointed time for the meeting of the parliament.

"My Lord,

"Out of the love I bear to some of your friends, I have a care of your preservation: therefore I would advise you, as you tender your life, to devise some excuse to shift off your attendance at this parliament; for God and man have concurred to punish the wickedness of this time. And think not slightly of this advertisement, but retire yourself into your own country, where you may expect the event in safety: for, though there be no appearance of any stir, yet, I say, they shall receive a terrible blow this parliament, and yet they shall not see who hurt them. This counsel is not to be contemned, because it may do you good, and can do you no harm; for the danger is past, as soon as you shall have burned this letter; and I hope God will give you the grace to make good use of it; to whose holy protection I commend you."

The letter was without date or subscription; and the hand, in which it was writ, was hardly legible, and the contents of it so perplexed, that the lord knew as little what to make of it, as whence it came: but yet, however, since it respected more than himself, he thought not fit to conceal it, and presently repaired to Whitehall, and put it into the hands of the earl of Salisbury, principal secretary of state. The earl commended the lord for his care and fidelity, and told him, that though there seemed to be little in it, yet, because of the reports that he had received from abroad, that the papists, this session of parliament, would be very busy and insolent in their demands for toleration, upon some prospect they had of being in a condition to command it; and also that, because nothing, that concerned the safety of his majesty, and peace of his government, ought to be slighted, he would advise with others of his majesty's council about it. Accordingly, he shewed it to the lord chamberlain (to whom it particularly belonged to visit all places, where his majesty either lived, or to which he did resort) to the lord high admiral, the earls of Worcester and Northampton; who all were of the same mind with the secretary, and concluded it fit to deliver it to the king at his return from Royston, when he came from hunting, and from whence he was expected, the Thursday following.

On the next day after his return, the earl presented him with it, and told him how it came to his hands. After the reading of it, the king made a pause, and then,

then, reading it again, said, That there seemed somewhat in it extraordinary, and what was by no means to be neglected. The earl replied, That it seemed to him to be written by a fool, or a madman; for who else could be guilty of saying, "The danger is past, as soon as you have burned the letter?" For what danger could there be in that, which the burning of the letter would put an end to? But the king, considering the smartness of the stile, and, withal, what was said before, "That they should receive a terrible blow, and yet should not see who hurt them," did conclude, as he was walking and musing in the gallery, that the danger must be sudden, and like the blowing up by gunpowder; for what else could the parliament be in danger of? Or, what rebellion and insurrection could there be, and yet there be no appearance of stir therein? Or, how could they be otherwise hurt, and not see who hurt them? And, as for the phrase, which the secretary particularly offered at, he said, To him it seemed to be of a quite different signification, and that thereby was to be understood the suddenness and quickness of it, which should as soon, or as quickly, be done, as that paper might be burnt. Doubtless this was the sense of it, and what he that wrote it did intend, who was no fool, as appears by the other parts of the letter; and yet the discovery of it was extraordinary, being against the common construction, far from what any other did apprehend by it; and therefore it is what even some of the adverse party have looked upon, as God's inspiration. So John Barclay intitles his little book, that he wrote about it, *Series patefacti divinitus Parricidii, &c.* And Spondanus, Ann. 1605. §. 8. saith of the king, that *divinitus evasit*.

The secretary admired the king's great sagacity; and, though he seemed to differ from him, whilst in his presence, yet presently conferred with the lords about it, and on Saturday it was resolved, that the houses and rooms thereabouts should be searched. The care of this was committed to the lord chamberlain, who was appointed on Monday to make the search; which he accordingly did, that evening, being accompanied with the Lord Monteagle, that was very desirous of seeing the event. Having viewed this house, they found in a vault under ground, great store of billets, faggots, and coal, brought thither (as Mr. Whinyard told them) for the use of Mr. Percy, and espied Fawkes standing in a corner of the cellar, who said, that he was Mr. Percy's servant, and left there by him for the keeping of his house. Upon the naming of Percy, the Lord Monteagle told the chamberlain, that he now vehemently suspected Mr. Percy to be the author of that letter, both from his inclination to the Romish religion, and the intimacy that had been betwixt them. How true that lord's conjecture was, I know not (for Bishop Goodman, in his answer to Sir Anthony Weldon's Court of King James, saith, that Tresham sent it.) But that circumstance, with what they had discovered, so much increased the suspicion, that, when all was reported by the lord chamberlain to the king, in the presence of the lord admiral, lord trea-

surer, the earls of Worcester, Northampton, and Salisbury, it was resolved, that further search should be made, what was under that great pile of fuel, in such a house, where Percy had so little occasion to reside. But, what for avoiding the report of too much credulity, and easiness to receive informations of that kind; what from the care of doing any thing that might redound to the blemish of the earl of Northumberland, whose near relation and great confident this Thomas Percy was, it was resolved to do it under the pretence of making inquisition for some of the king's hangings, that were stolen out of Whinyard's custody. Sir Thomas Knevet, one of the king's privy-chamber, was employed in it, being a person in publick office, as a justice of peace, and of great prudence. At midnight he repaired thither, and found Fawkes standing at the door, booted and spurred, whom he presently apprehended. Then, proceeding, he first lighted upon one of the smaller, and after discovered the rest of the barrels: upon which, causing Fawkes to be searched, he found about him three matches, a tinder-box, and a dark lanthorn.

Being thus taken in the fact, he both confessed and defended it; adding, "That, if he had happened to be within the house, as he was without, he would, by putting fire to the train, have put an end to their enquiry." Sir Thomas, having had such happy success, immediately returns with joy to the palace, and acquaints the lord chamberlain and earl of Salisbury with it, who went to the king's bed-chamber; and, with as much haste as joy, the chamberlain told the king, that all was discovered, and the traitor in safe custody. This was about four of the clock in the morning. As soon as the council met (who were immediately sent for) the prisoner was taken into examination, and to the amazement of all, appeared no more daunted by their presence, or the questions put to him, or the condition that he was in, than if he had been altogether innocent; declaring, "That he was not at all sorry for what he had designed, but only that he failed in the execution of it; and that the devil, and not God, was the discoverer." So pertinacious and resolute was he, that he would not own any accomplices, but that he alone was the contriver, and should have been the sole executor of it; and that he was induced to this for conscience-sake, as the king (being an heretick) was not his lawful sovereign, but an usurper. Thus stout and resolute did he continue, till he was brought to the Tower, and shewed the rack; upon the sight of which he began to relent, and, after some days examination, disclosed the whole.

The news of this discovery flew like lightning, it was what rejoiced the heart of every good subject, and daunted that of the rebels; and therefore those of them, that were in town, no sooner heard of it, but they betook themselves to flight.

Catesby was gone the night before towards the place appointed for their rendezvous; and Percy set forward at four of the clock in the morning, much about the time that the discovery was made. But one of the

Winters, and the two Wrights that staid behind, staid to hear of their defeat and disappointment; and so made all the haste they could to overtake and meet their confederates, that they might consult what was to be done in so great an exigence.

In the mean time, there was nothing wanting on their part, who were to contribute their endeavours in the country. Sir Everard Digby came to Dunchurch, according to appointment; and so confident were they of success above, that one Grant, a gentleman in those parts, on Monday night, much about the time that Fawkes was apprehended, with other of his associates, broke open the stables of one Benoch, a rider of great horses, and took away all that he found for their own service; and with them they repaired to the rest. But all their hopes were soon blasted by the sad news, which they quickly received from those that had made their escape. Desperation begets resolution; and now they are lost, as well as their cause, if they do not speedily find out a remedy; and therefore, with all the haste they could, they dispatched some to call in others to their assistance, and to represent to them the greatness of the danger, that they, and their religion is in, unless they appear in its defence. This Tesmond (alias Greenwel) the jesuit, did particularly concern himself in, exhorting all to take up arms, and to unite their forces; and for this purpose rode as far as Lancashire. This riding to and fro made a noise in the country, and awakened the people; the loss of Benoch's horses came quickly to the ears of some of those gentlemen, that had put them into his hands to manage and fit them for their service. And, for one reason or another, the country was presently up in arms, and upon pursuit of them.

Some of them were taken prisoners, and others of them pursued, by Sir Richard Verney, sheriff of Warwickshire, to the borders of that county; but they kept on their course, till they came to Holbeach, in Staffordshire, the house of Stephen Littleton; thither Sir Richard Walsh, sheriff of Worcestershire, followed them, and, by his trumpeters, commanded them, in the king's name, to surrender; assuring them, that upon their so doing, he would intercede with the king for them, and doubted not to obtain their pardon. But they, that were conscious to themselves of more than he understood (for the news had not yet spread so far, nor the king's proclamations, though sent after them, had not yet overtaken them) bid him defiance, and sent him word, that he must have a greater force, than what he had then the command of, to reduce them. But, whilst the one was preparing for the assault, and the other for their defence, God himself seemed to decide the quarrel; for, by the same means which they contrived to destroy others, they themselves came to suffer: for, having laid some powder to dry before the fire, a coal, upon the mending of it, flew into the pan, and set fire to the rest; thereby not only blowing up part of the roof, and a bag of powder of seventeen or eighteen

pounds, that they underfet the pan with, which was carried unfired into the court, but so wounding Catesby, Percy, Rockwood, and several of the conspirators, that they were unable to make any further defence. By this time also fire was set to the house, and their case grew so desperate, that they opened the doors, and exposed themselves to the weapons and fury of the people. The three principal of them, viz. Catesby, Percy, and Winter, joined back to back, and the two former of them were mortally wounded with one shot; Catesby dying upon the spot, and Percy not outliving him above two or three days. The two Wrights were slain at the same time; Digby, Rockwood, Thomas Winter, Grant, and Bates, were taken prisoners, and sent up to London; Robert Winter and Littleton endeavoured to conceal themselves in the woods, but were afterwards taken, and committed to the Tower. Tresham continued in London, and seemed ready to find out the traitors, and by that means thought at first to remain undiscovered; but, being suspected, he was afterwards searched for, and apprehended, and sent to the same place. Thus suddenly was that design discovered, which had been so long concealed; thus suddenly was it broken, which they had been some years in contriving; therein verifying that of the psalmist: *The ungodly are sunk down into the pit that they made; in the net which they hid, is their own foot taken. The Lord is known by the judgment which he executeth, the wicked is snared in the work of his own hands.*

These persons thus apprehended were carefully examined (in the doing of which were spent twenty-three days) and from their several confessions was drawn sufficient matter not only for their own condemnation, but also for detection of others.

The most considerable of which was Garnet, the provincial of the jesuits, Hall, Greenwel, Gerard, and Hammond, priests of the same order. The respect that Garnet had to the reputation of their society, and his own safety, had made him to act with so great caution, that he would willingly converse with none about this matter, but those that were of his own order; or Catesby his trusty friend. And, therefore, much of the evidence against him fell with that conspirator. But yet there appeared such presumptions by the acknowledgment of the rest that were taken, and letters that were found, that there was a proclamation issued out, for the apprehension of him and his brethren, declaring it treason for any to harbour and conceal them. Garnet, when the time drew near, and all things were ripe for their design, took a journey to Coulton in Warwickshire, not far from the place of the general rendezvous, where he preached a sermon, and in which he exhorted his auditors to pray for the success of a great action, to be undertaken in the behalf of the catholicks, at the beginning of the parliament, as is acknowledged by his apologist*, and was confessed by Hall, alias Oldcorn. Whilst at that place he received a letter, November the sixth, from Catesby,

* Eudæm. Joannis Apologia pro Garneto. Pag. 265.

to let him know that their design had miscarried, and to desire him that he would use his interest in stirring up the catholicks in Wales, to arm and defend themselves. But the wary jesuit provided for his own safety, and sending Greenwel to them for their assistance and direction, he himself with Hall fled to Mr. Abington's house, at Henlip in Worcestershire, where Hall had found a safe retreat for sixteen years together, as an author* of theirs informs us. There they lay concealed for some time, but at the last were discovered to be in that place by Littleton, one of the conspirators, as the same author relates, page 314, who further saith, that though the help of carpenters and bricklayers was used, yet they were many days before they could find them out, being in a vault, the way to which was in an upper room, through the halfpace before the hearth, whose wooden border was made like a trap-door, to pluck up and down, and then the bricks were laid in their courses and order again, as we are told by an author of our own†.

Hence they were brought to London, and committed to the Tower.

On January the twenty-seventh, the other prisoners were brought to their trial at Guild-hall. The persons arraigned were Robert Winter, esq; Thomas Winter, gent. Guy Fawkes, gent. John Grant, esq; Ambrose Rockwood, esq; Robert Keyes, gent. and Thomas Bates, servant to Catesby. By another indictment was arraigned Sir Everard Digby.

They generally acknowledged the fact, and spake little in their own vindication. Rockwood pleaded, "That it was the intire affection he had for Mr. Catesby, which drew him in; and he hoped, as it was his first fact, some mercy would be shewed him." Sir Everard said the same with respect to Catesby, and added, "That he had undertaken it for the zeal which he had to the catholick religion, which he was ready to sacrifice all for; and to prevent those calamities, which he understood that the parliament was prepared to bring upon them of his persuasion." Keyes said, "That his fortunes were sunk, and as good now as at another time, and for this cause rather than another."

They seemed resolved to vindicate the jesuits, or, at least, to say nothing against them; whether it were that they were not allowed to discourse of the plot with any but such and such particular persons, or whether it were that they thought it to be highly meritorious; and this last seems to be not unlikely. When Tresham, not above three hours before his death, in the Tower, did declare upon his salvation, that he had not seen Garnet in sixteen years before; whereas it appeared, both by the confession of Garnet, and Mrs. Anne Vaux, Garnet's bosom-friend, that they had been frequently together the two last years past.

On the Thursday following, Sir Everard Digby,

Robert Winter, John Grant, and Bates were, according to judgment, drawn, hanged, and quartered, at the west-end of St. Paul's church. And on the Friday, the other four, viz. Thomas Winter, Keyes, Rockwood, and Fawkes, were executed in the palace-yard at Westminster.

Now were Garnet and Hall had in examination, and that several times, from the first of February to March the twenty-sixth. In all which Garnet shewed by the wiliness of his answers, and the confidence he maintained them with, that he deserved the place of provincial of the jesuits, being so well versed in all the practices of his society, that few could exceed him.

The king from the first was resolved to forbear the severity of the rack, much practised in other countries, in the examination of notorious and perverse criminals. We indeed are told by a late confident author‡ of their own, That Garnet was kept waking six days and nights together to bring him by that new kind of torment (as he calls it) to a confession of his crime; and that Hall was put to extreme torture for fifteen hours space together in the Tower, for the same reason. But § a greater than he, one of their || own persuasion, doth assure us that the king, to avoid calumny, did purposely forbear any thing of that kind of rigour, and Garnet himself did publicly own at his trial, that he had been used, whilst in prison, with great lenity. We know not what effect the rack might have had upon him, for that was a way of trial he had not been exercised in; but that course which they took, by frequent and cross examinations, by expostulations, and arguments, he was so much a master of, that, in all the twenty-three days spent in it, they would have gained but little information, had they not had some greater advantage. Had he been alone, and could not have been confronted by others, he had been much more secure, and they more at a loss. And, therefore, to prevent any misunderstanding betwixt him and others in custody, that their answers might not be inconsistent or repugnant, he writes both to Hall and Mrs. Vaux, to let them know after what manner he thought to excuse or defend himself, and what replies to make to some particular enquiries; as if he should be charged with his prayer for the good success of a great action, &c. he would say, It was for the prevention of those severe laws, which those of their church expected would be made against them by that parliament. But it happened that these letters, that were writ by him, came into other hands than those he intended them for, and did him a worse injury than any account that his sworn friends could have likewise given of the same actions, though disagreeing with his. And indeed herein his adversaries did outwit him, and worsted him at his own weapons. For, when they perceived that he obstinately persisted in the defence of his innocence, they took another course to find him out: First,

* Hen. Mori *Historia Missionis Anglicanae*. Pag. 333.

† Fowllis's *Romish Treasons*. Pag. 608.

‡ *Historia Missionis Anglicanae*. Pag. 315, 334.

§ Thuanus, *An.* 1606.

|| Not jesuitical, but only popish.

A person was employed as a keeper, that should profess himself to be a Roman catholic, and that should take a great liberty to complain of the king's severity, and of the sufferings their party were made to undergo. By these and the like crafty insinuations he grew to be a familiar of Garnet's, and at last was entrusted by him with a letter to one and to another. Which yet he did not so much venture upon, but that he wrote sparingly to one, and to the other nothing in appearance but what any one may see, filling up the void places with other more secret matters, written indeed, but written with the juice of a lemon. By this means they found out, that it was not so much his innocency, as the want of proof, that made him so confident. By this they came to understand, that Greenwel and he had conferred together about the plot.

There was also another calamity that befel him by the same contrivance; for now, thinking himself sure of his keeper, he let him know what a great desire he had of conferring with Hall. The decoy told him, that he would endeavour to find out a way for it. This was done, and they had that freedom; but at the same time there were placed within hearing two persons of such known credit, that Garnet, at his trial, had nothing to object against them, who took notice of what was said, and made it known to the council. The next day commissioners came to examine them, and in discourse charged them severally with those things that passed betwixt them the day before. This Hall did acknowledge, being convinced by the particulars that they produced; but Garnet did deny it *upon the word of a priest**, and with reiterated protestations. And when they told him, that Hall had confessed it, he said, "Let him accuse himself falsely, if he will, I will not be guilty of that folly." But, at the last, when he perceived that the evidence was not to be gainsaid, begged their pardon with no little confusion, and owned the particulars they charged him with; and, a little to save the reputation, told them, That as he denied all, because he knew none but Greenwel could accuse him; so he did deny what he knew to be true, by the help of *equivocation*.

Now they had gained good evidence against him; his letters first, then his discourse with Hall, and lastly, his own confession, were a sufficient ground for them to proceed and try him upon. And that they began to do within two days after, viz. March the twenty-eighth.

The great thing charged upon him, was, That he was privy to this conspiracy, that he held a correspondence with Catesby, and by him and Greenwel with the rest. And the chief part of his defence was: "That what he did know of it was *in confession*, and what was told him in that way, he was bound to conceal, notwithstanding any mischief that might

"follow it; he might dissuade persons from it, but, whether they would be persuaded by him or not, he was obliged not to divulge it."

After a long time spent in his trial, there was but little taken by the jury, to give their verdict, which was, that he was guilty of the treason; and accordingly he received sentence, and was executed the third of May following, at the west-end of St. Paul's churchyard.

This is the man whom the jesuits extol to the clouds, and who is put into the catalogue of their martyrs, as it is to be found at the end of Alegambe's *Bibliotheca Scriptorum Societatis Jesu*. This person, who was a perfect master of the art of dissimulation, that could by equivocation swear to what he knew to be false, is what one † of them bestows this character upon, That there was in him *morum simplicitas, & candor animi minime suspicacis*. This man who had not the heart to die, and who at the time of his execution was so divided betwixt the hopes of a pardon, and the fear of death, that he could not attend to his own devotions, but one while cast his eyes this way, and another that; now at his prayers, and anon breaking off from them to answer to that discourse which he overheard. This man, I say, is said by Alegambe to go to his death *interritus & exporrecta fronte obtestans, &c.* without any fear, and protesting that he exceedingly rejoiced that he was now to suffer that death which would be an entrance to an immortal life.

The conclusion of all which is, that no jesuit can be a traitor, and none suffer for treason but he must be a martyr.

The case of Hall was much the same with that of Garnet; he did confess, and it was also proved that they were both together at Caughton, and they were both found together afterwards. It appeared that he had afterwards defended the treason to Humphry Littleton. The excuses, the discourse, the confessions, were much one and the same, but only that Garnet was the more resolved, and the more obstinate of the two. Now, because as this treason was hatched, and to be executed in the main at London, so because part of it was also to be done in the country, and the chief of the conspirators were there taken, therefore six of them were sent to Worcester, and there executed, viz. Humphry Littleton, John Winter, and this Hall, with three others. Thither, I say, he was carried with them for that reason, and not because his adversaries were ashamed to have his cause heard at London, as a bold author ‡ of theirs would have it.

It is no wonder to find these men so concerned to clear themselves of it, when all the world is against them; though this is no more to be done, than to prove that one that kills a king is a good subject, and one, that stirs up his subjects in rebellion against him, is a friend to him.

* An oath so sacred in the church of Rome, that, whereas the laity are always sworn *upon the holy gospels*, a priest is never required to give any other oath than *upon the word of a priest*, i. e. *in verbo sacerdotis*. Query, Whether this sort of ecclesiastical

affirmation did not give a hint for the quakers form of affirmation instead of an oath?

† Hist. Mission. Angl. p. 311.

‡ Eudæmon-Joannis *Apologia pro Garneto*. Pag. 272.

These were the persons that were taken and suffered for this bloody treason. Others of them escaped beyond sea; of which one, when Dominicus Vicus, governor of Calais, "assured them of the king's favour, and though they lost their own country, they might be received there," replied, "The loss of their country was the least part of their grief; but their sorrow was that they could not bring so brave a design to perfection." At which the governor could hardly forbear casting him into the sea, as Thuanus relates from Vicus's own mouth. Others there were, whom the government had a great suspicion of, as Henry, Lord Mordaunt, and Edward, Lord Stourton, who, not appearing upon the summons to the parliament, were supposed to absent themselves from some intelligence that they received, were fined in the star-chamber, and to be imprisoned during the king's pleasure. The like sentence did Henry, earl of Northumberland undergo, for having admitted Thomas Percy, his kinsman, to be a gentleman pensioner, without administering to him the oath of supremacy, when he knew him to be a recusant*.

This was the end of that plot, and of the persons concerned in it. And it would be happy if they had left none of their principles or temper behind them, a generation whom no favour will oblige, nor kindness

retain; whom nothing but supremacy will content, and the most absolute authority can gratify. Whom nothing can secure against, but a sufficient power, or great industry, or constant watchfulness, and scarcely all. And therefore it is fit, not only as a branch of our thankfulness to God, but also as a caution to ourselves, that this deliverance should be celebrated, and the memory of it perpetuated. I shall end with what is said of a great person † of our own, some years since.

"Two great deliverances in the memory of many of us hath God, in his singular mercy, wrought for us of this nation; such as I think, take both together, no Christian age or land can parallel. One formerly from a foreign invasion ‡; another, since then, of an hellish conspiracy § at home. Both such, as we would have all thought, when they were done, should never be forgotten. And yet, as if this land were turned oblivious, the land where all things are forgotten, how doth the memory of them fade away, and they, by little and little, grow into forgetfulness? We have lived to see eighty-eight almost forgotten, (God be blessed who hath graciously prevented what we feared therein) God grant, that we nor ours ever live to see November the fifth forgotten, or the solemnity of it silenced."

* Or papist.

† Bishop Sanderson's Sermons, lib. i. ad populum Serm. v. p. 242.

‡ By the Spaniards in the year 1588.

§ Viz. Of which this is the history.

A Discourse* of the Most Illustrious Prince Henry, late Prince of Wales. Written Anno 1626, by Sir Charles Cornwallis, Knight, sometimes Treasurer of his Highness's House. London: Printed for John Benson, 1641.

To the High and Mighty Charles, Prince of Great-Britain, &c.

Most gracious Prince,

BESIDES my particular zeal, there is a natural interest in this ensuing discourse to your highness, as being the hopeful heir of this kingdom of Great-Britain, and the true inheritance of your noble uncle's virtues (Prince Henry) as of his fortunes. The eyes of all men are upon you, in full view of those sweet graces of nature and ingenious disposition to goodness, which all admire. If you shall be pleased to add these examples and precepts to those of your royal father, taking them hand in hand, they will lead you, in your tender years, in the fair continuance of honour and virtue; and then his majesty, your royal father, may for many years (for which we hope and pray) be a living mirror unto you of piety, wisdom, and justice, and all other regal endowments, fit for so great a dignity to which you are born.

* This is the 155th number in the catalogue of pamphlets in the Harleian library.

Glad I am, that it was my chance to meet with this part of treasure, truly gathered by that worthy knight deceased, treasurer to your highness's uncle; and great cause I have to rejoice, that by this (through your gracious acceptance) I have the opportunity, humbly to tender, with this, my prayers at your highness's feet, for your long and happy prosperity. So prays

Your highness's most humbly devoted,

J. B.

IN this most illustrious prince may most clearly be discerned, that God's judgments are only known to himself, and his thoughts and determinations unsearchable; for having so framed and fashioned him, as his most rare parts, in youth, gave so many prefaces of his becoming to his Divine Majesty (from whom he received them) an honour and glory, to the world a wonder, and to the people of these kingdoms an exceeding happiness; yet was he pleased, in the spring of his years, and of the hope had of him, to take him to himself, and to deprive the world of him: neither could the reasons of his short life (so far as the eyes of man could discern) grow either out of neglect, or want of performance of duties to God, or of obedience to his parents; the observance of which commandment only hath the enlarging of time upon this earth annexed unto it. For, in the first, it cannot be denied but he was exceedingly observant, never failing to sacrifice unto God the first of his actions; to continue in them with all demonstration of reverence, without any diversion or distraction; to cherish such in whom he found ability to teach, and piety to express in life the fruits of their doctrine; to resolve so far to become immutable in the religion he professed, as long before his end, with solemn protestations he vowed, that he would never join in marriage with a wife of a different faith; and had besides a determination, if longer he had lived, to have made choice of a chaplain of his own, a man in years, grave in divinity, rarely learned, and of great discretion, experience, and wisdom; by whose advice, in all matters spiritual, and tending to the rectifying of his soul, he intended to have received a continual direction.

Of the second, to speak not by hearsay, but of my own knowledge: howsoever, some moths and mice of court, in that time (not enemies to him in particular, but maligners of true virtue, and only friends to their own ambitions and desires) to possess the ears and opinions of princes, had in that particular traduced him; so true and sincere he was, both in profession and execution of all duties and obedience, and bore so natural and filial a reverence and respect to the king his father, that, although sometimes out of his own inclination, or the incitation and encouragement of others, he repaired to the court, and moved the king in some things, either concerning the commonwealth, his own particular interest, or that of others; yet, with the least word, countenance, or sign given him of his majesty's disallowance, he would

instantly desist from further pursuit of it, and return either with satisfaction, in regard that he understood it to be disagreeing with his majesty's pleasure, or with such a resolved patience, that he, neither in word nor work, gave so much as any semblance of being displeased or discontented. Nay, which is more, so truly was he affected to the pleasing and satisfying of the king his father in all things, that, some good time before his death, he made unto myself a solemn protestation, that to the end he might not in any thing be either displeasing, or give the least distaste unto his majesty, he would, from thenceforth, utterly remove his thoughts from all affairs whatsoever, that should not particularly concern himself, his own estate, or the government of his household.

In this discourse of that memorable prince, I will forbear to speak of his infancy, or youngest years, although I have heard by such as did then attend him, the same did most preface his ensuing virtues. My purpose and desire is to deliver nothing but verities known to myself, not things received by tradition from others.

In the first spring of his years of understanding, the king, his father, committed unto him the disposing of the lands and revenues assigned to him, and the government of his household; for the administration whereof his majesty appointed unto him certain special officers, in the number of whom myself (being not long before returned out of Spain, where I served the king divers years as his ambassador) was constituted treasurer of his house.

The place gave me occasion continually to attend him; and the especial favour that I afterwards found with him, not only the means to observe his actions, but to become particularly acquainted with the most of his thoughts.

My first step into his favour and especial trust grew out of that, which, with some other princes, would have cast me down either into perpetual disgrace, or at least into a temporary distaste and dislike hardly recoverable. I so much admired his judicious parts in so unripe an age, and discerned in him so great a will to know, and so noble and rare a disposition to give ear to advertisements, that, out of the duty of my place, and extraordinary affection to himself, taking hold of some fit occasion and opportunity, I adventured to make proof, whether he would endure advice, or advertisement reprehensive.

Young princes, left to their own wills, and great men, that are set upon the highest stage of worldly greatness,

greatness, and lulled in the lap of fortune, do rarely endure a reproofing voice, especially from those of a lower form.

I took the occasion from a then general supposal, or, at least, suspicion of a little too much straightness of his hand in rewarding, and of some errors in his actions; but did so tenderly tread upon those grounds, and with so retiring a foot, as occasioned a discovery, from himself, of a desire to receive and have a full sight of them, before I pulled off the masque where-with I had covered them.

In conclusion, I delivered them in substance plainly, but in words soft and respectful (as to such a prince became me) kings and princes being to be treated with, with words of silk, not of iron.

To the first, he gave answers satisfactorily.

To the other, excusively.

But, what were the fruits succeeding to his ever enduring honour, truth inforceth me to publish, that I ever after, in my own particular, found myself exceedingly ingreated in his favour, and that those few things that were erred became reformed.

To this so rare a disposition, which being by a prince entertained, cannot but make him both scient of the offices appertaining to his high estate, and in time also, as good as great, which, in one born to govern, of all things is the most desirable, is to be added another virtue in one of regal power, as valuable, and not much less necessary: so very close he was and faithful a keeper of whatsoever secret was disclosed unto him, as it was never known to any, that ever he discovered any one word in that kind delivered unto him.

Apt he was to hear and desirous to receive advertisements and advices, by any in whom he discerned knowledge gained by learning, or abilities won out of time, and experience to give them, neither did he take them in *transitu*: as in the Old Testament they celebrated the passover, nor as a man receiveth his cloak to put about him, not within him; but gave both time to the deliverers to relate them, and leisure to himself to consider and digest them.

Counsels are to be chewed not swallowed; he would therefore unzip every seam of them by interrogations used by himself, and receive reasons and resolutions by those that offered them, until, by mature debate and consultation, which are the true foils that give clearness and assuredness to counsels, he had both perfected and made them solid and fit for his use, whensoever occasion should be offered.

In the government of his household in years so very young, he gave examples imitable to all other princes.

His family was ample, as that which consisted of few less than five hundred, many of them young gentlemen, born to great fortunes; in the prime of their years, when their passions and appetites were most strong, and their powers and experiences to temper and subject them to reason most weak, his judgment, his grave and princely aspect, gave temper to them all, his very eye served for a commandment, and more and

better service have I noted to be done by the very looks of him, than by sharp reprehensions of some other princes: if any questions or quarrels were moved amongst his servants, he would give a stop and stay to them at the very beginning, by referring them to some such of his principal officers, as he thought to be most scient in matters of that nature, and best did know to give just compensation to the injured, and reproof to them that should be found to have offered the wrong; so as, in so numerous a family, there was not so much as any blows given, or any countenance of quarrel or debate between any.

Plenty and magnificence were the things that in his house he especially affected, but not without such a temper as might agree with the rules of frugality and moderation; he caused to be set down in writing unto him the several heads of all his annual charges, the ordinary expence of his house and his stables, the charge of his apparel and wardrobe, his rewards, and all such other things as yearly were to be issued out of his coffers, and comparing them with his annual revenue, did so judiciously fashion and proportion them by shortening what he found superfluous, and increasing what was wanting, and too short in any of them, as he reduced them to a certainty, and such as his revenues would well defray, besides a yearly spare of some thousands of pounds, which he reserved for a store or treasure to be ready for all events and occasions accidental.

By giving of which so good and solid foundation and order unto his state, he delivered himself from all necessity of becoming rigid or strait to his tenants, either by any unmeasurable improving their farms or their fines, or seeking or taking advantage of any their forfeitures, and became also unnecessitated to take the benefit that both law and right afforded unto him, of such as had in time of former princes purchased lands appertaining to his duchy of Cornwall, which could not by law be alienated from the same, to whom out of his princely bounty, and gracious compassion, upon resuming of them, he gave some reasonable satisfaction.

The banquets and feasts that any time he made, his desire was, should be magnificent and agreeing with his princely dignity, yet not without an especial eye, and care had, that nothing should be spent in disorder, or the charge made greater through the want of providence, or well managing by his officers; in those he ever affected the demonstration of a princely greatness, and that all things should pass with decency and decorum, and without all rudeness, noise, or disorder.

In any thing either committed or permitted unto him by the king his father, concerning the state and defence of the kingdom, exceeding willing, sedulous, and careful he ever shewed himself, to perform all offices and duties understandingly, and with much circumspection.

He was once sent by his majesty to take a view of the navy at Chatham, whither myself waited upon him, and observed how great his desire was not only to see with

with his own eyes every particular ship, but to enable himself by conference and consultation with the best experienced of his majesty's officers of the navy, in the fashion and fabricature of the ships, to understand their strengths and the form of their sailing, to take knowledge of such as were then perfected and fitted for present service, and which defective, and in what several parts, to the end there might instantly be order given for the repairing of them; he also very particularly informed himself of their several equipages and furnitures, went in person to take an exact view of them, and of his majesty's store for that purpose, and would not be satisfied without understanding the special uses of every of those things, and of all others that tended to make them serviceable and useful; what further in years more ripe was in naval affairs, wherein consisted the principal strength, honour, and advantage of this kingdom, to be expected of him, may easily be discerned by his will, his diligence, his understanding, and princely courage, shewed upon occasion of discourse, delivered unto him by a servant of his own, concerning a naval war with Spain, whenever that king shall give cause of a publick hostility.

To publish particulars agrees not with the rules of state, but two especial things being propounded, which were the preparation of a navy, consisting of a certain number of ships to be sent into the West-Indies, and another to attend the coasts of Spain, to prohibit all entry or issue of ships either into or out of the same.

Admirable it was in one of years so young, to hear what interrogations he used of every particularity of that design, of the feasibility and of the difficulties of every branch of it; how he insisted upon every doubt, until, by the best experienced and practised both in sea services and in navigation, with reasons and demonstrations he became fully satisfied; and that done, how narrowly and nearly he searched into every knot, both of the honour and utility, and of the danger and charge that an attempt of that nature would draw with it, and ceased not until he understood every particular of the same, and especially the yearly charge which that whole expedition would amount unto; which having found so very reasonable, and the hopes so great, and all doubts so well resolved, to shew the valour of his own heart, he openly protested to such as were present, that should the king his father be pleased upon any future occasion to break with Spain, himself, if so it should agree with his majesty's pleasure, would in person become the executor of that noble attempt for the West-Indies.

In persons private it may suffice to be religious, honest, and just, within themselves.

To princes and men, constituted in high places, it behoveth to be also givers of good example to others.

Inferiors and subjects cast their eyes more upon what princes do, than upon what they command; their examples, with them, are of more force than any law of letters.

This became to this prince so great a motive, as he thought not fit to lose any hours of the life, that upon this earth were appointed unto him; but so to bestow them, that they might not only become profitable to himself, but imitable and exemplary to others.

He so distributed the day, by dividing his hours into the service of God, to the fitting himself to the office he was born unto, both in government civil and military; and to necessary exercises and recreations, as no part of it could be said to be in vain bestowed: to enable his knowledge in government civil, he read histories, the knowledge of things past conducing much to resolution in things present, and to prevention of those to come.

In the military, he added thereunto the mathematics, study of cosmography, and had one that instructed him in the matter and form of fortifications.

For practice, he used in a manner daily to ride and manage great horses, with which he had his stables most excellently furnished; oftentimes to run at the ring, and sometimes at tilt; both which he so well and dextrously performed, and with so great a comeliness, that, in those his first years, he became second to no prince in Christendom, and to many, that practised with him, much superior.

His other exercises were dancing, leaping, and, in times of year fit for it, learning to swim; at some times, walking fast and far, to accustom and enable him to make a long march, when time should require it; but most of all at tennis-play, wherein, to speak the truth, which in all things I especially affect, he neither observed moderation, nor what appertained to his dignity and person, continuing oftentimes his play for the space of three or four hours, and the same in his shirt, rather becoming an artisan than a prince; who, in things of that nature, is only to affect comeliness, or rather a kind of carelessness in shew, to make their activities seem the more natural, than a laborious and toiling industry.

Of this and of his diet, wherein he shewed too much inclination to excessive eating of fruits, he was, as in all other things, content to hear advice, but in these two particulars not to follow it.

To other play or gaming he shewed himself not much inclined; yet would sometimes play at obefs, at billiards, and at cards, but so very nobly, and like himself, as plainly shewed his use of it to be only for recreation, not for appetite of gain; for, whether he won or lost, his countenance was ever the same; and, for the most part, greater appearance of mirth in him when he lost than when he won; thereby plainly demonstrating both his judgment, in adventuring no more than what he made no regard of if he lost it; and his princely magnanimity and temper, in suffering no passion or alteration to take hold of him, through any crossness of cards, or chance.

In some young gentlemen, whom he affected, he seemed to mislike too much disposition to play, and did not only dissuade them from it, but gave unto some of

of them matter of value to become bound to leave the use of it; for pleasure, he took them all, as it were, in passage, without semblance, either to desire them, or at least to have a will to dwell in them.

The pleasure of the flesh, especially which is most incident to young years, and by princes rarely avoidable, whose fancies and affections are commonly as vehement, as their persons and powers are great, and therefore most like to fall themselves, and give occasion of falling to others; although some in those times there were, that, taking measure of him by the yardwand of their own unbridled appetites, were pleased to the wife to conceive and report of him, yet myself, having been present at great feasts made in his house, whereunto he invited the most beautiful and specious ladies of the court and city, could neither then discover by his behaviour, his eyes, or his countenance, any shew of singular or special fancy to any, or at any other time such looseness, either in words or actions, as whereupon, in justice or reason, to ground any such opinion of him.

But rather thus with truth and assuredness to determine, that, were he not himself chaste in his inward thoughts, yet did he with so incomparable judgment and temper cover them, as, to just and judicious eyes, they gave no true occasion to suspect him.

It is true, that to take a wife, though he shewed no vehement desire, yet he demonstrated a good inclination.

Marriages were propounded and offered for him in Spain, in the time that myself there served, who had from the king, his father, commission to treat it; but finding that the overture there grew rather out of a desire to win time, to advance their own designs, than with true intention to perform it, in regard of the difference of religion, I, for my part, gave end to that negotiation, in a manner, so soon as I began it.

After my return from thence, and entry into his highness's service, like motions were made both by Florence and Savoy; but those not conforming with what, in alliances with princes of his greatness, either in increase or equality of honour or utility, or for strength and surety of estate, was especially to be regarded.

That of Spain was, upon a new overture made by the ambassador of the king there, again entertained and committed by his majesty here to be treated of by his ambassador, who in that court succeeded me.

But, after some protractions used there, it was, upon the first opening, found to have come too late; that prince, for whom the treaty was intended, being the eldest daughter of that king, and the only who in years was fit for him, being formerly promised to the French king, that now is.

Lastly, there grew a proposition for a daughter of France; wherein his highness having, as in duty it became him, submitted and reserved himself to the king, his father, the same was not proceeded in to any effect.

In this noble prince was to be observed a singular integrity and clearness of thoughts; he had a true kingly disposition, and was so far from being induced to piece up the skin of the lion with that of the fox, that above all things he hated flattery and dissimulation.

A nobleman in those times, in the highest favour with the king, his father, wrote unto him, by the especial commandment of his majesty, a letter, wherein he recommended unto him a matter of very great consequence, to be instantly answered unto, and, in his subscription, used these words:

Your's before all the world.

This answer his highness committed unto me, who, having written it, did also set down some words of favour to the nobleman, to precede his highness's signature; the letter itself he read, and, having considered it, allowed it wholly without alteration.

Only, in regard of the words of subscription, notwithstanding the great haste that he made of the dispatch, he commanded me it should be new written, and those left out; and, notwithstanding all the reasons that I used to the contrary, would by no means be persuaded to suffer it so to pass, saying, That he, to whom he wrote, had untruly and unfaithfully dealt with him, and that his hand should never affirm what his heart thought not.

This prince, as he was no coverer of his thoughts, where he had just cause of dislike, so would he also, to those he trusted, acknowledge his love to such as he affected.

Of the titular nobility of this kingdom, upon occasion offered, he would express himself best to love and esteem such as were most anciently descended, and most nobly and honestly disposed, when, sometimes also, he would not forbear, by name, to particulate.

His highness's brother, our now sovereign, then duke of York, and his sister, since that time queen of Bohemia, he entirely loved; yet must I confess, at some times, by a kind of rough play and dalliance with the one, and a semblance of contradicting the other, in what he discerned her to desire, he took a pleasure in giving, both to the one and the other, some cause in those their so tender years to make proof of their patiences.

To say the truth, such were both those excellent princes, their own rare parts, and most sweet dispositions, as, had there been none other attractive of blood or nature, would to them have enforced his love and best affection.

He gave also, in the administration and government of his own particular estate, much presage of what he would have become, if he had lived to possess the diadem.

At such times as he attended the king, his father, to houses of remove, or in progress, he would not endure that carriages or provisions should be taken for him, without full contentment given to the parties.

In

In removes to his own houses, in like manner.

Nay, so careful he was, that none by him, or any of his train, should be either prejudiced or annoyed; as, whensoever he went a hawking, before harvest ended, he would take care that none should pass through the corn; and, to give them example, would himself ride rather a furlong about, truly and judiciously conceiving, that, to princes, there is no surer fortress, than that of hearts, and that, those once had and settled, the rest of what they possess is at their commandment.

Of his disposition to justice, he gave also, upon all occasions, much proof and demonstration.

He would never either condemn or censure any man unheard or undefended, retaining in his memory that notable example given to princes by God himself, whose divine knowledge, both of works and thoughts, needing no informers; yet, after Adam's fall, would neither censure him nor his Eve, without hearing what either of them could say in their own defence.

This I could demonstrate by divers particulars, as also of his being merciful after offence acknowledged, should not a long discourse seem unproportionable to so short a life.

It is true, that he was of a high mind, and knew well how to keep his distance, which, indeed, he did to all, neither admitting a near or full approach either to his power or his secrets.

He oftentimes protested, that neither fancy, nor flattery, should move him to confer upon any a superlative place in his favour, but he would, to the utmost of his understanding, measure unto all, according to the merit of their services, as holding it not just to yield unto affections, or rather second respects, that which is only due to virtue and deservings.

That remunerative he was of services, and considerative of those that deserved and needed.

A most memorable and inimitable example he gave before his death, having, to divers of his servants, who longest had served, and in whom he noted want, given, by several patents sent unto them, pensions during life, to the value of eleven or twelve hundred pounds a year,

and that without all mediation and intreaty by others, and, at a time, when themselves did at least expect it.

To conclude of this prince, Did he not all things well? The fault is rather to be imputed to those, that, in years so unripe, by their advice, should have assisted him, and lined out his ways, than to any want of will, or religious and princely disposition in himself.

He was of a comely personage, of indifferent stature, well and streight limbed, and strongly proportioned, his countenance and aspect inclining, in those his young years, to gravity and shew of majesty.

His judgment so far beyond what his age could promise, that it was truly admirable.

His speech slow, and somewhat impeded, rather, as I conceive, by custom, and a long imitation of some that did first instruct him, than by any defect in nature, as appeared by much amendment of the same.

After that he had been advised to a more often exercise of it, by using at home, amongst his own servants, first short discourses, and after longer, as he should find himself inabled.

Yet would he oftentimes say of himself, that he had the most unserviceable tongue of any man living.

Towards the latter part of his time, so well became: foreign princes, by their ambassadors, informed of his rare parts, as the adverse to this kingdom began to fear and redoubt him, and the well affected and confederated, to love and entertain great hopes of him.

But God seeing it good to bestow another crown upon him, excelling all that on earth was to be had or hoped:

After some five day's sickness endured with patience, and as often recognition of his faith, his hopes, and his appeals, to God's mercy, as his infirmity, which afflicted him altogether in his head, would possibly permit:

He yielded up the ghost at St. James's, next Westminster, and was interred at Westminster, where his body now resteth.

I wish it were in my power to raise such a monument unto his fame, as might eternise it unto all posterities.

A Relation of the Carriage of the Marriages that should have been made between the Prince of England and the Infanta Major, and also after with the younger Infanta of Spain. Written by Sir Charles Cornwallis to the Lord Digby. MS.

SIR,

THE charge I hold having so necessary relation and dependency on that place, to which your wisdom and deserts have moved his majesty to call you; I have thought it fit, in a matter of no less conse-

quence, than a treaty of marriage for the prince's highness, with a daughter of the king of Spain (because I know you shall receive the carriage thereof severally and differently related from many princes, his majesty's

jeſty's allies; and from his majeſty's publick miniſters reſiding abroad) to ſet down, truly and exactly, the original, courſe, and iſſue of the buſineſs, to the end that you, who under his majeſty are like hereafter to direct, may be fully acquainted with what formerly paſſed: and for that it is likely, that the manner of this treaty ſhall not only be given out, but cenſured according to the diverſity of men's affections, and unto you (as to the center where all advertiſements meet) theſe contrarieties will come.

I therefore deſired to arm you with this truth, which, as I affirm unto yourſelf, ſo I am ready to juſtify it to the world, if you ſhall have occaſion, or that your wiſdom ſhall think it fit to make more publick uſe of this diſcourſe, which containeth in it ſo much truth, that I care not what eye ſees it, for that I know no man can contradict it.

I ſhall therefore refer it to your honour to make ſuch uſe thereof, as ſhall beſt pleaſe you, either to inform others of theſe proceedings, or for your own private ſatisfaction, to which I chiefly intend it.

To ſet down unto your honour perfectly, as well the introduction and beginning of this buſineſs, as the courſe and iſſue to which it is brought, I muſt crave leave to take it a little higher than my own time; yet dare affirm what I ſhall ſay therein, to contain as exactly the truth, as that which hath paſſed by myſelf, for that I have received it from his majeſty's own mouth, and often from my lord treaſurer, and have found it acknowledged by the principal miniſters here.

Not long after the concluding of the peace betwixt his majeſty and the king of Spain, there fell out many cauſes of expoſtulation betwixt them, for divers wrongs offered to his majeſty's ſubjects, contrary to the articles of treaty, as alſo for the readineſs which was perceived in the king of Spain, to receive and favour perſons ill affected to his majeſty and the ſtate; and, thereupon, his majeſty was content, that it ſhould be plainly told unto the king's ambaffador reſiding in England, that he obſerved ſo ſtrange a proceeding upon the new amity, as he had cauſe to ſuſpect that the former alienation was rather diſguiſed for the contriving of ſome future ends, than ſo extinguished, as he might be able to build upon ſuch a friendſhip: whereupon many arguments being uſed by divers of the king's miniſters, in excuſe of what had paſſed, imputing ſome to the ſlow ſtile of their proceeding in Spain, and ſome others to the concurrence in matter of conſcience, with thoſe perſons which made their retreat into this king's dominion.

And, for the better expreſſing and intimating of this king's clear and ſincere affections towards his majeſty, both the Conde de Villa Mediana in his time, and Don Pedro de Zuniga ſince, declared and proteſted to know ſo much of the king their maſter's good intents unto his majeſty, as if he would be pleaſed according to nature and cuſtom, by both which the man is to ſpeak firſt, to begin a motion for a marriage betwixt the prince of Wales and the infant,

the ſame ſhould be ſo well heard, as it ſhould appear, that their king deſired not only to continue in amity, but to unite himſelf by neareſt alliance to his majeſty. To all which, though his majeſty could not but return kind and thankful answers in general; yet, for many reſpects, it pleaſed his majeſty to paſs over all theſe occaſions given him by theſe invitations, without making any particular answer, until the time of Don Alonzo de Velasco, yet leiger there, who renewing theſe former overtures, his majeſty could no longer have remained in ſilence, but he muſt have given juſt occaſion to retort that opinion of coldneſs upon himſelf, for which he had, formerly, challenged the king of Spain. And here I can enter to ſpeak of the ſequel of the buſineſs upon my own knowledge.

In March, 1611, the duke of Savoy ſent an ambaffage unto his majeſty, in which he gave commiſſion to his ambaffador to make offer of the prince of Piedmont, for the Lady Eliſabeth's grace, with inſinuation likewise, how glad the duke of Savoy would be, if the prince of Wales would diſpoſe himſelf to like of his eldeſt daughter.

To the firſt, his majeſty made answer, That he would not reſuſe to treat thereof upon the duke's own motion, if it were propounded ſingly, as it had formerly been moved by the ambaffador of Spain: but if it came accompanied with the condition of reciprocal marriage for the prince, his majeſty could herein give no answer, as not being yet reſolved about the beſtowing of him. At the ſame time that the Spaniſh ambaffador made the firſt overture for the prince of Piedmont (for the motion thereof came from him as ſo directed by the king of Spain, as he affirmed and ſhewed in writing) he ſaid, that in caſe his majeſty ſhould be pleaſed to make the like overture to the king his maſter, for the prince of Wales to match with the infant, he did aſſure himſelf, that his majeſty ſhould receive a kind and an honourable answer; intimating, indeed, that the intent of this match with Savoy was to be as a forerunner of the match deſired, betwixt the prince and the infant, by which all difficulties in matters of religion might be facilitated, that the other might find the leſs ſtays and hinderances, when it ſhould come to be negotiated.

Myſelf, at the ſame time, being appointed to come as his majeſty's leiger ambaffador in Spain, to ſupply the place which had been two years vacant with charge to procure ſome better ſatisfaction in the merchants buſineſſes, than they had yet received; and being ſo near my departure, that I had my inſtructions ready drawn and perfected, and had alſo taken my leave of his majeſty, thinking, within very few days, to have begun my journey.

My lord treaſurer, upon this new invitation of the ambaffador, ſent me down to Roſton unto his majeſty, to make him acquainted therewith, whereupon his majeſty was pleaſed to give me order how to behave myſelf in the buſineſs, and cauſed particular directions to be added and adjoined to my former inſtructions; wherein before there was no kind of mention for any ſuch

such motion; an evident argument, that the overtures of the ambassador, and the assurance he gave his majesty, that the proposition should have all kind acceptance, were the only motives which caused his majesty to propound this match; this being the very true form in which this business was, by the ambassador, revived, and by which his majesty and this king have proceeded.

At my arrival here in Spain, having procured audience of the king; after I had presented unto him his majesty's kind and affectionate salutations with all princely offers of love and friendship, I gave particular notice unto him of the overture made by Don Alonzo, his ambassador; and, in his majesty's name, gave him thanks for yielding so clear and apparent a testimony of his affection. And then I declared the extraordinary value and estimation his majesty made of the person and fortune of the infanta in every respect, and that to shew his willingness to maintain the amity, and increase the alliance betwixt them, he was willing to lay hold on that which the ambassador had intimated unto him, and therefore had given me instructions to propound a marriage unto him, for the prince of Wales, his majesty's son and heir, with the infanta, his eldest daughter.

The king hereunto made answer, That these testimonies of his majesty's love were very acceptable unto him, and told me, concerning this business, the duke of Lerma should have orders to treat with me.

Within two or three days the duke of Lerma came home unto me, to my house, to whom, when I had signified how grateful it was to his majesty to understand of his good inclination towards him, and his estate; I declared as much unto him as before I did unto the king; and told him, that herein the king had referred me to negotiate and treat with himself. The duke then begun, with a great deal of protestation, to declare how much he desired as great a strictness and nearness of amity and alliance as might be betwixt the crowns of England and Spain; and that, by his means, this proposition had been divers times handled, both by the Conde de Villa Mediana, and since by Don Pedro de Zuniga, as also by Don Alonzo, now resident in England; and that he well knew of how great consequence it was, both for the good of Spain and of England, to be so nearly and firmly united. One thing there was, which he apprehended as the greatest and only difficulty, which was, the disparity of religion; for the accommodating whereof, he would make no precise judgment, being a thing depending on the pope, and in which, neither the king, nor the state here, could make any certain determination.

I then made him answer, that the king, my master, would herein have to do with no others but the king and his ministers; and that I supposed, that if the pope's inclination had not already been tried herein, and that there might be a probability of his giving way unto the match; I should have thought, there would not have been given commission to Don Alonzo de Velasco, to give such encouragements to the king,

my master, for the propounding of it; and that, if I was not much mistaken, I had heard Don Alonzo say, That the match with Savoy had been already propounded to the pope, and that he should seem not to be much averse thereunto, which match, I conceived, had been a preparation and a way-maker to this other.

To this the duke replied, that the king dependeth on none but the pope, and that depending he could not, nor must not deny; neither could he proceed therein, without the pope's approbation. And as for the matter of Savoy, though the pope should give way unto it, yet there would be great difference in their cases, in regard that there might be great hopes of the Lady Elisabeth's conversion, being matched to a catholick prince, and being come to live in a catholick country: whereas, contrariwise, there might be great danger of the infanta's perversion, she being to be matched, and so to be governed by a prince that was not catholick, the which if the king should suppose, he could not, nor would not do, though it were for the saving of his kingdom.

I, seeing the duke stand upon so strict terms, desired him not to mistake my manner of proposition, which was with these conditions and restrictions, that if this motion should not be received with full as much forwardness of disposition from the king of Spain, as by the king my master, in his desires to have it effected, this business would quickly be at an end; for that I had no commission to treat, until I should be assured, both that the proposition in general was very welcome unto them, and that they would undertake the clearing of such difficulties as on their side might arise.

So that, unless this by them might be undergone, the issue of this business, I conceived, was like to be no other, but that the king, my master, had expressed a willingness to lay hold of any intimation, that this king should make of working a greater nearness and strictness between them.

The duke then seemed to be a little altered with this my directness, and begun to qualify his manner of speech; telling me, He well knew the good and great happiness that might arise, not only to these crowns, but to the christian world in general, if this match might take effect; and that what he now had said, was not by way of answer, but by way of proposition of the only difficulties he foresaw; but that the king had herein given him order, that shortly I should receive answer, the care whereof he would undertake; willing me to assure myself, that it should be such as should be agreeable, both to the king my master's honour, and full satisfaction: upon these terms we parted.

I then suffered them to take the leisure of a month or six weeks, without using any new instance, until their stay was such, as I held it expedient to press them for their answer, and to make means for a new access unto the king, on whom I was commanded to wait at the Escorial. My audience with him was

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very short, being again referred by him to the duke of Lerma, whom I then found very sick in bed of a fever, and so offered to have attended him some day or hour of his better disposition.

But he intreated me to sit down by him, and told me, he would briefly signify unto me the substance of the king's answer, which should be more at large declared unto me, by Don John des Idiaques, who was there present.

He then willed me to signify to the king my master, that this proposition, which he had made, was very welcome and grateful unto this king, taking it as an assured testimony of his affection and good-will unto him; and as he had found from the king a worthy and direct proceeding in the propounding of it, so would he use much sincerity and directness in the answer: for that the truth was, that before this overture made by me in the king's name, for the prince of Wales, with the infanta, the Lady Anna, the king was elsewhere engaged; and that the reason why my answer had been so long delayed, was to see how other treaties (which were already on foot) proceeded, to the end that, if the king should have found himself free of such engagements and promises, as he had formerly made, he might have given that acceptance which he desired to his proposition; the which he could not now do, on the behalf of the eldest daughter, the Lady Anna, because the promises and engagements, which he formerly had made, were proceeded in with great likelihood of taking effect.

But such was his particular desire of giving satisfaction to the king, that having other daughters, born of the same father and mother, and of equal dearness and esteem unto him; that if for either of them it should please the king to make a motion, for the prince of Wales (if that the king did think the matter of religion might be accommodated, and without danger of his king's daughter to be altered and perverted from her religion) the king here would be very willing unto it, and would, upon his majesty's answer herein (which he wished me to procure) give order for the negotiating herein, to the king's full content.

He then told me, what he then said should be more amply delivered unto me by Don John des Idiaques, to whom I might likewise say any thing I had to speak; for that his indisposition was such, that with much pain he had forced himself to say thus much, and so I was accompanied to my chamber by Don John des Idiaques, and Don Roderigo Calderon; from Don John, I received the same answer in effect, that I had done from the duke of Lerma, though somewhat more enlarged; with whom, though I he'd it to little purpose to argue or expostulate; yet, when they urged the king's former engagement to be long before my overture, I replied, that I much wondered at that, since the motives that had incited the king my master to this overture, had proceeded from Don Alonso, their ambassador, now resident in England, who had not only formerly assured the king, my master, that if he should be pleased to make this motion,

it should receive a kind acceptance, and an honourable answer; but likewise of late, upon the instant of my departure, he confirmed, that he was newly instructed from his king, that in case the alliance with the prince was then spoken of, not only not to refuse it, but to embrace it as a matter that should be most agreeable to his king, if matter of religion might be accommodated.

Don Roderigo suddenly and peremptorily denied his having any such directions from hence, saying, it could not be, for that this treaty had been many months in speech; but Don John des Idiaques seemed to qualify, or rather, wittily to excuse it, by taking hold of the general word *alliance*; saying it might be, that he might have directions, in case the alliance of the prince with Spain should be spoken of, he should not refuse it; for that it then was, and is still desired, though not particularly with the king's eldest daughter, concerning whom, the king had been already, many months, engaged by promise.

They seemed much to desire, that the king might rest satisfied with this answer, telling me that there was little advantage (in the main) with daughters, that the king much esteemed, and would do as much for the younger, as for the elder. I told them, I knew not how the king, my master, might herewith rest satisfied; yet I could not but conceive many differences between the younger and the eldest daughters: First, That kingdoms could not come into division; and then, that a prince of nine years of age should be married to a lady elder than himself, and another of eighteen should be moved to tarry for an infanta of six years.

And this is the effect of that which passed at that time, of which I presently gave an account unto his majesty, and thereupon received directions to make unto them this reply: that the king, my master, had found their answer to contain in it so many incongruities, and unexpected passages, that he had held it fit to call this king's ambassador to a conference with the lords of his council, for the justifying of what had passed from him; and had likewise commanded me, to understand from this king the reason of these proceedings, which he found both unsuitable to his expectation, and no way to answer the promises of the ambassador; for that he had not only, in former times, assured the king, my master, that if he should be pleased to propound a match for the prince of Wales, with the infanta, the king's eldest daughter, he should receive a kind and an honourable answer; but also, a very few days before my departure, he confirmed his former speeches in his king's name, acknowledging, that by a late direction from hence, he was newly instructed, that, in case the alliance of the prince of Wales were spoken of in England, that he should not only not refuse it, but embrace it as a thing that should be most agreeable to his majesty, if matter of religion might be accommodated.

Now the king, my master, seeing these encouragements, given by the ambassador so contrary to what he found

found here; for having, but two months before, received assurance, that if he should propound the match for the prince with the infanta major, it should find kind acceptance, that he should now receive answer, that she was already disposed of! His majesty could not but judge, that either this king's proceedings were not with that clearness, that he expected; or that the ambassador, whom the king, my master, had cause in all things to believe (he having the public faith and credence of his king) had herein much exceeded. Wherein his majesty desired first to receive satisfaction; for that he was advertised from myself, that some of the king's principal ministers here absolutely denied to me, that any such direction or commission was given to the said ambassador.

His majesty, therefore, thought it fit, to have this point cleared, Whether he had any warrant from his king to speak what he had said, or not? For that whensoever it should appear, that any publick minister should so much forget himself, as to deliver that, in the person of his master, which is but his own, or, having spoken the truth, should afterward be disavowed by those that employed him; one of these two things must follow, that he is either become unworthy of the place, he holdeth, by his own act, or made unworthy by his master.

Having delivered this, both to the king and to the duke of Lerma; from the duke, in the king's name, I received this answer: That it was true, that his majesty had great reason to take exceptions, and to be displeased with this manner of proceeding, if their ambassador had, in this sort, dealt with his majesty; but that he herein must absolutely clear the king, whose proceedings were, and ever should be found with much love and sincerity unto his majesty, and that the blame and fault hereof must light upon the ambassador, who had received no such commission nor directions from hence: telling me, that it was justice, first, to hear their ambassador, before they should proceed against him; but in case he should not clear himself, but that he had proceeded in the manner, which I had set down: the course, which his king would take with his ambassador, should both fully give his majesty satisfaction, and sufficiently witness, that the king had given him no such commission. He then desired to know the particulars, which, I alledged, the ambassador had said to his majesty, which I repeated unto him in this manner:

First, That upon the motion of the match with Savoy, he told his majesty, that in case he would be pleased to make the like overture to the king his master, for the prince's highness with the infanta, his king's daughter, he did assure himself, that his majesty should receive a kind and an honourable answer.

Secondly, In April, 1611, he confirmed his former speeches, in the king his master's name, acknowledging to be newly instructed from Spain: that in case the alliance for the prince's highness were spoken of in England, he should not refuse it, but embrace it, as

a thing that should be most agreeable to his king, if matter of religion might be accommodated.

Thirdly and lastly, He confirmed, in a conference with the lords of his majesty's privy-council, that he was warranted and authorised to hear and embrace any overture, for the prince's highness, concerning the infanta major, and that upon just and reasonable conditions, so that means might be made for the accommodating of matter of religion. All which conjunction, without allowing some, and disallowing the rest, the duke of Lerma, in his king's name, absolutely disavowed, denying, that any such commission had been given unto him.

The duke then seemed much to labour to express his king's affection, and good intents to his majesty, alledging, that indeed it was true, there had been formerly some speech of the conveniency of this match, but, seeing it in no kind proceeded in, the king had taken this resolution, which was now likely to take effect, for the bestowing his eldest daughter upon the king of France; but that all other means of entering into alliance with his majesty, by bestowing any other of his daughters upon the prince, his king had willingly offered, and was ready to perform, if matter of religion could be accommodated, asking me, Whether I had no answer concerning this offer, which his king had made unto him? I told him, I had therein, as yet, received no direction at all; and thus, for this time, we concluded and parted: this being in the middle of September, 1611.

In the beginning of February next following, I having occasion, for many businesses of the merchants, to repair unto the duke; after long discourse therein, he expressing an extraordinary desire, that all things might be carried with much love and kindness betwixt their majesties, and that a greater nearness might be wrought betwixt them, if it were possible, asked me whether I had yet no directions concerning his king's last proffer? I told him, Not: then falling into many discourses of having England and Spain united; he telling me, there were very few king's daughters now left in Christendom, and that, in the matches of great princes, there were commonly greater inconveniencies, than the disproportion of some few years, and urging me to speak what I conceived thereof. I told him, that out of the confidence I had in him, and for the expressing of my own good inclination, of doing all good offices betwixt their majesties, whom I conceived were both well inclined to unite themselves more nearly, if fit means could be found for them, I would tell him, both what I thought in this particular, and what should be the most probable means of working such an effect.

I then said, that the king, my master, having only two sons, I supposed he would regard no one thing so much in the match of the prince, as the hope of a speedy and a plentiful issue, and the prince being already at man's estate, and his king's youngest daughter, not past six years of age, he should be forced to

the attendance of many years, and the prime of his youth be spent, before there could be hope of any issue by him: which consideration, I apprehended, was the cause, which made his majesty take so much deliberation, in giving answer to the proffer. But that, if he would give me leave, merely as a private gentleman, as having no other commission, but the warrant dormant (which all leiger ambassadors have) to propound, and discourse of all things, which they think may tend to the increasing of amity and good correspondence betwixt the princes, where they are employed, I should be glad to express my good intentions and desires in this kind, by declaring unto him all the most likely and probable ways, which I could foresee, for the producing of such an effect: and so, among other things, told him, I supposed, that a daughter of Savoy, being so suitable in years, and so near in blood to his king, might, by being taken into his care, and being as it were adopted a daughter of his, and made fit by him, in regard of her fortune, as she was in all things else, to be a wife unto the prince, she might very well prove a fitting subject to set the mutual desires at work, which I conceived were in both their majesties, of uniting themselves.

The duke thanked me very much, both for the free proceeding with him, and for the good inclination which I expressed of working a greater nearness betwixt their majesties, telling me, he would consider of what I had said, seeming much to approve it, and shortly would again send for me, that we might confer further thereof.

I earnestly intreated him, because this was a mere project and proposition of my own, without any kind of authority, or direction, that it might pass with much stillness and secrecy: and that, if it should appear upon better consideration not convenient to be further proceeded in, that it might die betwixt us two, lest otherwise my good intentions might perhaps turn to my prejudice; the which he was pleased not only to promise, but very solemnly to swear unto me.

Within some few days the duke sent to call me unto him, and then signified unto me, how well my good intents and desire of doing all good offices were accepted; and particularly, my last discourse that I had with him, and that he would requite my kind proceeding, with a real freeness: for that though the business of Savoy, whereof I had spoken, might have, in his opinion, any probability of taking effect; yet as the case now stood, he thought the present no fit time to deal in it. For in regard his king had made an offer of his own daughter, to which his majesty had yet given no answer; he held it convenient, that this or any other proposition of this nature might be respited and suspended, until the business of his king's own daughter were fully cleared; in which he conceived his majesty had now taken much leisure, and therefore desired me, herein to require his majesty's resolution.

Thereupon I wrote unto his majesty, that in a late conference betwixt the duke and myself, in which

many discourses passed betwixt us, and I uttering my private thoughts of such things as I held probable to produce a greater amity and nearness betwixt their majesties; the duke declared unto me, that the king, his master, was in expectation to receive from his majesty a direct and certain answer, concerning the overture for a match betwixt the prince of Wales and this king's second daughter. I write unto you this passage, though it were a thing merely of my own, without any kind of instruction from his majesty, for these two regards: first, For that I am so desirous herein to set down the truth, that I would not conceal so essential a circumstance, though I were certain to incur great blame by it. Secondly, For that this occasion drew from his majesty his answer to this king's offer of his younger daughter; whereby the business, being again revived, hath been brought to that final issue, where, I conceive, it is like to stay.

His majesty, upon this instance of mine for his answer, first directed me to alledge the reasons, which had hitherto detained him from making any reply, and then to answer in this manner:

That in the offer made by this king of his younger daughter, both as it was delivered unto myself, and likewise as it was confirmed by this king's ambassador there, his majesty still found this clause and condition inserted, that this king would be most willing to entertain a motion for a match betwixt the prince of Wales and any of his younger daughters, if matter of religion might be accommodated. And therefore, to the end that all proceedings betwixt them might be with much clearness, he commanded me to move this king, that he would be pleased to declare the intent of this clause, and what was meant and excepted, in the accommodating of matter of religion, and why that difficulty was so often represented.

Thus much I delivered unto the king, and to the duke of Lerma, from whom, after the deliberation of two months, I received this reply: That the king, his master, out of the desire he had to make alliance with his majesty, had consulted with the pope, and other grave persons, requisite for so weighty a business: and if that, for the accommodating of matter of religion, the prince would become a Roman Catholick, he would willingly embrace and esteem him as his own dear son.

I told him, that in such treaties and negotiations betwixt princes, there was a great difference betwixt what might be wished and desired, and what was resolutely demanded; and that I conceived, the king rather expressed herein what he would be glad might be, than what he expected should be: but that my directions were to intreat this king, that he would be pleased to declare, not what he could wish, but what he would demand.

The duke then answered, That without the prince's being a Roman Catholick, it was not possible, but that the perversion of the king's daughter must needs be hazarded, which for the world, he would neither be the direct nor indirect cause of.

Hereupon

Hereupon I signified to the duke, that the king, my master, had given me directions and instructions how to behave myself, according to the answer which I should receive; and therefore I intreated him, for a day or two, to give me leave to confer this answer with my directions; and that he would give me access, and procure me audience with the king, for the further proceeding in this business, as the king, my master, had commanded me.

Within two or three days after, I was appointed to return again unto the duke, to whom at first I made repetition of the answer, which the last day I had received from him, the which he likewise then confirmed again.

I then desired him to consider some few grounds which I should lay before him, the which being presupposed, I conceived he could not but think that the reply, which the king, my master, had directed me to make, was grounded upon much equity and honour.

The first thing, I desired this king should consider, was, That when his majesty dealt with him, and his ministers, he presumed so much of the equity of this king's judgment, and promised himself so much of his affections and respect unto him, as he should never hear from him any demand unworthy of him, or which this king would not judge fitting to be propounded to himself, were the king my master's case his own.

The second thing, which I desired that this king should know and believe, was, That there was no prince whatsoever more confident and certain in the truth of his religion, than the king my master was in his, in which he was not only resolved to live and die, but for the protection and defence thereof, had by several means declared himself as far, and would ever be ready to adventure as much for the maintenance thereof, as any prince living should do.

Thirdly, I desired it might be remembered, that though it be true, that the king my master caused the proposition, for the prince, with the infanta major, to be made, yet he was first moved and invited thereunto, by the assurance which this king's ambassador gave unto him, how welcome this motion would be to his master.

And for that which hath now passed in this of the second daughter, it hath been likewise only stirred and moved from hence, by the offer of her made by this king; and to this offer, thus accompanied with these demands and conditions, I was out of these grounds, by the direction of the king my master, to make this answer:

That whereas it is demanded that, to match with this king's second daughter, the prince should become a Roman Catholick, the king my master desires to refer it to this king's own judgment, what censure that king should deserve, both from the hands of God, and the world, that having so many ways expressed his constancy and love to the faith and religion, which he professeth, should shew himself so full of impiety and

dishonour, to persuade his son to make a change of his soul, for a wife, or any earthly fortune whatsoever.

And if this king would not for a world, as he professed, be either the direct or indirect cause of the hazard of his daughter's perversion: the king may be pleased to consider, that if he be therein so exact, as becometh a king, in point of religion and honour, the king my master is likewise so, in no degree less: and therefore hath commanded me, plainly to declare, that though he could not but make a kind and princely construction of the offer, which this king made of his daughter, as judging her most worthy of any prince whatsoever, yet, for this demand of the prince's becoming a Roman Catholick, the king my master holdeth it unworthy of him, and would absolutely refuse to bestow the prince, his son, upon these conditions, were the person offered the sole heir of the monarchy of the whole world.

Hereunto the duke made little answer, not expecting, as I conceive, so direct and conclusive a proceeding; only said, that his king did suppose, that God might have been pleased to have made this the means for the reducing of the prince, and England, to the Catholick religion.

And so from the duke I went unto the king, with whom I was appointed at that time to have audience; unto whom I made an ample and full relation of the whole course of the business, and particularly signified unto him the answers, which, in his name, I had received from the duke of Lerma, and likewise, his majesty's reply.

He told me the duke of Lerma had in all things proceeded as he directed him, and therefore he would only confirm those answers, which I had already received from him.

Thus having made unto you a true and exact relation, how this business hath hitherto been carried, I will refer the judgment thereof to your own wisdom; only these passages I shall recommend unto you, as most remarkable:

First, That his majesty's proposition, for the king of Spain's eldest daughter, was from the several invitations of the Spanish ambassadors, neither can the dishonour of their indirect proceedings be removed, but that another will necessarily fall upon them. For if princes shall not give credit and belief to the ambassadors, and publick ministers, one of another, all means of negotiating betwixt them will be taken away.

Herein they pretend, that, for the giving his majesty satisfaction, they have rejected their ambassador, and, likewise, sent Don Pedro de Zuniga, in the interim, until the coming of Don Diego Sarmiento d'Acuna, whom they have nominated for that employment.

Secondly, In this business concerning the second daughter, it never was, in any kind, any motion of his majesty's, but merely an offer of the king of Spain, which God, I conceive, appointed, as a fitting and a
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worthy means, for his majesty to make declaration, both to them here, and to the world, of his constancy and resolution, in the professing and protesting of his religion.

So that I must conclude, that if any thing hath passed herein, less honourable, or less sincere, than befitting the greatness of two such mighty princes; there cannot so much as any reflexion of it light upon his majesty, whose proceedings clear throughout have been

with all directness. Whereas they, if they do not justly incur the censure of some falsehood, yet it cannot but be a great unluckiness to them, in a matter of so great consequence, to be forced to renounce their ambassador. Neither have they any advantage in point of honour, that a daughter, whose sex giveth ever the privilege to be sought, being offered, hath not been accepted.

The Forerunner of Revenge. Being two Petitions: the one, to the King's most excellent Majesty; the other, to the most honourable Houses of Parliament. Wherein are expressed divers actions of the late Earl of Buckingham; especially concerning the death of King James, and the Marquis of Hamilton, supposed by poison. Also may be observed the inconveniencies befalling a State, where the noble disposition of the Prince is misled by a Favourite. By George Eglisham, doctor of physick, and one of the physicians to King James of happy memory, for his Majesty's person, above ten years space.

To the most potent monarch CHARLES, King of Great-Britain.

S I R,

NO better motive there is for a safe government, than the safe meditation of death (equalling kings with beggars) and the exact justice of God requiring of them, that the good suffering misery in this life should receive joy in the other; and the wicked, flourishing securely in this, might be punished in the other. That which pleaseth lasteth but a moment; what tormenteth is everlasting. Many things we see unrewarded or unpunished in this inferior world, which in the universal weight of God's justice, must be counterpoised elsewhere. But wilful and secret murder hath seldom been observed to escape undiscovered or unpunished, even in this life, such a particular and notable revenge perpetually followeth it, to the end that they who are either Atheists or Machiavelists may not trust too much to their wits in doing so horrible injustice; would to God your majesty would well consider what I have often said to my master, King James, The greatest policy is honesty; and howsoever any man seem to himself wise in compassing his desires, by tricks, yet, in the end, he will prove a fool: for falsehood ever deceiveth her own master, at length, as the devil (author of all falsehood) always doth, leaving his adherents desolate, when they have the greatest need of his help; no falsehood without injustice, no injustice without falsehood, albeit it were in person of a king.

There is no judge in the world more tied to do justice than a king, whose coronation tieth him unto it by solemn oath, which if he violate, he is false and perjured.

It is justice that maketh kings, justice that maintains kings, and injustice that brings kings and kingdoms to destruction, to fall into misery, to die like asses in ditches, or a more beastly death, eternal infamy after death, as all histories from time to time do clearly manifest.

What need hath mankind of kings but for justice? Men are not born for them, but they for men; what greater, what more royal occasion in the world, could be offered to your majesty, to shew your impartial disposition in matters of justice, at the first entry of your reign, than this which I offer in my just complaint against Buckingham, by whom your majesty suffereth yourself so far to be led, that your best subjects are in doubt whether he is your king, or you his. If your majesty know and consider how he hath tyrannised over his lord and master King James (the worldly creator of his fortunes) how insolent, how ingrate an oppressor, what a murderer and traitor he hath proved himself towards him, how treacherous to his upholding friends, the marquis of Hamilton and others, your majesty may think (giving way to the laws demanded against him) to yield a most glorious field for your majesty to walk in, and display the banner of your royal virtues.

Your majesty may perhaps demand, what interest I have therein, what have I to do therewith, that I should

should stir, all others being quiet? Sir, the quietness or stirring of others expecteth only a beginning from me, whom they know so much obliged to stir, as none can be more, both in respect of knowledge of passages, and in regard of human obligation and of my independency from the accused, or any other that his power and credit can reach unto; many know not what I know therein, others are little or nothing beholding to the dead; others, albeit they know it as well as I, and are obliged as deep as I, yet dare not complain so safely as I, being out of their reach, who are inseparable from him by his enchantments, and all to obscure myself, until the power of just revenge upon him be obtained from God.

What I know sufficient against him, I have set down in my petition against him to the parliament; to which if your majesty dismiss him, sequestered from your majesty chiefly in an accusation of treason, you shall do what is just, and deliver yourself and your kingdom from the captivity in which he holdeth them and your majesty oppressed. How easily I may eclipse myself from his power to do me harm, unless he hath legions of infernal spirits at his command to pursue me, your majesty may well know, I being *ultra mare* to these dominions, where he ruleth and rageth.

How far I am obliged to complain more than others, I will, in few words, express, that neither your majesty nor any man may think otherwise, but that I have most just reason not to be silent in a wrong so intolerable, the interest of blood, which I have to any of them, of whose death I complain, either by the house of Balgony Lundy or Silvertown-Hill, albeit it is easy to be made manifest and sufficient to move me, yet it is not the sole motive of my breach of silence; but the interest of received courtesy, and the heap of infallible tokens of true affection, is more than sufficient to stir me thereto, unless I would prove the most ingrate in the world, and senseless of the greatest injuries that can be done unto himself; for who killed King James, and the marquis of Hamilton, in that part of the injury, which is done unto me therein, he hath done as much as robbed me of my life, and all my fortunes and friends.

With such constant and loving impressions of me, as are neither to be recovered nor duly valued; for his majesty, from the third year of my age, did practise honourable tokens of singular favour towards me, daily augmented them in word, in writ, in deed, accompanied them, with gifts, patents, offices, recommendations both in private and publick, at home and abroad graced so far that I could scarce ask any thing, but I could have obtained it.

How much honour he hath done unto me, there needs no witness unto your majesty, who is sufficient for many; no less is my lord marquis of Hamilton's friendship established by mutual obligation of most acceptable offices continued by our ancestors these three generations, engraven in the tender minds and years of the marquis and me, in the presence of our sovereign King James. For the marquis's father,

who with the right-hand on his head, and the left on mine, did offer us (young in years so joined) to kiss his majesty's hand, recommending me to his majesty's favour, said, I take God to witness, that this young man's father was the best friend that ever I had, or shall have in this world. Whereupon, the young lord resolved to put trust in me, and I fully to addict myself to him, to deserve of him as much commendations as my father did of his father.

This royal celebration of our friends rooted itself so deep in my mind, that to myself I purposed this remembrance, giving it to my young lord, and to my familiar friends, and set it upon the books of my study. *Semper Hamiltonium, &c.*

*Always the King and Hamilton,
Within thy breast conserve,
What ever be thy actions,
Let princes two deserve.*

Neither was it in vain, for both our loves increased with our age, the marquis promising to engage his life and whole estate for me, if need was, and so share his fortunes with me; and not only promising, but also performing, whenever there was occasion; yea, for my sake offering to hazard his life in combat, whose mind in wishing me well, whose tongue in honouring of me, and whose hands and means in defending me (both absent and present unto the last period of his life) hath ever assisted me.

I should be more tedious than was fit, if I should rehearse every particular favour so manifestly known to the whole court, and to the friends of us both; who then can justly blame me demanding justice as well for the slaughter of the marquis of Hamilton, as of my most gracious sovereign King James, seeing I know whom to accuse? My profession of physick, nor my education to letters, cannot serve to hinder me from undertaking the hardest enterprise that ever any Roman undertook, so far as the law of conscience will give way.

*Why should I stay at the decay
Of Hamilton's the Hope?
Why shall I see thy foe so free,
Unto this joy give scope?
Rather I pray a doleful day
Set me in cruel fate:
Than thy death strange without revenge,
Or him in safe estate.*

*This soul to heaven, hand to the dead I vow;
No fraudulent mind, nor trembling hand, I have:
If pen it shun, the sword revenge shall follow:
Soul, pen, and sword what thing but just do crave?*

What affection I bore to the living, the same shall accompany the dead; for, when one (whose truth and sincerity was well known unto me) told me, that it was better for the chiefest of my friends, the marquis of Hamilton, to be quiet at home in Scotland, than eminent

ment in the court of England; to whom, by the opinion of the wiser sort, his being at court will cost him no less than his life; sith that, I, stretching forth mine arm (apprehending some plots laid against him) answered, If no man dare to revenge his death, I vow to God, this hand of mine shall revenge it: scarcely any other cause to be found, than the bond of our close friendship, why, in the scroll of noblemen's names, who were to be killed, I should be set down next to the marquis of Hamilton, and under these words (viz. *The marquis and Doctor Eglisham to embalm him*) to wit, to the end that no discoverer or revenger should be left; this roll of names, I know not by what destiny, found near to Westminster, about the time of the duke of Richmond's death, and brought to the lord marquis by his cousin, the daughter of the Lord Oldbarro, one of the privy-council of Scotland, did cause no terror in me, until I did see the marquis poisoned, and remembered, that the rest therein noted were dead, and myself, next pointed at, only surviving. Why stay I any more? The cause requireth no more the pen, but the sword.

I do not write so bold, because I am amongst the duke's enemies; but I have retired myself to his enemies, because I was resolved to write and do earnestly against him, as may very well appear: for, since the marquis of Hamilton's death, the most noble marquis de Fiatta, ambassador for the most christian king of France, and also Buckingham's mother, sent on every side to seek me, inviting me to them: but I did forsake them, knowing certainly the falshood of Buckingham would suffer the ambassador rather to receive an affront, than to be unsatisfied of his blood-thirsty desire of my blood, to silence me with death (for, according to the proverb, *The dead cannot bite*) if he could have found me: for my lord duke of Lenox, who was often crossed by Buckingham, with his brother and the earl of Southampton, now dead, and one of the roll found of those that were to be murdered, well assured me, that, where Buckingham once misliked, no apology, no submission, no reconciliation, could keep him from doing mischief.

Neither do I write this in this fashion, so freely, for any entertainment here present, which I have not, nor for any future, which I have no ground to look for; seeing Buckingham hath so much misled your majesty, that he hath caused, not only here, but also in all nations, all British natives to be disgraced and mistrusted; your majesty's royal word, which should be inviolable, your hand and seal, which should be infringeable, to be most shamefully violated, and yourself to be most ingrate for your kind usage in Spain; which Buckingham maketh to be requited with injuries in a most base manner; under protestation of friendship, a bloody war being kindled on both sides, whereby he hath buried with King James the glorious name of *Peace-making King*, who had done much more justly and advisedly, if he had procured peace unto Christendom; whereby small hope I have of obtaining justice on my most just complaint, unto

which my dear affection unto my dear friends murdered, and extreme detestation of Buckingham's violent proceedings hath brought me. Your majesty may find most just causes to accuse him in my petition to the parliament, which shall serve for a touch-stone to your majesty, and a whetstone to me and many other Scotchmen; and which, if it be neglected, will make your majesty to incur a censure amongst all virtuous men in the world, that your majesty will be loth to hear of, and I am astonished to express at this time.

A serpent lurketh in the grass.

No other way there is to be found to save your honour, but to give way to justice against that traitor, Buckingham, by whom manifest danger approacheth to your majesty, no otherwise than death approached to King James.

If your majesty will, therefore, take any course therein, the examination upon oath of all those, that were about the king and the marquis of Hamilton in their sickness, or at their deaths, or after their deaths, before indifferent judges (no dependants on Buckingham) will serve for sufficient proof of Buckingham's guiltiness. In the mean time, until I see what be the issue of my complaint, without any more speech, I rest

Your majesty's daily suppliant,

GEORGE EGLISHAM.

To the most honourable the Nobility, Knights, and Burgeses of the Parliament of England.

The humble Petition of George Eglisham, doctor of physick, and one of the physicians of King James of happy memory, for his Majesty's person, above the space of ten years.

WHEREAS the chief human care of kings, and courts of parliament, is the preservation and protection of the subjects lives, liberties, and estates, from private and publick injuries, to the end that all things may be carried in the equal balance of justice, without which no monarchy, no commonwealth, no society, no family, yea, no man's life or estate can consist, albeit never so little: it cannot be thought unjust to demand of kings and parliaments the censure of wrongs, the consideration whereof was so great in our monarch of happy memory, King James, that he hath often publickly protested, even in the presence of his apparent heir, that, if his own son should commit murder, or any such execrable act of injury, he would not spare him, but would have him die for it, and would have him more severely punished than any other: for, he very well observed, no greater injustice, no injury more intolerable can be done by man to man, than murder. In all other wrongs fortune hath recourse; the loss of honour, or goods, may be repaired, satisfaction may be made,

made, reconciliation may be procured, so long as the party injured is alive. But, when the party injured is bereft of his life, what can restore it? What satisfaction can be given him? Where shall the murderer meet with him, to be reconciled to him, unless he be sent out of this world to follow his spirit, which, by his wickedness, he hath separated from his body? Therefore, of all injuries, of all the acts of injustice, of all things most to be looked into, murder is the greatest; and, of all murders, the poisoning under trust and profession of friendship is the most heinous; which if you suffer to go unpunished, let no man think himself so secure to live amongst you, as amongst the wildest and most furious beasts in the world: For, by vigilancy and industry, means may be had to resist, or evict, the most violent beast that ever nature bred; but, from false and treacherous hearts, from poisoning murders, what wit or wisdom can defend?

This concerneth your lordships, every one in particular, as well as myself. They (of whose poisoning your petitioner complaineth) viz. King James, the marquis of Hamilton, and others, whose names after shall be expressed, have been the most eminent in the kingdom, and sat on these benches, whereon your honours do now sit. The party, whom your petitioner accuseth, is the duke of Buckingham, who is so powerful, that, unless the whole body of a parliament lay hold on him, no justice can be had of him. For, what place is there of justice, what office of the crown, what degree of honour in the kingdom, which he hath not sold? And sold in such craft, that he can shake the buyer out of them, and intrude others at his pleasure?

All the judges of the kingdom, all the officers of state, are his bound vassals, or allies, and afraid to become his out-casts, as it is notorious to all his majesty's true and loving subjects; yea, so far hath his ambitious practice gone, that what the king would have done, could not be done, if he opposed it; whereof many instances may be given, whensoever they shall be required: neither are they unknown to this honourable assembly, howsoever the means he useth be, whether lawful or unlawful, whether human or diabolick, so he tortureth the kingdom, that he procureth the calling, breaking, or continuing of the parliament, at his pleasure; placing and displacing the officers of justice, of the council of the king's court, of the courts of justice, to his violent pleasure, and as his ambitious villainy moveth him. What hope, then, can your petitioner have, that his complaint should be heard, or, being heard, should take effect? To obtain justice he may despair; to provoke the duke to send forth a poisoner, or murderer, to dispatch him, and send him after his dead friends already murdered, he may be sure of this to be the event. Let the event be what it will, come whatsoever can come, the loss of his own life your petitioner valueth not, having suffered the loss of the lives of such eminent friends, esteeming his life cannot be better bestowed, than upon the discovery of so heinous murders. Yea, the justice of the cause, the dearth and nearness of his

friends murdered, shall prevail so far with him, that he shall unfold unto your honours, and unto the whole world, against the accused, and name him the author of so great murders, George Villiers, duke of Buckingham; which, against any private man, are sufficient for his apprehension and torture. And, to make his complaint not very tedious, he will only, for the present, declare unto your honours the two eminent murders committed by Buckingham, to wit, of the king's majesty, and of the lord marquis of Hamilton; which, for all the subtlety of his poisoning art, could not be so cunningly conveyed, as the murderer thought, but that God hath discovered manifestly the author. And, to observe the order of the time of their death, because the lord marquis of Hamilton died first, his death shall be first related, even from the root of his first quarrel with Buckingham, albeit many other jars have proceeded, from time to time, betwixt them.

Concerning the poisoning of the Lord Marquis of Hamilton.

BUCKINGHAM once raised from the bottom of fortune's wheel to the top, by what desert, by what right or wrong, no matter it is; (by his carriage the proverb is verified) *Nothing more proud than basest blood, when it doth rise aloft.* He suffered his ambition to carry himself so far, as to aspire to match his blood with the blood royal both of England and Scotland. And, well knowing, that the marquis of Hamilton was acknowledged by King James to be the prime man in his dominions, who, next to his own line, in his proper season, might claim an hereditary title to his crown of Scotland, by the daughter of King James the Second, and to the crown of England by Joan of Somersset, wife to King James the First, declared, by an act of parliament, heretrix of England to be in her due rank, never suffered the king to be at rest, but urged him always to send some of his privy-council to solicit the marquis to match his eldest son with Buckingham's niece, making great promises of conditions, which the mean family of the bride could not perform without the king's liberality, to wit, fifty thousand pounds sterling, valuing five hundred thousand florins with the earldom of Orkney, under the title of duke, and whatsoever the marquis would accept, even to the first duke of Britain.

The glorious title of a duke the marquis refused twice, upon special reasons reserved to himself.

The matter of money was no motive to cause the marquis to match his son so unequal to his degree, seeing Buckingham himself, the chief of her kindred, was but a novice in nobility, his father obscure amongst gentlemen, his mother a serving-woman; and he being infamous for his frequent consultation with the ring-leader of witches, principally that false Doctor Lambe, publickly condemned for witchcraft; whereby the marquis, knowing that the king was so

far bewitched to Buckingham, that, if he refused the match demanded, he should find the king's deadly hatred against him: and seeing that Buckingham's niece was not yet nubile in years, and that, before the marriage should be confirmed, a way might be found out to annul it; unto which he was forced by deceitful importunity; therefore he yielded unto the king's desire of the match: whereupon, Buckingham and his faction, fearing that delays would bring lets, urged my lord marquis to send for his son, upon a Sunday morning betimes, in all haste, from London to court at Greenwich; where never a word was spoken of marriage, to the young lord, till a little before supper, and the marriage made before the king after supper. And, to make it more authentick, Buckingham caused his niece to be laid in bed with the marquis's son, for a short time, in the king's chamber, and in his majesty's presence, albeit the bride was yet inubile. Many were astonished at the sudden news thereof; all the marquis's friends fretting thereat, and some writing unto him very scornful letters for the same.

The marquis, having satisfied the king's demands, did what he could to prevent the confirmation of the marriage, and intended to send his son beyond the seas, to travel through France, and so to pass his time abroad, until that means were found out to untie that knot, which Buckingham had urged the king to tie upon his son.

But Buckingham, to countermand the marquis's design, causes the marquis's son to be sworn gentleman of the prince's bed-chamber, and so to be detained with him within the kingdom, until that the bride was at years ripe for marriage.

The time expired that Buckingham's niece became marriageable; Buckingham sent to the marquis, to desire him to make the marriage to be compleatly confirmed.

The marquis (not willing to hear of any such matter) answered briefly, he scorned the motion.

This answer was reported to Buckingham, who seeing himself like to be frustrated of his ambitious matching of his niece, and perceiving that the lord marquis was able to raise a great faction against him, whether King James did live or die, was mightily incensed against the marquis: at the first encounter with him, did challenge him for speaking disdainfully of him and his house.

The marquis replied, He did not remember any offensive words uttered by himself against Buckingham. Buckingham then proudly said unto him, Out of the words of thy mouth I will judge thee; for you have said, you scorn the motion of matching with my house, which I made unto you. The marquis answered, that, if he had said so, it became not the duke to speak unto him in that fashion. So Buckingham threatened to be revenged: the marquis uttered his defiance; and thus the quarrel began, which four or five times was reiterated, and as often reconciled by the marquis de Fiatta, a little before the marquis of Hamilton fell sick; wherein it is very evident, that the quarrel hath

been very violent, that needed so many reconciliations. The duke's fire of his anger and fury being unextinguishable, as King James did often censure him in his absence, albeit a favourite; that he was wonderful vindicative, whose malice was insatiable towards my lord marquis of Hamilton, did well shew itself, as shall appear hereafter.

Hardly can any man tell, whether, by the marquis in his sickness, Buckingham was more suspected, than accused, of the poison given, or to be given him; for he would not taste of any thing that was sent to him by any of Buckingham's friends, but he would have some of his servants taste of it before: and for the love that was mutual between him and your petitioner (whom he would never suffer to go out of his sight during his sickness) your petitioner cast off all that he took in that time, unto whom his suspicion of Buckingham he expressed by name before sufficient witnesses, who will testify it upon oath, if there be any course taken therein for the search thereof. All the time of his sickness, he intreated your petitioner not to suffer my lord of Buckingham to come near him; and your petitioner having often sent word, and also sometimes signified himself to Buckingham, that there was no fit opportunity to see the marquis, pretending something to be ministered to him: but, when your petitioner could find no more excuses, he told my lord marquis, that he had put away my lord of Buckingham so often, that he could not keep him away any longer, but that he must needs see him.

Then he, knowing Buckingham's visitation to proceed of dissimulation, requested your petitioner, at last, to find the means to get him away quickly; which your petitioner did, interrupting Buckingham's discourse, and intreating him to suffer my lord marquis to be quiet.

This did evidently shew my lord marquis's disliking and distrusting of Buckingham, whereas he was well pleased with other noblemen's company. All the time of his sickness, the duke and my Lord Denbigh would not suffer his own son to come to him, pretending that he was also sick; which was false for the time that my lord marquis called for him. After this, your petitioner advised his lordship to dispose of his estate, and of his conscience; his sickness was not without danger, which your petitioner four days before my lord's death, did in such manner perceive, that he had cause to despair of his health, but intreated him to commit all the care of his health to God and his physicians, assuring, howsoever he had gotten wrong abroad, he should get none in the cure of his disease.

At length his lordship burst out in these words to my Lord Denbigh, 'It is a great cruelty in you, that you will not suffer my son to come to me when I am dying, that I may see him, and speak to him before I die.' So they delayed his coming with excuses, until my lord's agony of death was near, to the end that he should not have time to give his son private instructions to shun the marriage of Buckingham's niece; or to signify unto him the suspicion of poison: for

for they had rather his son should know any thing, than either of these; yet many did suspect his poison before he died: for, two days before his death, two of his servants died with manifest signs and suspicion of poison, the one belonging to the wine-cellar, the other to the kitchen.

The fatal hour being come, that my lord marquis deceased, your petitioner intreated all that were present, to suffer no man to touch his body, until he returned to see it opened. For then he protested earnestly, that, all the time of his sickness, he judged him to be poisoned; but this poison was such, and so far gone, that none could help it: nevertheless, to have the matter concealed, Buckingham would have him buried that same night in Westminster-church, and the ceremonies of his burial to be kept afterwards, saying, that such delicate bodies as his could not be kept.

But his friends, taking hold of the caveat before given by your petitioner, refused so to do, and replied, that they would have him, as became him, to be buried in Scotland, in his own chapel, where all his ancestors have been buried for more than these four hundred years; and that his body must first be visited by his physicians.

No sooner was he dead, when the force of the poison had overcome the force of his body, but it began to swell in such sort, that his thighs were swoln six times as big as their natural proportion, his belly became as big as the belly of an ox, his arms as the natural quantity of his thighs, his neck as broad as his shoulders, his cheeks over the top of his nose, that his nose could not be seen or distinguished; the skin of his forehead two fingers high swelled, the hair of his beard, eye-brows, and head, so far distant from one another, as if an hundred had been taken out between each one; and when one did touch the hair, it came away with the skin as easily, as if one had pulled hay out of an heap of hay. He was all over, his neck, breast, shoulders, arms, and brows, I say, of divers colours, full of waters, of the same colour, some white, some black, some red, some yellow, some green, some blue, and that as well within his body, as without.

Also, the concavities of his liver green, his stomach, in some places, a little purpurated with a blue clammy water, adhering to the sides of it; his mouth and nose foaming blood mixed with froth mightily, of divers colours, a yard high. Your petitioner, being sent for to visit his body, and his servants all flocking about him, saying, See, see, presently weeping, said, He was poisoned, and that it was not a thing to be suffered.

Moreover, he said, that, albeit his speech might cost him his life, yet, seeing his sorrow had extorted that speech out of him, he would make it manifest, and would have a jury of physicians. Presently, some of my lord marquis of Hamilton's friends said, We must send to my lord duke, that he may send his physicians; but your petitioner replied, What have we to do with the

duke's physicians? Let us have indifferent men. Captain Hamilton, hearing your petitioner so boldly take exceptions at Buckingham, and judging that he had good reason for what he had spoken, said, For all that, let us send to the duke, and signify, that all who have seen the marquis's body, both physicians, chirurgeons, and others, may see that he is poisoned, and that his friends desire more physicians out of the College of London, besides the duke's physicians, to bear witness in what case the marquis's body is in; and then, if the duke's conscience be guilty (said the captain) it will shew itself, as indeed it did: for the duke, being advertised hereof, sent for his own physicians, and others out of London, whom he caused first to be brought unto him, before they went to see the marquis's body, giving them his directions in these words, viz.

My masters, there is a bruit spread abroad, that the marquis of Hamilton is poisoned; go see, but beware what you speak of poison (which he said in a threatening form of delivery) for every nobleman that dieth must be poisoned.

If his conscience had not been guilty, should not he have commanded the physicians to enquire, by all means possible, and make it known, rather than to suppress the speech of poisoning so worthy a man.

These physicians being come, your petitioner with one hand leading Doctor More to the table where the marquis's body was laid, and with the other hand throwing off the cloath from the body, said unto him, Look you here upon this spectacle.

At the sight whereof Doctor More, lifting up both his hands, heart, and eyes to the heavens, astonished, said, Jesus bless me, I never saw the like, I cannot distinguish a face upon him; and in like manner all the rest of the doctors, and also the chirurgeons, affirmed, that they never saw the like, albeit that they have travelled and practised through the greatest part of Europe: only one, that said, My lord of Southampton was blistered all within the breast, as my lord marquis was. Doctor Leicester, one of Buckingham's creatures, seeing Doctor More and others so amazed at the sight of my lord's body, drew first him aside, and then the others, one after another, and whispered them in the ear to silence them.

Whereupon many went away, without speaking one word: the others, who remained, acknowledged, that those accidents of the dead body could not be without poison; but they said, they could not know how such a subtle art of poisoning could be brought into England; your petitioner replied, that money would bring both the art, and the artist, from the furthest part of the world into England, from whence, since your petitioner's departure, he hath conferred with the skillfullest pest-masters that could be found, who visit the bodies of those that die of the venom of the pest.

They all admire the description of my lord marquis's body, and testify, that never any of the pest have such accidents, but carbuncles, rubons, or spots, no such

such huge blisters with waters, and such a huge, uniform swelling to such dimensions, above six times the natural proportion. But he hath met with some, who have practised the poisoning of dogs, to try the force of some antidotes, and they have found, that some poisons have made the dogs sick for a fortnight, or more, without any swelling, until they were dead, and then they swelled above measure, and became blistered, with waters of divers colours; and the hair came away with the skin when it was touched.

The physicians then, who remained, were willing to certify under their hands, that my lord marquis was poisoned. But your petitioner told them, it was not needful, seeing we must needs attend God's leisure to discover the author, the manner being so apparent, and so many hundreds having seen the body to witness it, for the doors were kept open, for every man to behold, and to be witness who would.

The duke of Buckingham making some counterfeit shew of sorrow to men of great quality, found no other shift to divert the suspicion of the poisoning of the marquis from him, but to lay it upon his master, the king, saying, that the marquis, for his person, spirit, and carriage was such as he was born worthy to reign; but the king, his master, hated him to death, because he had a spirit too much for the commonwealth; whereby the duke did shew himself no good subject to the king, who made the king's honour to be tyrannical, and the king a blood-thirsty murderer, and a most vile dissembler, having heaped so many honours daily upon the marquis, even to the very last, making him lord high steward of his majesty's house, and judge of the very court, whom he had made before viceroy of Scotland, for the time of the parliament of Scotland; earl of Cambridge, privy-counsellor in England, and knight of the garter, as if he had raised him to all these honours, that the murdering of him might be the less suspected to proceed from him.

The king's nature hath always been observed to have been so gracious, and so free-hearted towards every one, that he would never have wished the marquis any harm, unless that Buckingham had put great jealousies and fears into his mind; for, if any other had done it, he would have acquainted his favourite therewith. And then was it Buckingham's duty to remove from the king such sinister conceits of the marquis, as the marquis hath often done of Buckingham, upholding him upon all occasions; and keeping the king from giving way to introduce any other favourite: wherefore Buckingham, in that diversion of the crime from him, hath not only made the king, but also himself, guilty of the marquis's death.

But Buckingham's falshood, and ill intention, was long before rightly discovered, when he did what he could to make the earl of Netherdale and my Lord Gordon (both near kinsmen of my lord marquis) so incensed at him, that they had like all three to have killed one another, if it had not been that my lord marquis, by his wisdom, did let them all know how they were abused.

If any dissimulation be greater than Buckingham's, let any man judge: for when my lord marquis's body was to be transported from White-hall, to his house at Bishopsgate, Buckingham came out muffled and furred in his coach, giving out that he was sick for sorrow of my lord marquis's death; but as soon as he went to his house out of London, before his coming to the king, he triumphed, and domineered with his faction so excessively, as if he had gained some great victory. And, the next day coming to the king, he put on a most lamentable and mournful countenance for the death of my lord marquis. No greater victory could he have gotten to his mind, than to have destroyed that man, who could, and would have fetched his head off his shoulders, if he had outlived King James, to have known his carriage in the poisoning of him in his sickness; wherefore he thought it most necessary to remove the marquis before-hand.

The same day that my lord marquis died, Buckingham sent my lord marquis's son out of town, keeping him as prisoner, that none could have private conference with him, until his marriage of Buckingham's niece was completed; but always either my Lord Denbigh, or my Lady Denbigh, or my lord duke of Buckingham, or the duchess of Buckingham, or the countess of Buckingham was present, that none could let him understand how his father was murdered. Even your petitioner himself, when he went to see him, within a few days after his father's death, was intreated not to speak to him of the poisoning of his father, which he did conceal at his first meeting, because their sorrow was too recent. But he was prevented of a second meeting, neither would Buckingham suffer the young lord to go to Scotland, to see his father's funeral, and to take order with his friends, concerning his father's estate, for fear that their intended marriage should be overthrown.

This captivity of the young lord marquis lasted so long, until that Buckingham caused his majesty, King Charles, to take the young lord with himself and Buckingham into St. James's park, discharging all others from following them; and there to persuade and urge the young lord, without any more delay, to accomplish the marriage with Buckingham's niece, which instantly was performed; so that Buckingham trusteth and presumeth, that, albeit the young lord should understand how his father was poisoned by his means, yet, being married to his niece, he would not stir to revenge it, but comport with it.

To all that is observed before, it is worthy to be added that the bruit went through London, long before the lord duke of Richmond's death, or his brother's, or my lord of Southampton's, or of the marquis, that all the noblemen, that were not of the duke's faction, should be poisoned, and so removed out of his way.

Also a paper was found in King-street, about the time of the duke of Richmond's death, wherein the names of all those noblemen, who have died since, were expressed; and your petitioner's name also set next to my lord marquis of Hamilton's name, with these

these words: *To embalm him.* This paper was brought by my Lord Oldbarro's daughter, cousin-german to the lord marquis: likewise a mountebank, about that time, was greatly countenanced by the duke of Buckingham, and by his means procured letters-patents, and recommendations from the king, to practise his skill in physick through all England; who coming to London to sell poison, to kill man or beast within a year, or half a year, or two years, or a month or two, or what time prefixed any man desired, in such sort that they could not be helped nor discovered. Moreover, the Christmas before my lord marquis's death, one of the prince's footmen said, That some of the great ones at court had gotten poison in their belly, but he could not tell who it was.

Here your honours considering the premisses of my lord duke of Buckingham's ambitious and most vindictive nature; his frequent quarrels with my lord marquis, after so many reconciliations; his threatening of the physicians, not to speak of the poison; his triumphing after my lord marquis's death; his detaining of his son almost prisoner, until the marriage was complete with his niece; the preceding bruit of poisoning Buckingham's adversaries; the paper of their names found, with sufficient intimation of their death, by the conclusion of the word, *embalming*; the poison-monger, mountebank, graced by Buckingham, may suffice for ground to take him and torture him, if he were a private man: and herein your petitioner most earnestly demandeth justice against that traitor, seeing by act of parliament it is made treason to conspire the death of a privy-counsellor. Out of this declaration, interrogatories may be drawn for examination of witnesses; wherein more is discovered to begin withal, than was laid open at the beginning of the discovery of the poisoning of Sir Thomas Overbury.

Concerning the poisoning of King James of happy memory, king of Great-Britain.

THE duke of Buckingham, being in Spain, advertised by letter, how that the king began to censure him in his absence freely, and that many spoke boldly to the king against him, and how the king had intelligence from Spain of his unworthy carriage in Spain; and how the marquis of Hamilton (upon the sudden news of the prince's departure) had nobly reprehended the king for sending the prince with such a young man, without experience, and in such a private and sudden manner, without acquainting the nobility or council therewith; wrote a very bitter letter to the marquis of Hamilton, conceived new ambitious courses of his own, and used all the devices he could to disgust the prince's mind off the match with Spain so far intended by the king; made haste home, where, when he came, he so carried himself, that, whatever the king commanded in his bed-chamber, he countrolled in the next; yea, received packets to the king from foreign princes, and dispatched answers without ac-

quainting the king therewith, in a long time after. Whereat perceiving the king highly offended, and that the king's mind was beginning to alter towards him, suffering him to be quarrelled and affronted in his majesty's presence; and observing that the king reserved my lord of Bristol to be a rod for him, urging daily his dispatch for France, and expecting the earl of Gondomar, who, as it seemed, was greatly esteemed and wonderfully credited by the king, and would second my lord of Bristol's accusations against him. He knew also that the king had vowed that, in despite of all the devils in hell, he would bring the Spanish match about again, and that the marquis of Inicosa had given the king bad impressions of him, by whose articles of accusation, the king himself had examined some of the nobility and privy council, and found in the examination, that Buckingham had said, after his coming from Spain, That the king was now an old man, it was now time for him to be at rest, and to be confined to some park, to pass the rest of his time in hunting, and the prince to be crowned.

The more the king urged him to be gone to France, the more shifts he made to stay; for he did evidently see, that the king was fully resolved to rid himself of the oppressions wherein he held him.

The king being sick of a certain ague, and that in the spring was of itself never found deadly; the duke took his opportunity, when all the king's doctors of physick were at dinner, upon the Monday before the king died, without their knowledge or consent, and offered to him a white powder to take, the which he a long time refused; but overcome with his flattering importunity, at length took it in wine, and immediately became worse and worse, falling into many swoonings and pains, and violent fluxes of the belly, so tormented, that his majesty cried out aloud of this white powder, *Would to God I had never taken it, it will cost me my life.*

In like manner also the countess of Buckingham, my lord of Buckingham's mother, upon the Friday after, the physicians being also absent and at dinner, and not made acquainted with her doings, applied a plaister to the king's heart and breast; whereupon he grew faint, and short-breathed, and in a great agony. Some of the physicians after dinner, returning to see the king, by the offensive smell of the plaister, perceived something to be about him, hurtful to him, and searched what it should be, and found it out, and exclaimed that the king was poisoned. Then Buckingham entering, commanded the physicians out of the room, caused one of them to be committed prisoner to his own chamber, and another to be removed from court; quarrelled with others of the king's servants in his sick majesty's own presence so far, that he offered to draw his sword against them in his majesty's sight. And Buckingham's mother, kneeling down before his majesty, cried out with a brazen face, *Justice, justice, sir, I demand justice of your majesty.* His majesty asked her, *For what?* *For that which their lives are no ways sufficient to satisfy, for saying that my son and I have poi-*
soned

soned your majesty. Poisoned me? said he; with that turning himself, swooned, and she was removed.

The Sunday after his majesty died, and Buckingham desired the physicians, who attended his majesty, to sign with their own hands a writ of testimony, that the powder, which he gave him, was a good and safe medicine, which they refused.

Buckingham's creatures did spread abroad a rumour in London, that Buckingham was so sorry for his majesty's death, that he would have died, that he would have killed himself, if they had not hindered him; which your petitioner purposely enquired after of them that were near him at that time, who said, that, neither in the time of his majesty's sickness, nor after his death, he was more moved, than if there had never happened either sickness or death to his majesty.

One day when his majesty was in great extremity, he rode post to London, to pursue his sister-in-law, to

have her stand in sack-cloth in St. Paul's for adultery. And, another time in his majesty's agony, he was busy in contriving and concluding a marriage for one of his cousins.

Immediately after his majesty's death, the physician, who was commanded to his chamber, was set at liberty, with a caveat to hold his peace; the others threatened, if they kept not good tongues in their heads.

But, in the mean time, the king's body and head swelled above measure, his hair with the skin of his head stuck to the pillow, and his nails became loose upon his fingers and toes.

Your petitioner needeth to say no more to understanding men, only one thing he beseecheth, that taking the traitor, who ought to be taken without any fear of his greatness, the other matters may be examined, and the accessaries with the guilty punished.

A short View of the Life and Death of George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham. Written by Sir Henry Wotton, Knight, late Provost of Eaton College.

I DETERMINED to write the life, and the end, the nature, and the fortunes of George Villiers, late duke of Buckingham, which yet I have not undertaken out of any wanton pleasure in mine own pen; nor, truly, without often pondering with myself beforehand what censures I might incur; for I would not be ignorant, by long observation, both abroad and at home, that every where all greatness of power and favour is circumvested with much prejudice. And that it is not easy for writers to research with due distinction, as they ought, in the actions of eminent personages, both how much many have been blemished by the envy of others, and what was corrupted by their own felicity, unless, after the period of their splendor, which must needs dazzle their beholders, and, perhaps, oftentimes themselves, we could, as in some scenes of the fabulous age, excite them again, and confer a while with their naked ghosts. However, for my part, I have no servile or ignoble end in my present labour, which may, on either side, restrain or embase the freedom of my poor judgment; I will, therefore, steer as evenly as I can, and deduce him from his cradle through the deep and lubrick ways of state and court, till he was swallowed in the gulf of fatality.

I find him born in the year of our Saviour, 1592, on the 28th of August, at Brooksby in Leicestershire, where his ancestors had chiefly continued about the space of four hundred years, rather without obscurity, than with any great lustre, after they had long before been seated in Kinalton in the county of Nottingham. He was the third son of George Villiers,

knight, and Mary, late countess of Buckingham, and daughter to Anthony Beaumont, of Coleorton, esq; names on either side well known of ancient extraction. And yet I remember there was one, who, in a wild pamphlet which he published, besides other pitiful malignities, would scarce allow him to be a gentleman. He was nurtured, where he had been born, in his first rudiments, till the years of ten; and, from thence, sent to Billisden school in the same county, where he was taught the principles of musick, and other slight literature, till the thirteenth of his age, at which time his father died. Then his beautiful and provident mother, for those attributes will not be denied her, took him home to her house at Goodby, where she had him in especial care; so as he was first, as we may say, domestick favourite: but finding him, as it should seem, by nature, little studious and contemplative, she chose rather to endue him with conversative qualities and ornaments of youth, as dancing, fencing, and the like; not, without perchance, even then, though far off, at a courtier's life: to which lessons he had such a dextrous proclivity, as his teachers were fain to restrain his forwardness, to the end that his brothers, who were under the same training, might hold pace with him. About the age of eighteen he travelled into France, where he improved himself well in the language, for one that had so little grammatical foundation, but more in the exercises of that nobility, for the space of three years; and yet came home in his natural plight, without affecting forms, the ordinary disease of travellers. After his

his return, he passed again one whole year, as before, at Goodby, under the wing and counsels of his mother; and then was forward to become a suitor, at London, to Sir Roger Ashton's daughter, a gentleman of the bed-chamber to King James, and master of his robes; about which time he falls into intrinsical society with Sir John Graham, then one of the gentlemen of his majesty's privy-chamber; who, I know not upon what luminaries he espied in his face, dissuaded him from marriage, and gave him rather encouragement to woo fortune in court, which advice sunk well into his fancy; for, within a while, the king had taken, by certain glances (whereof the first was at Apthorpe in a progress) such liking of his person, that he resolved to make him a master-piece, and to mould him, as it were, Platonically to his own idea. Neither was his majesty content only to be the architect of his fortune, without putting his gracious hand likewise to some part of the work itself: insomuch as it pleased him to descend and to veil his goodness, even to the giving of his afore said friend, Sir John Graham, secret directions how, and by what degrees, he should bring him into favour. But this was quickly discovered by him, who was then, as yet, in some possession of the king's heart. For there is nothing more vigilant, nothing more jealous, than a favourite, especially towards the waning-time and suspicion of satiety, so as many arts were used to discuss the beginnings of new affliction (which lie out of my road, being a part of another man's story.) All which notwithstanding, for I omit things intervenient, there is conveyed to Mr. Villiers an intimation of the king's pleasure to wait, and to be sworn his servant: and, shortly after, his cup-bearer at large; and, the summer following, he was admitted in ordinary. After which time favours came thick upon him (liker main showers, than sprinkling drops or dews) for, the next St. George's day, he was knighted, and made gentleman of the king's bed-chamber; and, the very same day, had an annual pension given him, for his better support, of one thousand pounds out of the court of wards. At new-year's tide, following, the king chose him master of the horse. After this, he was installed of the most noble order. And, in the next August, he created him baron of Whaddon, and Viscount Villiers. In January of the same year, he was advanced earl of Buckingham, and sworn here of his majesty's privy-council, as if a favourite was not so before; the March ensuing, he attended the king into Scotland, and was likewise sworn a counsellor in that kingdom, where (as I have been instructed by unpassionate men) he did carry himself with singular sweetness and temper, which I held very credible, for it behoved him, being new in favour, and succeeding one of their own, to study a moderate stile amongst those generous spirits. About new-year's tide, after his return from thence (for those beginnings of years were very propitious unto him, as if kings did choose remarkable days to inaugurate their favours, that they may appear acts as well of the times, as of the will) he was created marquis of Buckingham,

and made lord admiral of England, chief justice in Eyre of all the parks and forests on the south-side of Trent, master of the King's-Bench office (none of the unprofitablest places) head steward of Westminster, and constable of Windsor-castle.

Here I must breathe awhile, to satisfy some that, perhaps, might otherwise wonder at such an accumulation of benefits, like a kind of embroidering, or lifting of one favour upon another. Certainly the hearts of great princes, if they be considered, as it were, in abstract, without the necessity of states and circumstances of time, being besides their natural extent; moreover, once opened and dilated with affection, can take no full and proportionate pleasure in the exercise of any narrow bounty. And, although at first they give only upon choice and love of the person, yet, within awhile, themselves likewise begin to love their givings, and to foment their deeds, no less than parents do their children; but let us go on.

For these offices and dignities already rehearsed, and these of the like nature, which I shall after set down in their place, were, as I am ready to say, but the facings or fringes of his greatness, in comparison of that trust, which his last most gracious master did cast upon him, in the one and twentieth year of his reign, when he made him the chief concomitant of his heir apparent, and only son, our dear sovereign: now being in a journey of much adventure, and which, to shew the strength of his privacy, had been before not communicated with any other of his majesty's most reserved counsellors at home, being carried with great closeness, liker a business of love than state; as it was in the first intendment. Now, because the whole kingdom stood in a zealous trepidation of the absence of such a prince, I have been the more desirous to research, with some diligence, the several passages of the said journey, and the particular accidents of any moment in their way. They began their motion in the year 1623, on Tuesday, the eighteenth of February, from the marquis's house of late purchase, at Newhall in Essex; setting out with disguised beards, and with borrowed names of Thomas and John Smith; and then attended with none, but Sir Richard Graham, master of the horse to the marquis, and of inward trust about him. When they passed the river against Gravesend, for lack of silver they were fain to give the ferryman a piece of two and twenty shillings, which struck the poor fellow into such a melting tenderness, that so good gentlemen should be going, for so he suspected, about some quarrel beyond sea, as he could not forbear to acquaint the officers of the town, with what had befallen him, who sent presently post for their stay at Rochester, through which they were passed before any intelligence could arrive. On the brow of the hill beyond that city, they were somewhat perplexed, by espying the French ambassador, with the king's coach and others attending him; which made them baulk the beaten road, and teach post-hacknies to leap hedges. At Canterbury, whither some voice, as it should seem, was run on before, the mayor of the town came

came himself to seize on them, as they were taking fresh horses, in a blunt manner, alledging first a warrant to stop them from the council, next from Sir Lewis Lewkner, master of the ceremonies, and lastly, from Sir Henry Manwaring, then lieutenant of Dover castle. At all which confused fiction, the marquis had no leisure to laugh, but thought best to dismask his beard, and so told him, that he was going covertly with such slight company, to take a secret view (being admiral) of the forwardness of his majesty's fleet, which was then in preparation on the narrow seas: this, with much ado, did somewhat handsomely heal the disguise. On the way afterwards, the baggage postboy, who had been at court, got, I know not how, a glimmering who they were; but his mouth was easily shut. To Dover, through bad horses, and those petty impediments, they came not before six at night; where they found Sir Francis Cottington, then secretary to the prince, now baron of Hanwart, and Mr. Endimion Porter, who had been sent before, to provide a vessel for their transportation. The foresaid knight was enjoined, for the nearness of his place, on the prince's affairs, and for his long residence in the court of Spain, where he had gotten singular credit, even with that cautious nation, by the temper of his carriage. Mr. Porter was taken in, not only as a bed-chamber servant of confidence to his highness, but likewise as a necessary and useful instrument for his natural skill in the Spanish tongue. And these five were, at the first, the whole parade of this journey. The next morning, for the night was tempestuous, on the sixteenth of the foresaid month, taking ship at Dover, about six o'clock they landed the same day at Boulogne in France, near two hours after noon; reaching Monstreuel that night, like men of dispatch; and Paris the second day after, being Friday the twenty-first; but about three posts before, they had met with two German gentlemen, that came newly from England, where they had seen at Newmarket the prince and the marquis taking coach together with the king, and retained such a strong impression of them, that they now bewrayed some knowledge of their persons; but were out-faced by Sir Richard Graham, who would needs persuade them they were mistaken, which in truth is no very hard matter; for the very strangeness of the thing itself, and almost the impossibility to conceive so great a prince, and favourite, so suddenly metamorphosed into travellers, with no greater train, was enough to make any man living unbelieve his five senses. And this I suppose, next the assurance of their own well resolved carriage, against any new accident, to have been their best anchor, in all such encounters. At Paris the prince spent one whole day, to give his mind some contentment, in viewing of a famous city and court, which was a neighbour to his future estates; but for the better veiling of their visages, his highness, and the marquis, bought each of them a perriwig, somewhat to overshadow their foreheads. Of the king they had got sight, after dinner, in a gallery where he was solacing himself with familiar plea-

tures. And of the queen's mother, as she was at her own table; in neither place descried, no not by Mons. Cadinet, who saw them in both, one that hath been lately ambassador in England. Towards evening, by a mere chance, in appearance, though underlined with a providence, they had a full sight of the Queen Infanta, and of the Princess Henrietta Maria, with other great ladies, at the practice of a masquing dance, which was then in preparation; having overheard two gentlemen, who were tending towards that sight, after whom they pressed, and were let in by the duke de Mont Bascon, the queen's lord chamberlain, out of humanity to strangers, when divers of the French went by. Note here, even with the point of a diamond, by what oblique steps and imaginable preparatives, the high disposer of princes affections, sometimes contrives the secrets of his will; for by this casual curiosity it fell out, that when afterwards the marriage came in motion, between our sovereign lord and the aforesaid most amiable princess, it must needs be, howsoever unknown, no small spur to the treaty that she hath not before been altogether a stranger to his eye.

From the next day, when they departed at three o'clock in the morning, from Paris, being the twenty-third of February, were spent six days to Bayonne, the last town of France, having before, at Bourdeaux, bought them five riding-coats, all of one colour and fashion in a kind of noble simplicity, where Sir Francis Cottington was employed, in a fair manner, to keep them from being entertained by the duke de Espernon, telling him they were gentlemen of mean degree, and formed yet to little courtship, who, perchance, might otherwise, being himself no superficial man in the practices of the world, have pierced somewhat deeper than their outside.

They were now entered into the deep time of Lent, and could get no flesh in their inns. Whereupon fell out a pleasant passage, if I may insert it by the way among more serious: there was near Bayonne a herd of goats with their young ones, upon which sight, the said Sir Richard Graham tells the marquis, he would snap one of the kids, and make some shift to carry him close to their lodging; which the prince over-hearing, Why, Richard, says he, do you think you may practise here your old tricks again upon the borders? Upon which words they first gave the goat-herd good contentment; and then while the marquis and his servant, being both on foot, were chasing the kid about the stack, the prince from horseback killed him in the head, with a Scottish pistol; let this serve for a journal parenthesis, which yet may shew how his highness, even in such slight and sportful damage, had a noble sense of just dealing.

At Bayonne, the count de Gramont, governor of that jealous kay, took an exquisite notice of their persons and behaviour, and opened himself to some of his train, that he thought them to be gentlemen of much more worth, than their habits bewrayed, yet he let them courteously pass. And four days after, they arrived at Madrid, being Wednesday, the fifth of March.

Thus

Thus have I briefly run over transcurfions, as if my pen had been poffing with them; which done, I fhall not need to relate the affluence of our nobles and others from hence into Spain, after the voice of our prince's being there had been quickly noifed, and at length believed; neither will I ftay to confider the arts of Rome, where now all engines were whetted, though by the divine bleffing very vainly, when they had gotten a prince of Great-Britain, upon *catholick ground*, as they ufe to call it.

This, and the whole matter of negotiation there, the open entertainments, the fecret working, the apprehenfions on both fides, the appearance on neither; and, in fum, all the circumftances and refpect of religion and ftate, intermixed together in that commixture, will better become a royal hiftory, or a council-table, than a fingle life, yet I cannot omit fome things which intervened, at the meeting of two pleiades, methinks, not unlike that, which aftrologers call, a conjunction of planets, of no very benign afpect, the one to the other; I mean the marquis of Buckingham, and the conde d'Olivers: they had fome fharper, and fome milder differences, which might eafily happen, in fuch an intervention of grandees; both vehement on the parts which they fwayed. But the moft remarkable was upon a fuppoftion of the condee's, as fancies are cheap, that the marquis had intimated unto her fome hopes of the prince's converfion; which coming into debate, the marquis fo roundly difavowed this gilded dream, as Olivers alledged he had given him *la mentida*, and thereupon forms a compliment to the prince himfelf; which Buckingham denying, and yet Olivers perfifting in the faid compliment, the marquis, though now in ftrange hands, yet feeing both his honour and the truth at ftake, was not tender likewise to engage his life, but replied with fome heat, that the condee's afleveration would force him to do that which he had not done before, for now he held himfelf tied, in terms of a gentleman, to maintain the contrary to his affirmative, in any fort whatfoever. This was the higheft and the harfheft point that occurred between them; which that it went fo far, was not the duke's fault, nor his fault neither, as it fhould feem, that it went no farther.

There was another memorable paffage one day of gentler quality, and yet eager enough: the conde d'Olivers tells the marquis of a certain flying noife, that the prince did plot to be fecretly gone. To which the marquis gave a well tempered anfwer: that, though love had made his highnefs ftal out of his own country, yet fear would never make him run out of Spain, in other manner than fhould become a prince of his royal and generous virtues. In Spain they ftaid near eight intire months; during all which time, who but Buckingham lay at home under millions of maledictions? Which yet, at the prince's fafe arrival in the weft, did die and vanifh here and there into praifes and eulogies, according to the contrary motion of popular waves. And now, to fum up the fruit of the journey, difcourfes ran thus among the cleareft obfervers: it

was faid, that the prince himfelf, without any imaginable ftain of his religion, had, by the fight of foreign courts, and obfervations of the different natures of people, and rules of government, much excited and awaked his fpirit, and corroborated his judgment. And, as for the marquis, there was notice taken of two great additions which he had gained: firft, he was returned with increafe of title; having there been made duke, by patent fent him, which was the higheft degree whereof an Englifh fubject could be capable. But the other was far greater, though clofer; for, by fo long, and fo private, and fo various confociation with a prince of fuch excellent nature, he had now gotten, as it were, two lives in his own fortune and greatnefs, whereas, otherwife, the ftate of a favourite is at the beft but a tenant at will, and rarely tranfmitted. But, concerning the Spanifh commiffion, which in publick conceit was the main fcope of the journey, that was left in great fufpenfe, and, after fome time, utterly laid afide; which threw the duke amongft free wits (whereof we have a rank foil) under divers cenfures. The moft part were apt to believe, that he had brought down fome deep diftafte from Spain, which exasperated his counfels; neither were there wanting fome others, that thought him not altogether void of a little ambition to fhew his power, either to knit, or difolve. Howfoever, the whole fcene of affairs was changed from Spain to France; there now lay the profpective; which alteration being generally liked, and all alterations of ftate being ever attributed to the powerfulleft under princes (as the manner is, where the eminency of one obfcureth the reft) the duke became fuddenly and ftrangely gracious among the multitude, and was even in parliament highly exalted; fo that he did feem, for a time, to have overcome that natural incompatibility, which, in the experience of all ages, hath been noted between the vulgar and fovereign favour: but this was no more than a mere bubble or blaft, and like an ephemeral fit of applaufe, as fhortly will appear in the fequel and train of his life. I had almoft forgotten, that, after his return from Spain, he was made lord-warden of the Cinque-Ports (which is, as it were, a fecond admiralty) and fteward likewise of the manor of Hampton-court, dignities and offices ftill growing, of truft or profit, and the king now giving, not only out of a beneficent difpofition, but a very habitual and confirmed cuftom. One year, fix months, and two days after the joyful reception of the prince his fon from Spain, King James, of immortal memory among all the lovers and admirers of divine and human fapience, accomplished at Theobalds his own days upon earth; under whom the duke had run a long courfe of calm and fmoother profperity; I mean long for the ordinary life of favour, and the more notable, becaufe it had been without any vifible eclipse or wane in himfelf, amidft divers variations in others.

The moft important and preffing care of a new and vigorous king was his marriage, for mediate eftablifhment of the royal line; wherein the duke having had

an especial hand, he was sent to conduct hither the most lovely and virtuous Princess Henrietta Maria, youngest daughter to the great Henry of Bourbon, of whom his majesty, as hath been said, had an ambulatory view in his travels, like a stolen taste of something that provoketh appetite. He was accompanied with none of our peers, but the earl of Montgomery, now lord chamberlain, a noble gentleman, of trusty, free, and open nature, and truly no unsuitable associate, for that he himself likewise, at the beginning of King James's reign, had run his circle in the wheeling vicissitude of favour.

And here I must crave leave, in such of high quality, or others of particular note, as shall fall under my pen (whereof this is the first) not to let them pass, without their due character, being part of my professed ingenuity.

Now this embassy, though it had a private shew, being charged with more formality than matter, (for all the essential conditions were before concluded) could, howsoever, want no ornaments or bravery to adorn it; among which, I am near thinking it worthy a little remembrance, that the duke, one solemn day, gorgeously clad in a suit all overspread with diamonds, and having lost one of good value, perchance as he might be dancing after his manner with lofty motion, it was strangely recovered again the next morning, in a court full of pages: such a diligent attendant was fortune every where, both abroad and at home.

After this fair discharge, all civil honours having showered on him before, there now fell out great occasions to draw forth his spirits into action, a breach first with Spain, and not long after with France itself, notwithstanding so straight an affinity so lately treated with the one, and actually accomplished with the other; as if indeed, according to that pleasant maxim of state, kingdoms were never married. This must of necessity involve the duke in business enough to have overset a lesser vessel, being the next commander, under the crown, of ports and ships.

But he was noted willingly to embrace those overtures of publick employment; for at the parliament at Oxford, his youth and want of experience in maritime service, had been somewhat shrewdly touched, even before the sluices and flood-gates of popular liberty were yet set open; so as to wipe out that objection, he did now mainly attend his charge, by his majesty's untroubled and serene commands, even in a tempestuous time. Now the men fell a rubbing of armour, which a great while had lain oiled; the magazines of ammunition are viewed; the officers of remains called to account, frequent councils of war, as many private conferences with expert seamen, a fleet in preparation for some attempt upon Spain.

The duke himself personally employed to the states-general: and with him joined in full commission the earl of Holland, a peer both of singular grace and solidity, and of all sweet and serviceable virtue for publick use.

These two nobles, after a dangerous passage from Harwich, wherein three of their ships were foundered, arrived the fifth day at the Hague in Holland; here they were to enter a treaty, both with the states themselves, and with the ministers of divers allied and confederate princes, about a common diversion, for the recovery of the Palatinate, where the king's only sister's dowry had been ravished by the German eagle, mixed with Spanish feathers; a princess resplendent in darkness, and whose virtues were borne within the chance, but without the power of fortune. Here, it were injurious to overslip a noble act in the duke, during this employment, which I must, for my part, celebrate above all his expences; there was a collection of certain rare manuscripts, exquisitely written in Arabick, and fought in the most remote parts, by the diligence of Erpenius, the most excellent linguist; these had been left to the widow of the said Erpenius, and were upon sale to the jesuits at Antwerp, licorish chapmen of such ware. Whereof the duke getting knowledge, by his worthy and learned secretary, Mr. Mason, interverted the bargain, and gave the poor widow for them five hundred pounds, a sum above their weight in silver, and a mixed act, both of bounty and charity, the more laudable, being much out of his natural element. These were they, which, after his death, were as nobly presented, as they had been bought, to the university of Cambridge, by the duchess dowager, as soon as she understood, by the aforesaid Dr. Mason, her husband's intention, who had a purpose likewise, as I am well instructed, to raise in the said university, whereof he was chancellor, a fair case for such monuments, and to furnish it with other choice collections from all parts of his own charge, perchance in some emulation of that famous treasury of knowledge at Oxford, without parallel in the Christian world. But let me resume the file of my relation, which this object of books, best agreeable to my course of life, hath a little interrupted. The aforesaid negotiation, though prosecuted with heat and probable appearance of great effects, took up a month before the duke's return from his excentricity, for so I account favourites abroad, and then at home he met with no good news of the Cadiz attempt: in the preparation thereof, though he had spent much solicitude, *ex officio*, yet it principally failed, as was thought, by late setting out, and by some contrariety of weather at sea; whereby the particular design took vent before-hand, a point hardly avoidable in actions of noise, especially where the great Indian key to all cabinets is working. Not long after this, the king, pondering in his wisdom the weight of his foreign affairs, found it fit to call a parliament at Westminster; this was that assembly, where there appeared a sudden and marvellous conversion in the duke's case, from the most exalted, as he had been, both in another parliament, and in common voice before, to the most depressed now, as if his condition had been capable of no mediocrities. And it could not but trouble him the more, by happening when he was so freshly returned out of the Low-Countries,

Countries, out of a meritorious employment, in his inward conceit and hope; which being the single example, that our annals have yielded, from the time of William de la Pool, duke of Suffolk, under Henry the Sixth, of such a concurrence of two extremes, within so short a time, by most of the same commendators and disprovers, like the natural breath of man, that can both heat and cool, would require no slight memorial of the particular motives of so great a change, but that the whole case was dispersed by the knights of shires, and burgessees of towns, through all the veins of the land, and may be taken by any at pleasure, out of the parliament registers: besides that, I observe it not usual amongst the best patterns, to stuff the report of particular lives, with matters of public record, but rather to dive, as I shall endeavour, before I wipe my pen, into secret and proper afflictions; howsoever somewhat I must note in this strange phenomenon: it began from a travelled doctor of physick, of bold spirit, and of able elocution; who, being returned one of the burgessees, which was not ordinary in any of his coat, fell by a metaphorical allusion, translated from his own faculty, to propound the duke as a main cause of divers infirmities in the state, or near that purpose; being sure enough of seconds, after the first on-set, in the lower house. As for any close intelligence, that they had before-hand, with some in the higher, though that likewise was said, I want ground to affirm or believe it more than a general conceit, which perhaps might run of the working of envy amongst those that were nearest the object, which we see so familiar, both in natural and moral causes; the duke's answers to his impeachments, in number thirteen, I find very diligently and civilly couched; and though his heart was big, yet they all favour of an humble spirit one way, equitable consideration, which could not possess every vulgar conceit, and somewhat allay the whole matter, that in the bolting and sifting of near fourteen years of such power and favour, all that came out could not be expected to be pure and white, and fine meal, but must needs have withal among it a certain mixture of pader and bran, in this lower age of human fragility; howsoever this tempest did only shake, and not rend his fails; for his majesty considering that almost all his impeachments were without the compass of his own reign; and, moreover, that nothing alledged against him had, or could be proved by oath, according to the constitution of the house of commons, which the duke himself did not forget in the preface of his answers: and, lastly, having had such experience of his fidelity and observance abroad, where he was chief in trust, and in the participation of all hazards, found himself engaged in honour, and in the sense of his own natural goodness, to support him at home, from any further inquietude, and too dear buy his highest testimony of divers important imputations, whereof the truth is best known to his majesty while he was prince. The summer following this parliament, after an embark of our trading ships, in the river of Bourdeaux,

and other points of sovereign affront, there did succeed the action of Rhee, wherein the duke was personally employed on either element, both as admiral and general, with hope, in that service, to recover the public good-will, which he saw, by his own example, might quickly be won and lost. This action, as I hear, hath been delivered by a noble gentleman of much learning and active spirits, himself the fitter to do it right, which, in truth, he greatly wanted, having found more honourable censure even from some of the French writers, than it had generally amongst ourselves at home. Now, because the said work is not yet flowing into the light, I will but sweep the way with a few notes, and there only touching the duke's own deportment in that island, the proper subject of my quill; for, in the general survey of this action, there was matter of glory and grief so equally distributed on both sides, as if fortune had meant we should be quickly friends again, wherein let their names, that were bravely lost, be rather memorised in the full table of time; for my part, I love no ambitious pains in an eloquent description of miseries. The duke's carriage was surely noble throughout to the gentlemen of fair respect, bountiful to the soldier, according to any special value which he espied in any, tender and careful of those that were hurt, of unquestionable courage in himself, and rather fearful of fame than danger. In his countenance, which is the part that all eyes interpret, no open alteration, even after the succours which he expected did fail him: but the less he shewed without, the more it wrought intrinsically, according to the nature of suppressed passions: for certain it is, that to his often-mentioned secretary, Dr. Mason, whom he laid in a pallet near him, for natural ventilation of his thoughts, he would, in the absence of all other ears and eyes, break out into bitter and passionate eruptions, protesting, that never his dispatches to divers princes, nor the great business of a fleet, of an army, of a siege, of a treaty, of war, of peace, both on foot together, and all of them in his head at a time, did not so much break his repose, as a conceit, that some at home, under his majesty, of whom he had well deserved, were now content to forget him; but whom he meant, I know not, and am loth to rove at conjectures. Of their two forts, he could not take the one, and he would not take the other: but, in the general town, he maintained a seizure and possession of the whole, three full months and eighteen days; and at the first descent on shore, he was not immured within a wooden vessel, but he did countenance the landing in his long-boat, where succeeded such a defeat of near two hundred horse, and these not, by his guests, mounted in haste, but the most part gentlemen of family, and great resolution, seconded with two thousand foot, as, all circumstances well balanced on either side, may surely endure a comparison with any of the bravest impressions in ancient time. In the issue of the whole business, he seems charged in opinion with a kind of improvident conscience, having brought off that with him to camp, perchance,

perchance, too much from a court, where fortune had never deceived him. Besides, we must consider him yet but rude in the profession of arms, though greedy of honour, and zealous in the cause. At his return to Plymouth, a strange accident befel him, perchance not so worthy of memory for itself, as for that it seemeth to have been a kind of a prelude to his final period.

The now Lord Goring, a gentleman of true honour, and of vigilant affections for his friend, sends to the duke, in all expedition, an express messenger, with advisement to assure his own person, by declining the ordinary road to London, for that he had credible intelligence of a plot against his life to be put in execution upon him in his said journey towards the court. The duke, meeting the messenger on the way, read the letter, and smothering it in his pocket without the least imaginable apprehension, rides forwards; his company being about that time not above seven or eight in number, and those no otherwise provided for their defence than with ordinary swords. After this, the duke had not advanced three miles before he met with an old woman near a town in the road, who demanded, Whether the duke was in the company? And, bewraying some especial occasion to be brought to him, was led to his horse's side, where she told him, That, in the very next town where he was to pass, she had heard some desperate men vow his death; and, thereupon, would have directed him about by a surer way: this old woman's casual access, joined with that deliberate advertisement which he had before from his noble friend, moved him to participate both the tenor of the said letter and all the circumstances, with his company, who were jointly upon consent, that the woman had advised him well: notwithstanding all which importunity, he resolved to wave his way upon this reason, perhaps more generous than provident, that if, as he said, he should but once by such a diversion make his enemy believe he was afraid of danger, he should never live without. Hereupon his young nephew, Lord Viscount Fielding, being then in his company, out of a noble spirit, besought him that he would, at least, honour him with his coat and blue ribband through the town; pleading, that his uncle's life, whereon lay the property of his whole family, was, of all things under heaven, the most precious unto him; and undertaking so to gesture and muffle up himself in his hood, as the duke's manner was to ride in cold weather, that none should discern him from him, and so he should be at the more liberty for his own defence. At which sweet proposition, the duke caught him in his arms and kissed him; yet would not, as he said, accept of such an offer in that case from a nephew, whose life he tendered as much as himself; and so liberally rewarded the poor creature for her good-will. After some short directions to his company how they should carry themselves, he rode on without perturbation of his mind. He was no sooner entered into the town, but a scrambling soldier clapped hold of his bridle, who thought it was in

a begging, or, perchance, somewhat worse, in a drunken fashion; yet a gentleman of his train, that rode a pretty distance behind him, conceiving, by the premises, it might be a beginning of some mischievous intent, spurred up his horse, and, with a violent rush, severed him from the duke; who, with the rest, went on quickly through the town; neither, for aught I can hear, was there any further inquiry into that practice; the duke, peradventure, thinking it wisdom not to reserve discontentments too deep. At his return to the court, he found no change in fates, but smothered murmurings for the loss of so many gallant gentlemen; against which his friends did oppose, in their discourses, the chance of war, together with a gentle expectation for want of supply in time. After the complaints in parliament, and the unfortunate issue at Rhee, the duke's fame did still remain more and more in obloquy amongst the mass of people, whose judgments are only reconciled with good successes; so, as he saw plainly, that he must go abroad again to rectify, with his best endeavours under the publick service, his own reputation: whereupon, new preparatives were in hand, and, partly, reparatives of the former beaten at sea. And, in the mean while, he was not unmindful, in his civil course, to cast an eye upon the ways to win unto him such as have been of principal credit in the lower house of parliament, applying lenitives, or subducting from that part where he knew the humours were sharpest; amidst which thoughts he was surprized with a fatal stroke, written in the black book of necessity.

There was a younger brother, of mean fortunes, born in the county of Suffolk, by name John Felton, by nature of a deep melancholy, silent, and gloomy constitution, but bred in the active way of a soldier, and thereby raised to the place of lieutenant to a foot-company, in the regiment of Sir James Ramsay; this was the man that closely within himself had conceived the duke's death. But what may have been the immediate, or greatest motive of that felonious conception, is even yet in the clouds.

It was said at first, that he had been stung with a denial of his captain's place, who died in England; whereof thus much indeed is true: That the duke, before he would invest him in the said place, advising first, as his manner was, with his colonel, he found him to intercede for one Powel, his own lieutenant, a gentleman of extraordinary valour; and, according to military custom, the place was good, that the lieutenant of the colonel's company might well pretend to the next vacant captainship under the same regiment, which Felton acknowledged to be in itself very usual and equitable, besides the especial merit of the person; so that the aforesaid conceit of some rancour harboured, upon this denial, had no true ground. There was another imagination, that between a knight of the same county, whom the duke had lately taken into some good degree of favour, and the said Felton, there had been ancient quarrels not yet well healed, which might, perhaps, lie festering in his breast, and,

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by a certain inflammation, produce this effect; but it carries small probability that Felton would so deface his own act, as to make the duke no more than an oblique sacrifice, to the fumes of his private revenge upon a third person; therefore, the truth is, that either to honest a deed after it was done, or to slumber his conscience in the doing, he studied other incentives, alledging, not three hours before his execution, to Sir Richard Gresham, two only inducements thereof: the first, as he made it in order, was a certain libellous book, written by one Eggleston, a Scottish physician, which made the duke one of the foulest monsters upon the earth, and, indeed, unworthy not only of life in a Christian court, and under so virtuous a king, but of any room within the bounds of all humanity, if his prodigious predictions had the least semblance of truth.

The second was the remonstrance itself of the lower house of parliament against him, which, perchance, he thought the fairest cover; so he put in the second place, whatsoever were the true motive, which, I think, none can determine but the prince of darkness itself; he did thus prosecute the effect: In a bye cutler's shop on Tower-hill, he bought a tenpenny knife (so cheap was the instrument of this great attempt, and the sheath thereof he sewed to the lining of his pocket) that he might at any moment draw forth the blade alone with one hand, for he had maimed the other: this done, he made shift, partly, as it is said, on horseback, and partly on foot, to get to Portsmouth, for he was indigent and low in money, which perhaps might have a little edged his desperation. At Portsmouth, on Saturday, being the twenty-third of August, of that current year, he pressed, without any suspicion, in such a time of so many pretenders to employment, into an inward chamber, where the duke was at breakfast (the last of his repasts in this world) accompanied with men of quality and action, with Monsieur de Soubes, and Sir Thomas Fryer, and there, a little before the duke's rising from the table, he went and stood expecting till he should pass through a kind of lobby between that room and the next, where were divers attending him; towards which passage, as I conceive somewhat darker than the chamber, which he avoided, while the duke came with Sir Thomas Fryer close at his ear, in the very moment as the said knight withdrew himself from the duke, the assassin gave him with a back blow a deep wound into his left side, leaving the knife in his body, which the duke himself pulling out, on a sudden effusion of spirits, he sunk down under the table in the next room, and immediately expired. Certain it is, that, a good while before, Sir Clement Throckmorton, a gentleman then living, of grave judgment, had, in a private conference, advised him to wear a privy coat; whose counsel the duke received very kindly, but gave him this answer, That, against any popular fray, a shirt of mail would be but a silly defence, and as for a single man's assault, he took himself to be in no danger: so dark is destiny.

One thing in this enormous accident is, I must confess, to me beyond all wonder (as I received it from a gentleman of judicious and diligent observation, and one whom the duke well favoured) that, within the space of not many minutes after the fall of the body, and removal thereof into the first room, there was not a living creature in either of the chambers, no more than if it had lain in the sands of Ethiopia: whereas commonly, in such cases, you shall note every where a great and sudden conflux of people unto the place, to hearken and to see: but it should seem the very horror of the fact had stupified all curiosity, and so dispersed the multitude, that it is thought even the murderer himself might have escaped, for who gave the blow none could affirm, if he had not lingered about the house below, not by any confused arrest of conscience, as hath been seen in like examples, but by very pride in his own deed, as if, in effect, there were little difference between being remembered by a virtuous fame, or an illustrious infamy.

Thus died this great peer, in the thirty-sixth year of his age complete, and three days over; in a time of great recourse unto him, and dependence upon him; the house and town full of servants and suitors; his duchess in an upper room, scarce yet out of her bed; and the court, at that time, not above six or nine miles from him, which had been the stage of his greatness.

I have spent some inquiry, whether he had any ominous presagement before his end; wherein, though both ancient and modern stories have been infected with much vanity, yet oftentimes things fall out of that kind, which may bear a sober construction; whereof I will glean two or three in the duke's case.

Being to take his leave of my lord's grace of Canterbury, then bishop of London, whom he knew well planted in the king's unchangeable affection, by his own great abilities, after courtesies of courage had passed between them: My lord, says the duke, I know your lordship hath very worthily good accesses unto the king our sovereign; let me pray you to put his majesty in mind to be good, as I no way distrust, to my poor wife and children. At which words, or at his countenance in the delivery, or at both, my lord bishop, being somewhat troubled, took the freedom to ask him, Whether he had never any secret bodements in his mind? No, replied the duke, but I think some adventure may kill me, as well as another man.

The very day before he was slain, feeling some indisposition of body, the king was pleased to give him the honour of a visit, and found him in his bed; where, after much serious and private discourse, the duke, at his majesty's departing, embraced him in a very unusual and passionate manner, and did in like sort to his friend the earl of Holland, as if his soul had divined he should see them no more: which infusions towards fatal ends had been observed by some authors of no light authority.

On the very day of his death, the countess of Denbigh received a letter from him; whereunto all the while

while she was writing her answer, she bedewed the paper with her tears; and, after a most bitter passion (whereof she could yield no reason, but, That her dearest brother was to be gone) she fell down in a swoon. Her said letter endeth thus:

‘I will pray for your happy return, which I look at with a great cloud over my head, too heavy for my poor heart to bear without torment; but I hope the great God of heaven will bless you.’

The day following, the bishop of Ely, her devoted friend, who was thought the fittest preparer of her mind to receive such a doleful accident, came to visit her; but, hearing she was at rest, he attended till she should awake of herself; which she did with the affrightment of a dream: ‘Her brother seeming to pass through a field with her in her coach; where, hearing a sudden shout of the people, and asking the reason, it was answered to be for joy that the duke of Buckingham was sick.’ Which natural impression she scarce had related unto her gentlewoman, before the bishop was entered into her bed-chamber for a chosen messenger of the duke’s death.

This is all that I dare present of that nature to any of judgment, not unwillingly omitting certain prognostick anagrams and such strains of fancy.

He took to wife, eight years and two months before his death, the Lady Catharine Manners, heir-general to the noble house of Rutland, who, besides a solid addition to his estate, brought him three sons, and a daughter, called the Lady Mary, his first-born. His eldest son died at nurse before his journey to Rhee, and his third, the Lord Francis, was born after his father’s death; so that neither his first, nor his last, were participant of any sense of his misfortunes, or felicities. His second son, now duke of Buckingham, was born to cheer him after his return from that unlucky voyage.

For these sweet pledges, and no less for the unquestionable virtues of her person and mind, he loved her dearly, and well expressed his love in an act and

time of no simulation, towards his end, bequeathing her all his mansion-houses during her natural life, and a power to dispose of his whole personal estate, together with a fourth part of his lands in jointure. He left his elder brother of the same womb a viscount, and his younger an earl. Sir Edward Villiers, his half-brother on the father’s side, he either preferred, or removed (call it how you will) from his step-mother’s eye to the presidentship, where he lived in singular estimation for his justice and hospitality, and died with as much grief of the whole province, as ever any governor did before, his religious lady, of sweet and noble direction, adding much to his honour. The eldest of the brethren, and heir of the name, was made a baronet, but abstained from court, enjoying, perhaps, the greater greatness of self-fruition.

He left his mother a countess by patent in her own person, which was a new leading example, grown before somewhat rare since the days of Queen Mary. His sister of Denbigh (that right character of a good lady) he most humbly recommended to the queen, who after a discharge of some French in her court, that were to return, took her into three several places of honour and trust.

In short, not to insist upon every particular branch of those private preferments, he left all his female kindred, of the intire or half blood, descending of the name of Villiers, or Beaumont, within any near degree, either matched with peers of the realm actually, or hopefully, with earls sons and heirs, or at least with knights, or doctors of divinity, and of plentiful condition. He did not much strengthen his own substance in court, but stood there on his own feet; for the truth is, the most of his allies rather leaned upon him, than shoared him up.

His familiar servants, either about his person in ordinary attendance, or about his affairs of state, as his secretaries; or of office, as his steward; or of law, as that worthy knight whom he long used to solicit his causes, he left all both in good fortune, and, which is more, in good fame: things very seldom consociated in the instruments of great personages.

The Five Years of King James; or, the Condition of the State of England, and the relation it had to other Provinces. Written by Sir Foulk Grevill, late Lord Brook.

HOWSOEVER every kingdom and commonwealth may be both well and uprightly governed, and that good men may be the means to support it; yet there can be no such commonwealth, but, amongst

the good, there will be some evil persons: these, whether by nature induced, or through envy and ambition, to the intent to satisfy their appetites, persuaded, do oftentimes enter into actions repugnant unto the felicity

felicity of good government and commonwealths, and, by evil causers and perverse deeds, do secretly and underhand, seek to hasten and set forward the ruin and decay of the same: these things, because they happen contrary, and beyond expectation, are so much the more remarkable, by how much they are sudden and unexpected. And from hence it cometh, that no state of government can be said to be permanent, but that oftentimes those, said to be good, are by little and little converted unto those that be evil, and oftentimes changed from worse to worse, till they come to utter desolation.

Neither is this alone proper to our commonwealth, but to all; nor to foreign kingdoms, but to our own: for, although his majesty, at his coming to the crown, found us vexed with many defensive wars, as that in Ireland, that in the Low-Countries, and almost publick against Spain, auxiliary in France, and continually in military employments; although he found it lacerated and torn, with divers factions of protestants, papists, and others, from amongst whom sprung some evil men, that endeavoured to set into combustion the whole state; yet, nevertheless, he established a peace, both honourable and profitable, with all neighbour princes, and, by relation, through all Europe; so that neither our friends, nor our enemies, might be either feared or suspected.

After this general peace was concluded, and the working heads of divers papists were confined to a certain course of life, that is, peace; they now petition for toleration, for releases of vexation, to have liberty of conscience; and, forsooth, because they cannot have these things amongst them, they contrive a most horrible and devilish plot by gun-powder, to blow up the parliament, even the whole state and command of this kingdom, and so, at one puff, to conclude all this peace, and by that means to procure an unruly and unseemly avarice of this settled government; and this not so much to establish their own religion, for which they pretended it, but to establish their own power and preheminance, and to raise some private families to greatness and dignity, that so, faction being nourished, and that jurisdiction established, they might with great facility suppress whom they please, and support their own state. Thus may we see, that settled governments do cherish in themselves their own destruction, and their own subjects are oftentimes the cause of their own ruin, unless God of his mercy prevent it.

Of the domestic affairs, and of the lascivious course of such on whom the king had bestowed the honour of knighthood.

THIS evil being discovered by the Lord Mounteagle, and overpassed, divers discontents happened, some between the civilians and common lawyers concerning prohibitions; and, for that there was one Dr. Cowell who stood stiffly against the Lord Cooke, di-

vers discontents were nourished between the gentry and commonalty, concerning inclosure, and it grew out into a petty rebellion; which by the same was conjectured, not to happen so much for the thing itself, as for to find how the people stood affected to the present state, whereby divers quarrels and secret combustions were daily breaking out; in private families, one sided against another; and of these, protestants against papists, they thereby endeavouring to get a head, and from small beginnings, to raise greater rebellions and discontents, shewed themselves heady, and speak publickly, what durst not heretofore have been spoken in corners: in outward appearance, papists were favoured, masses almost publickly administered, protestants discountenanced, dishonest men honoured, those, that were little less than forcerers, and witches, preferred; private quarrels nourished, but especially between Scottish and the English duels in every secret maintained; diver sects of vicious persons, of particular titles, pass unpunished or unregarded, as the sect of roaring-boys, boneventors, bravados, quarterers, and such like, being persons prodigal, and of great expence, who, having run themselves in debt, were constrained to run into faction, to defend them from danger of the law; these received maintenance from divers of the nobility, and not a little, as was suspected, from the earl of Northampton; which persons, though of themselves they were not able to attempt any enterprise, yet faith, honesty, and other good arts, being now little set by, and citizens, through lasciviousness, consuming their estates, it was likely their number would rather increase than diminish; and, under these pretences, they entered into many desperate enterprises, and scarce any durst walk the streets with safety after nine at night: so, to conclude, in outward shew, there appeared no certain affection, no certain obedience, no certain government amongst us.

Such persons on whom the king had bestowed particular honours, either through pride of that, or their own prodigality, lived at high rates, and, with their greatness, brought in excess of riot, both in clothes and diet. So our ancient customs were abandoned, and that strictness and severity, that had wont to be amongst us, the English scorned and contemned, every one applauding strange or new things, though never so costly, and, for the attaining of them, neither sparing purse nor credit; that prices of all sorts of commodities are raised, and those ancient gentlemen, who had left their inheritance whole, and well furnished with goods and chattels, having, thereof, kept good houses unto their sons, lived to see part consumed in riot and excess, and the rest, in possibility, to be utterly lost: the holy estate of matrimony most perfidiously broken, and, amongst many, made but a May-game; by which means, divers private families have been subverted, brothel-houses in abundance tolerated, and even great persons prostituting their bodies, to the intent to satisfy their appetites, and consume their substance, repairing to the city, and, to the intent to consume their virtues also, lived dissolute lives. And many

many of their ladies and daughters, to the intent to maintain themselves according to their dignities, prostitute their bodies in a shameful manner; ale-houses, dicing-houses, taverns, and places of vice and iniquity, beyond measure, abounding in many places, there being as much extortion for sin, as there is racking for rents, and as many ways to spend money, as are windings and turnings in towns and streets; so that, to outward appearance, the evil seems to overtop the good, and evil intentions and counsels rather prospered, than those that were profitable to the commonwealth.

Of my lord of Northampton's coming to honour; the cause of the division between the Hollanders and the English; between the Scottish and English; between the English and Irish.

NOW Henry Howard, youngest son of the duke of Norfolk, continuing a papist from his infancy unto this time, beginning to grow eminent, and being made famous heretofore for his learning, having been trained and brought up for a long time in Cambridge, by the persuasion of the king, changeth his opinion of religion in outward appearance; and, to the intent to reap unto himself more honour, became a protestant, for which cause, he was created earl of Northampton, and had the king's favours bountifully bestowed upon him: first, the office of privy-seal, then the wardenship of Cinque-ports, and, lastly, the refusal of being treasurer: this man was of a subtle and fine wit, of a good proportion, excellent in outward courtship, famous for secret insinuation, and for cunning flatteries, and, by reason of these flatteries, became a fit man for the conditions of those times, and was suspected to be scarce true unto his sovereign; but rather endeavouring, by some secret ways and means, to set abroad new plots, for to procure innovation. And, for this purpose, it was thought he had a hand in the contention that happened amongst the Hollanders and English, concerning the fishing, the Hollanders claiming right to have the fishing in the Levant, and the English claiming right; upon this contention, they fell from claim, to words of anger, from words of anger, to blows; so that there died many of them, and a star was left for further quarrel, but that it was salved by wise governors, and the expectation of some disappointed.

Nevertheless, the papists, being a strong faction, and so great a man being their favourer; grew into their head's malice, and endeavour to make the infolency of the Scots to appear, who, to this intent, that they might be the more hated of the English, not contented with their present estate, would enter into outrages; some counterfeited the seal-manual, others taunted the nobility in disdain, and a third sort secretly contrived the English's death; whereby it happened, besides common clamour, that there were added secret discontents of private persons, which caused jealousy

to happen in those two nations. But his majesty, being both wise and worthy, foresaw the evil, and prevented it by proclamation, by which means, these clamours are stopped, and the injury and offences of both parties redressed. The Irish seeing these fores, and hearing of these misdemeanors, for they have their intelligents here also, begin to grow obstinate, and make religion a pretence, to colour their intentions; for which cause they stand out, and protest loss of life and goods, rather than to be forced from their opinion, being wavering and unconstant, rather thirsting for rebellion, to the intent to purchase their own liberty, than peace; every new alteration gives occasion of discontent, and causes new complaints to be brought to the king's ear, under pretence whereof, they grew contemptuous to their governors, and haters of the English laws.

The captains and soldiers grew negligent for want of pay, the great men envying one another through private covetousness, and many insolencies, being suffered, cause there also, to be nourished, many misdemeanors, to the ruin of that government.

These things, being thus handled, administer occasion to the papists to hope for some alteration and change. And that, as a body that is violent consumeth itself, without some special cause to maintain it, so these occurrences will be the cause of their own destruction. At this time, there was a leaguer in Denmark, and, shortly after, another in the Low-Countries; but, to what end their beginnings were intended, is yet unknown.

The rising of the earl of Somerset; his favour and greatness with the king, and his parentage, and discontent.

AMONG other accidents that happened about these times, the rising of one Mr. Carr was most remarkable; a man born of mean parentage, inhabitant in a village near Edinburgh, in Scotland, and there, through the favour of friends, was preferred to his majesty to be one of his pages, for he kept twelve, according to the custom of the French, and so continued it as long as he was in Scotland; afterwards, coming into England, the council thought it more honourable to have so many footmen to run with his majesty, as the queen had before; these youths had clothes put to their backs, according to their places, and fifty pounds apiece in their purses, and so were dismissed the court.

This youth, amongst the rest, having thus lost his fortunes, to repair them again, makes haste into France, and there continued, until he had spent all his means and money: so that now, being bare in a strange country without friends, or hope to obtain his expectation, he returns back for England, bringing nothing with him but the language, and a few French fashions; nevertheless, by the help of some of his countrymen, and ancient acquaintance, he was preferred unto the Lord Hays, a Scotchman, and favourite

rite of the king's, to wait upon him as his page. Not long after, that lord, amongst many others, was appointed to perform a tilting, who, bearing an affection to this young man, as well in respect he was his countryman, as that he found him to be of a bold disposition, comely visaged, and of proportionable personage, commixed with a courtly presence, prefers him to carry his device to the king, according to the custom in those pastimes used: now when he should come to light from off his horse, to perform his office, his horse starts, throws him down, and breaks his leg: this accident, being no less strange than sudden, in such a place, causes the king to demand who he was; answer was made, his name was Carr. He, taking notice of his name, and calling to remembrance, that such a one was his page, causes him to be had into the court, and there provided for him, until such time as he was recovered of his hurt: after, in process of time, the young man is called for, and made one of the bed-chamber to his majesty; he had not long continued in his place, before (by his good endeavours, and diligent service in his office) the king shewed extraordinary favour unto him, doubling the favour of every action in estimation, so that many are obscured, that he may be graced and dignified.

Thus the hand of the diligent maketh rich, and the dutiful servant cometh to honour; he, of all others, either without fraud to obtain, or desert to continue it, is made the king's favourite; no suit, no petition, no grant, no letter, but Mr. Carr must have a hand in it; so that great rewards are bestowed upon him by suitors, and large sums of money by his majesty; by which means his wealth increased with his favour, and with both, honours: for virtue and riches dignify their owners; being, from a page, raised to the dignity of knighthood. After his favour increasing with his honours, there was no demand but he had it, no suit but he obtained it, whether it were crown-lands, lands forfeited or confiscated; nothing so dear, but the king bestowed upon him, whereby his revenues were enlarged, and his glory so resplendent, that he drowned the dignity of the best of the nobility, and the eminency of such as were much more excellent. By which means, envy (the common companion of greatness) procures him much discontent, but yet, passing through all disadvantages, continues his favour; and men, being drawn to applaud that which is either strange or new, began to sue him, and most to purchase him, to be their friend and assistant in court; so great and eminent was his favour.

Of the breach that happened between the earl of Essex and his countess; her hatred towards him; his lenity; her lightness; his constancy.

NOW, the cares of the vulgar being filled with the fortunes of this gentleman, it ministered occasion to pass to their opinions, concerning his worth and

desert; some extol and laud his virtues, others the proportion of his personage, many his outward courtship, and most, as they stood affected, either praised or dispraised him, insomuch that, amongst the rest, the countess of Essex (a woman at this time not greatly affecting her husband) and withal, being of a lustful appetite, prodigal of expence, covetous of applause, ambitious of honour, and light of behaviour, having taken notice of this young gentleman's prosperity, and great favour that was shewed towards him above others, in hope to make some profit of him, most advances him to every one, commending his worth, spirit, audacity, and agility of body, so that her ancient, lawful, and accustomed love towards her lord begins to be obscured, and those embraces, that seemed heretofore pleasing, are turned into frowns, and harsh unseemly words usher her discontents unto her husband's ears.

The good earl carrying an extraordinary affection towards her, and being a man of a mild and courteous condition, with all honest and religious care, ready, rather, to suffer than correct these outrages, patiently admonisheth her to a better course of life, and to remember, that now all her fortune dependeth upon his prosperity, and therefore she offered more injury to herself, than hurt unto him; yet, nevertheless, she persisted, and, from bare words, returned to actions, thereby giving people occasion to pass their censure of this disagreement; some attributing it to the inconsistency and looseness of the countess, others to the earl's travels, and that in his absence she continued most unconstant, of a loose life, suffering her body to be abused: and others, to make a shipwreck of her modesty, and to abrogate the rights of marriage; but most, because she could not have wherewith to satisfy her insatiate appetite and ambition, her husband living a private life.

For these causes, I say, she run at random, and played her pranks as the toy took her in the head, sometimes publickly, sometimes privately, whereby she disparaged her reputation, and brought herself into the contempt of the world; yet, notwithstanding, the earl retained her with him, allowed her honourable attendance, gave her means according to her place, and shewed an extraordinary affection, endeavouring rather by friendly and fair persuasions to win her, than to become rigid over her.

But these things little avail, where affections are carried to another scope, and those things, that, to the judgment of the wise, become fit to be used, are of others contemned and despised, so that almost all men speak of the looseness of her carriage, and wonder that the earl will suffer her in those courses; whereupon he modestly tells her of it, giving her a check for her inordinate courses, shewing how much it both dishonoured him, and disparaged her, in persisting, in the eye of the world, after so loose and unseemly a sort; desiring her to be more civil at home, and not so often abroad; and thus they parted.

Of my Lord Treasurer's death. Of Mr. Overbury's coming out of France; his entertainment; he grows into favour.

MY Lord Treasurer Cecil growing into years, having been a good statesman, the only supporter of the Protestant faction, discoverer of treasons, and the only Mercury of our time, having been well acquainted with the affairs of this commonwealth, falls into a dangerous sickness, and, in process of time, through the extremity of the malady, dies; not without suspicion of poison, according to the opinion of some; others say of a secret disease, some naturally, and many not without the privity of Sir Robert Carr; and the reason of their opinion was, because the king, upon a time, having given Sir Robert the sum of twenty thousand pounds, to be paid by my lord treasurer, Sir Robert Carr was denied it, upon which denial, there grew some difference between them; the king was privy to it after this manner: My lord, having told out five thousand pounds, laid it in a passage-gallery; the king demands, Whose money that was? Answer was made by my lord treasurer, That it was but the fourth part of that which his majesty had given to Sir Robert Carr; whereupon the king retired from his former grant, and wished Sir Robert to satisfy himself with that, holding it to be a great gift: he, being thus crossed in his expectation, harboured in his heart the hope of revenge, which after happened, as was suspected; but it is not certain, therefore I omit it.

Upon the death of this gentleman, Mr. Overbury (sometime a student of the law in the Middle Temple) was newly arrived out of France, who having obtained some favour in court beforetimes, because of some discontents, got licence to travel, and now, at his return, was entertained into the favour of Sir Robert Carr; whether it proceeded of any love towards him, or to the intent to make use of him, is not certain; yet, nevertheless, he puts him in trust with his most secret employments; in which he behaves himself honestly and discreetly, purchasing, by his wise carriage in that place, the good affection and favour not only of Sir Robert, but of others also. In process of time, this favour procures profit, profit treasure, treasure honour, honour larger employments, and, in time, better execution: for, where diligence and humility are associated in great affairs, there favour is accompanied with both; so that many courtiers, perceiving his great hopes, grew into familiarity with him; the knight's expectations are performed, and his business accomplished, rather more than less, according to his wishes; so that, taking notice of his diligence to outward appearance, he gives him an extraordinary countenance, uniting him into friendship with himself, insomuch that, to the shew of the world, his bond was indissoluble, neither could there be more friendship used, since there was nothing so

secret, nor any matter so private, but the knight imparted it to Mr. Overbury.

Of Mistress Turner's life, how the countess and she came acquainted: The combination of the earl's death.

THE countess of Essex, having harboured in her heart envy towards her husband even until this time, makes her repair unto Mistress Turner, a gentlewoman that, from her youth, had been given over to a loose kind of life, being of a low stature, fair visage, for outward behaviour comely, but in prodigality and excess most riotous; by which course of life she had consumed the greatest part of her husband's means, and her own; so that now, wanting wherewith to fulfil her expectations and extreme pride, she falls into evil courses, as to the prostitution of her body to common lust, to practise sorcery and enchantments, and to many, little less than a flat bawd; her husband, dying, left her in a desperate state, because of her wants; by which means she is apt to enter into any evil accord, and to entertain any evil motion, be it never so facinorous. A doctor's wife, who was, during his life, her physician, and in that time she having been entertained into her company, his said wife by that means procured further acquaintance, being near of the said disposition and temperature, as *Pares cum paribus facile congregantur*; from thence it happened, that she was suspected, even by her means and procurement before this, to have lived a loose life, for who can touch pitch and not be defiled? I say, having some familiarity with this woman, and now taking some discontent at her husband more than heretofore, by reason of her falling out with him, and his sharp answers, as she conceives, to her, repairs to her house, and there, amongst other discourses, disgorges herself against her husband, whereby the cause of her grief might easily be perceived. Mistress Turner, as feeling part of her pain, pities her, and in hope of profit, being now in necessity and want, is easily drawn to effect any thing that she requires; whereupon, by the report of some, it was concluded at this time between them to administer poison to the earl; but, not taking effect according to their expectation, the countess writes unto her to this purpose:

'Sweet Turner, as thou hast been hitherto, so art thou all my hopes of good in this world: my lord is as lusty as ever he was, and hath complained to my brother Howard, that he hath not lain with me, nor used me as his wife. This makes me mad, since of all men I loath him, because he is the only obstacle and hinderance, that I shall never enjoy him whom I love.'

The earl having overpassed this evil, and continued still in his pristine estate, procured not any affection, but more hatred and loathsomeness; so that it burst forth daily to my lord's great discontent, and draws her headlong into her own destruction.

Sir

Sir Robert Carr made Viscount Rochester; the acquaintance between my lord of Northampton and him; and the new affection of the countess.

THE king taking great liking to this young gentleman, to the intent that he might be no less eminent in honour, than he was powerful in wealth and substance, adorns him with the title of Viscount Rochester, and bestows the secretaryship of state upon him, so that his honour and his wealth make him famous to foreign nations. These things coming to my lord of Northampton's ears, having been a long time favourite in court, and now grown into years, and, by reason thereof, knowing the favour of the king to depend upon many uncertainties; and, altho' at this time he was the greater actor in state affairs, yet, if this young man continued his height of glory, all his dignity would either be abated, or overshadowed, and that he had not that free access to the king's ears, which he had wont to have; endeavoureth as much as in him lieth to make this courtier either to be wholly his, or dependent upon his favour, that so, having relation to him, he might make use of his greatness. And for this purpose he begins to applaud the wisdom and government of the viscount, his virtues, outward courtship, and comely carriage, and, to conclude, holds him a man of no less worth and desert, than any about the king; neither were these things spoken to private or particular persons alone, but even in the ears of the king, to the intent to confirm the king's favour towards him.

These things coming to this gentleman's ears, he takes it as a great favour from so great a personage, and therefore so much the more admires his own worth, raising his carriage above his wonted course, and in hope of better things, applauding every action performed by the earl; by which means there grows a kind of community between them, and there wants nothing but intercourse of speech for confirmation of acquaintance, and procuring further relation either to other. Time offers opportunity; the earl and he meet, and each changeth acquaintance with acquaintance of greater familiarity, so that many times letters passed between them in their absence, and courtly discourses, being present, by which means on all hands a confident amity is concluded.

In these times the countess of Essex being a spectator of those, and perceiving this viscount to be still raised up unto honours daily, in hope of greater, is the more fired with a lustful desire, and the greater are her endeavours by the instigation of some of her friends to accomplish what she determined: for greatness doth not qualify, but set an edge upon lustful appetites, and, where the most means are to maintain it, there the greater affections are cherished.

The course she takes to procure affection; she combines with Doctor Forman; they conclude to bewitch the viscount.

IN these furious fits, she makes her repair to Mistress Turner, and begins a new complaint, whereby she

makes manifest an extraordinary affection towards this young gentleman, so that she could not rest without his company; neither knew she any means to attain her ends, there being no relation nor acquaintance between them: whereupon, Mistress Turner, being still her second, and ready to put an evil attempt into execution, concludes with the countess to inchant the viscount to affect her; and, for this purpose, they fall acquainted with one Doctor Forman, that dwelt at Lambeth, being an ancient gentleman, and thought to have skill in the magick art: this man by rewards and gifts was wont to join with Mistress Turner, who now, to the intent to prey upon the countess, endeavour, the best they may, to inchant the viscount's affection towards her: much time is spent, many words of witchcraft, great cost in making pictures of wax, crosses of silver, and little babies for that use, yet all to small purpose: at length they, continuing in their forcery, advised her to live at court, where she had free access without controul, though of small acquaintance with him, whom she most respected, nevertheless, shewing an affable countenance towards him, hoping, in process of time, to attain that she required. Time offers opportunity, and, amongst others, at length these two fall into league; the countess, being joyful of her prey, admires him, and uses all kindness that may be to intrap him: he, whether by these inchantments, or by the lightness of his own disposition carried, is as much besotted, numbering her amongst the best women, and doubling every action in his estimation, insomuch that he could scarce rest but in her company; whereupon their meetings grew frequent, and discourses pleasant, by these means inflaming the fire of a lustful appetite.

These things, having happened so well to her expectation, cause a great love towards this good couple, viz. Doctor Forman and Mistress Turner, soliciting them with letters, with money, and large promises, to continue still their friend; they willing to make use of their wealth, more than expecting any good they could accomplish by their art, persist amongst her employments: Mistress Turner makes trial for herself, by which means, many slight and accustomed tricks are practised, and now reported to return to the hurt of many; for, a woman's hands being once entered into the act of sin, she runs headlong to her destruction, turning those evil acts to evil ends, and endeavouring to purchase by that means profit and commodity.

How it was thought the earl of Northampton had a hand in the business, who invites the viscount to supper. The countess and he meet; places of meeting are appointed. The earl made chancellor of Cambridge.

IT was vulgarly opinionated, that the countess of Essex, having sustained these discontents with her husband, acquainted her uncle, the earl of Northampton, of her affection especially towards the viscount, who weighing the profit that might redound to

his own employments, if there were such affinity had between them, seemed to give a liking towards it, and endeavoured rather to further it, than at all to dissuade her, or to give her that honest and due counsel to be dutiful to her husband, as was fitting. However, the first meeting that they had, wherein there was any conference, was at the earl's house, who invited the viscount to supper, and, there finding the countess, they at their pleasure appointed meetings for further discourses. But, whether there was any one made privy to these things, it is not evident.

But from this time the countess and viscount continued their loose kind of life, and, as was commonly suspected, had further relation than was fitting, to the great disparagement of them both, and dishonour of so noble a house: what the issue of these things are, continues in obscurity, notwithstanding the earl of Northampton is much blamed, the countess defamed, and the viscount himself for his looseness suspected.

Now was this lord propounded at the Regent-house to be chancellor of Cambridge; the scholars fall into divers opinions, and the Ramists propound the prince, to oppose him; this election passed on the earl's side; he refuses, but still flatters the scholars, makes the king acquainted with it, and though willing to undertake it, yet shewing an unwillingness, endeavoured rather to be urged to it, than receive it voluntarily; this was imputed, because of his opposing the prince, but the truth was to perceive, whether the scholars affections were settled upon love and respect unto himself, or merely to depend upon his greatness. The king writes in his behalf to the vice-chancellor. They proceed to the new election, the earl again is chosen, his title sent him, and he in requital sends many and plausible letters; and, that they might be the more acceptable, being sent to scholars, wrote to them in Latin; it is intolerable the flattery that he used.

Overbury grows into grace with the king; is made a knight. The intercourse between the countess and the viscount made known to Overbury.

AFTER some continuance of time, Mr. Overbury grows eminent in court, as well by reason of the viscount's favour, as the good and careful diligence that he had in court employments; so, that now comparing his worth with his wealth, he is had in more respect, and the honour of knighthood bestowed upon him, with the hope of better things; this, howsoever in itself it be not valuable, yet in speculators it striketh a doubt, especially in the viscount, for sovereignty and love can abide no paragon.

Things that, at the beginning, proceed with modesty, are little or nothing regarded. But, when men grow old in such things that are hateful, they make every place alike with a blushless face, committing them to the open view: by this means Overbury came acquainted with this intercourse between the viscount and the countess; for now they, having had some

time of familiarity and intercourse in remote parts, shame not to commit the sin of venery in the court, and that to the privy of Sir Thomas, who both loaths and hates what he sees, avoiding rather than intruding himself to the knowledge of it; neither meddles he any way or other with it, but lets them alone in their vicious courses, and rather seems to be ignorant, than take any notice of it.

Nevertheless, he is employed to carry letters to and again between the countess and the viscount; some to Pater-noster-row; some to Hammer-smith, and others to other places of meeting, which were appointed between them, by which means, comparing both actions together, he entered into the secrets of this mystery, and became acquainted with more things than the viscount would have had him, from whence a kind of jealousy was carried towards him.

Of the second complaint of the earl of Essex. The countess combines with Turner to bewitch him; it taketh effect. Forman's death: one Gresham is entertained into the business.

NOW the earl of Essex, perceiving himself to be rather less regarded than any whit at all esteemed, enters into a new discourse with his lady, with many protestations both of his constancy and love towards her; but withal tells her of her looseness, of the report of the vulgar, and what a strange course of life she led, contrary to all piety and honesty, which stung the countess to the heart, and more increased and augmented her malice towards him, so that in a great fury she takes her coach, and repairs to her ancient acquaintance Mrs. Turner, who, according to her old custom, is ready to perform any evil act, and there they combine to bewitch the earl, and procure frigidity *quoad hanc*: for this purpose, Dr. Forman is consulted, for the procuring of means; pictures in wax are made, crosses, and many strange and uncouth things (for what will the devil leave unattempted to accomplish their ends?) Many attempts failed, and still the earl stood it out. At last, they framed a picture of wax, and got a thorn from a tree that bore leaves, and stuck upon the privy of the said picture, by which means they accomplished their desires.

This being done according to her expectation, she repairs to her house at Chartley, and thither the earl comes to her; but, whether he was more lusty than she expected, or what other accident happened, it is unknown; nevertheless, she grew jealous of her art, and falls into a great fear, that all their labour was lost, whereupon she wrote a letter to Dr. Forman to this effect:

Sweet Father,

ALTHOUGH I have found you ready at all times to further me, yet must I still crave your help; wherefore I beseech you to remember, that you keep the doors close, and that you still retain the Lord with me, and

and his affection towards me; I have no cause but to be confident in you: although the world be against me, yet heaven fails me not; many are the troubles I sustain, the doggedness of my lord, the crossness of mine enemies, and the subversion of my fortunes, unless you, by your wisdom, deliver me out of the midst of this wilderness, which I intreat for God's sake.

Your affectionate loving daughter,

From Chartley.

Frances Essex.

This letter, coming to the hands of the old master, procures a new attempt, and now he goes and enchants a nutmeg and a letter; one to be given to the viscount in his drink, the other to be sent unto him as a present; these things being accomplished, he, not long after, died, leaving behind him some of those letters, whereby the countess had intercourse with him, in his pocket, which gave some light into the business, amongst which this same was one.

Dr. Forman being dead, Mrs. Turner wanted one to assist her; whereupon, at the countess's coming up to London, one Gretham was nominated to be entertained into this business, and, in process of time, was wholly interested in it. This man was had in suspicion to have had a hand in the gunpowder treason, he wrote so near in his almanack; but, without question, he was a very skilful man in the mathematicks, and, in his later time, in witchcraft, as now suspected, and therefore the fitter to be employed in those practices, which, as they were devilish, so the devil had a hand in them.

The countess sends the viscount this letter, enchanted by Dr. Forman: places of meeting appointed, their intolerable looseness, and poets verses upon them. The beginning of their fall.

UPON her return she sends congratulations to the viscount, and, with those, the letter sent her by Dr. Forman; he reads it, and, the more he reads it, the more is intangled: for no man knows the miseries that are contained in evil arts, and who can withstand the words of evil tongues? Whereupon he returns answer, and new places of meeting are assigned, amongst the rest, one at Hammer-smith: in the mean time the viscount makes dispatch of his business, leaving things half done, half undone, to the intent he might meet her, who had now staid for his coming above two hours, and, being met, they solemnly saluted each other, fall into divers discourses, and insinuating phrases, from words to deeds, and from speaking to acting the sin of venery. The countess having obtained what she desired, and the viscount caught in the net of adulation, the more he strives to be loosed, being caught the faster, lust, having, by this means, got liberty, being covered with greatness,

like a fire long concealed in a pile of rotten wood, burst forth with all looseness and licentiousness; places of more frequent and private meetings being concluded between them, and persons fitting for their purposes being acquainted with their proceedings, watchwords are given. All things, having relation to a certain end, make them more boldly and safely to accomplish that which both time and memory cannot demonstrate in former history.

Now these good parts, which seemed heretofore to be hopeful in the viscount, consume to cinders, and the corruption remains to brand him in the forehead for his ill living; his modesty becomes eclipsed, his behaviour light, his carriage unseemly in his place; nothing so costly, no tyre so uncouth, but at all costs and charges he obtains it for the increase of favour; new fashions are produced, that so he might shew more beautiful and fair, and that his favour and personage might be made more manifest to the world; and for this purpose yellow bands, dusted hair, curled, crisped, frizzled, sleeked skins, open breasts beyond accustomed modesty, with many other inordinate attires, were worn on both sides to the shew of the world, so that, for the increase of dishonest appetites, they were abundantly practised and praised.

Surfeiting thus upon pleasure, having been before accustomed unto hardness, causeth him to fall into all manner of forgetfulness; letting all things go to wreck, careless in attendance, neglecting state-affairs, ignorant of his own worth, and subjecting him self to the lustful appetite of an evil woman, accounting no time so well spent, nor hour deemed so happy, as when dalliance and pleasant discourses passed between them, either in words or writings; so that in him may be verified the old saying of the poet:

*Non facili juvenum multis e millibus unum
Virtuti pretium, qui putat esse suum;
Fallit eum vitium specie virtutis & umbra
Cum sit triste habitum vultuque veste severum,
Nec dubio tanquam fruge laudatur avorum.*

Of thousand youths there scarce is one
That virtue valueth as his prize,
For vice deceives him, and alone
The shew of virtue blinds their eyes;
Although their countenance pensive be,
Their garments and their habits grave,
Yet all their fruit doubtless we see
Is lust and glory that they crave.

These things lay him open to the ill affection of them that hate him, and lay the foundation of his utter subversion, since the eyes of all men are upon such as are eminent; and as black upon white is soonest discerned, so evil conditions, and lascivious affections, are soonest perceived in such persons.

The

The faithfulness of Sir Thomas Overbury unto the viscount, the advice he gave him contemned. Favours are more bestowed upon him; made of the privy council.

THIS course of life being somewhat strange to those that were ignorant of these designs, gives new occasion of wonder and admiration, how he should continue still his favour; many things being left undone, others done to the half, insomuch that all must lie upon Overbury's neck; and this doth he honestly, and to the viscount's credit, attributing every action to his doing, although of him neglected: answers for him, in his absence, hastens dispatches in his presence, further the requests of suitors, and, through the neglect and carelessness of the viscount, grows in greater credit and esteem, so that his carefulness, sufficiency, and diligence, makes him become eminent, and beloved both of the king and council.

Yet nevertheless he lessens his own worth, gives all the dignity to the viscount; enquiring how the people stood affected towards him, finds many complaints, and some injuries to be done unto him, who, being blinded with pleasure, overslips, or lets them pass with small respect; whereupon he takes occasion, at a time convenient, to utter these, or the like words unto him: Sir, howsoever other things may pass either with small regard, or be smothered with honour and greatness, yet such things, as lay a man open to obloquy and contempt, can hardly be obscured in a person so publick and eminent as your lordship is; which things are often esteemed to be in a man that outwardly seemeth light and effeminate, or inwardly wanteth the ballast of government to poise external actions.

Of a truth, sir, be it spoken without offence, the court calls your modesty into question, and fears that these honours, that should be hereditary to noble personages, will be obscured with eminent evils, and blemished with levity and inconstancy. These, with many other discourses, having at this time past between them, sounded something harshly in the viscount's ears, as all good counsel becomes evil to those that are evil. And, in a kind of anger, he flung from him, though undeserved, yet nevertheless all his countenance and favour was not wholly obscured, but that he might still enjoy that which he expected, which was hope of preferment.

More favours are bestowed upon the viscount, being called to be one of the privy-council, which honour, howsoever it was great, and more than was expected; yet, because he was young, one that to the opinion of the world was of no education, literature, and experience (besides those inordinate courses) brings him into further contempt of the world, so that every man would take the freedom of his language, and speak harshly of these proceedings: some condemning his course of life, others his insufficiency, because of his youth, and most his want of experience, by which means, his greatness over-tops his substance; and, as a ship without ballast is tottered to and again to the terror of those that are in it, in a storm and high

water; even so these honours, thus suddenly bestowed upon him before his due time, lay him the more open to the evil opinion of the envious, and, with some, do sooner hasten his ruin: for which cause, it behoves such as are thus drawn up merely by fortune, either to be possessed with such virtues aforehand, that thereby they might maintain themselves in their greatness, or else to expect a sudden overthrow at a time unexpected.

B. 2. Speeches of the Lady Elisabeth's marriage with the Palgrave: conditions concluded upon. A. 1. The prince takes dislike at the viscount. The prince's death, rumours upon the same.

NOW Prince Henry was living, and having some intelligence of the loose kind of life which the viscount led, and being something jealous of him, because of that he heard, doth utterly dislike him, forbears his company, and, whether for that, or some other cause, it is unknown, falls flat at odds with him, not once giving him any countenance, or vouchsafing him his countenance.

Not long after, as it might be about the beginning of November, he fell sick, and continued so some weeks, or little more; the malady increasing (lying in his head) he dies. A man may say of this prince, as was said of Mæcenas, both for wisdom and strength of body, there was not the like to be found among the English: the hope of England! Strange was the accident, and many the rumours that ensued upon his death. Some said, that a French physician killed him, others that he was poisoned; again, others thought that he was bewitched; yet no certainty could be found, but that he died a natural death. This accident filled all the kingdom with lamentations, and caused the wedding, that followed at Candlemas after, to be kept in sable. The funeral was performed in great state, and with more grief; much might be said, but I leave it. My purpose being only in brief to set out these matters to memory, that after ages might see the evil of our times, where the greatest part of many courtiers actions are to find out tricks, how to circumvent their fellow-servants, and some, if it were possible, to dispossess the king of his dignity, as hereafter shall be shewed; so many are the discontents that are cherished among them.

These domestick affairs having thus happened, and the death of the prince filling the court with sorrow, and the court being full of other employments, by reason of the marriage that was to be had with the palgrave of the Rhine, and her grace, who was now marriageable, passed over the rest in silence. The match is concluded, and great expectation and provision for his coming over to perform the ceremonies of matrimony are made, at whose coming, many rumours are spread abroad: first, that the Spaniard took this to the heart, and therefore laid wait to do him some mischief by the way.

That

That there was a ship of pocket-pistols come out of Spain, and that it was intended by the papists to have made a massacre; and that Northampton did utterly oppose this match, for he was as great an enemy to the Dutch and protestants, as ever Cecil was their friend; and that many priests were arrived, and such-like: yet, nevertheless, it was accomplished with great pomp and state, all or the greatest part of the nobility being there present; a masque in the great banqueting-house; the gentlemen of the Middle-Temple, and others of Gray's-Inn: a third, besides three days tilting, and running at the ring, the king himself in person, with the young prince that now is king, besides many other pastimes, both stately and becoming the dignity of a king.

At this time there was a proclamation against fardingales, but to little purpose, for they rather increased greater, than diminished; for, where a thing is once grown into a habit, it is hardly to be restrained.

There was another proclamation, upon the former report of the coming of a ship of pocket-pistols out of Spain, that no man should carry a pistol in his pocket, nor any that should be less than a foot long in the barrel. About this time also the papists were disarmed, and many strange rumours raised; which things, because they were uncertain, I omit to relate them, being rather pertinent unto state, than unto profit.

Ambassadors sent into Russia, Sweden, and other provinces, for the renewing of friendship. Of the league in the Low-Countries. The rumour of it.

MANY outrages having been, now of late, committed by the archduke upon the states, divers rumours are raised concerning the leaguer, both strange, and almost universal; for there were parties, the pope, the emperor, the king of Spain, and a cardinal, to aid the archduke against the states. The foundation of this combustion was laid upon the sacking of a protestant town in Brabant; whereupon, Grave Maurice drew out ten thousand into the field, and some few blows happened; and it was suspected it would have grown further, and that there would have been a general opposition between protestants and papists; but, by means of the pope and the king, it was agreed, and went no further, but left a scar to give a new occasion.

The war of Denmark was also brought unto a happy end, and the king retained his right there; not long after the issue whereof, ambassadors were sent into Muscovy, to renew the league of friendship with the emperor, who now being brought low by continual wars, was glad to entertain such a motion. Traffick is confirmed there with that nation, and, from thence, the same ambassadors went to Sweden, to conclude a league of friendship, the reason whereof was thought to be, for the ancient amity, that had been had, heretofore, between the king of that nation; from thence, they went to the duke of Cleves, and so to the emperor, with salutations.

The suit of the cloth-workers, my lord of Rochester stands for them. The complaint of the countess, she sues for a divorce.

NOW, this year, the cloth-workers, being covetous of larger employments, petition the king and council, that there might go no more white cloth out of this kingdom, but that they might be all dressed and dyed here, before they went over, and the reasons of their petition were three:

First, That the Hollanders, making use of dressing and drying our cloth, almost doubled the value they bought it for, whereby, they were enriched, and we were impoverished.

The second reason, That, whereas there was a multitude of poor in this kingdom, that wanted employment, if they might have the dying and the dressing of those cloths, it would find them work, whereby they might be relieved; and there was no reason, why any others should make benefit of that, which we might make good of ourselves.

Lastly, Whereas the trade of dressing of cloth began to decay, if now they might but have this, in process of time, it might be restored, and they might have as good skill to dress cloth, as the Dutchmen. My lord of Rochester, my lord of Northampton, and my lord treasurer, that now is, were great agents in this business, and were thought to have been promised great sums of money, to accomplish it.

Now the countess begins new complaints, and finds her art to continue firm, and that, indeed, there was such frigidity *quoad hanc* accomplished, that her husband, the earl of Essex, could not execute the office of a husband; she ups, and tells her friends, That she is still a maid, and that she had good cause to complain, since that, she having continued so long his wife, she in that space had never the fruition of that pleasure, that ought to be between man and wife; for which cause, she protested that she would never keep him company any longer, and desired a divorcement, because of his insufficiency.

This seemed strange unto the world, who took notice of the earl to be of an able body, and likely to have many children, and to undertake any exploit for the good of the commonwealth; indeed valuing this, to be but an idle and vain rumour, that was spread, as often happened, to see how such a thing would be liked in the world, and, therefore, let it pass with little notice.

In the mean time, there is a motion between Rochester and her, for a marriage; and since it was so, that the world had taken notice of their business, now to make some satisfaction, they would consummate a wedding between them: This motion was well liked of, on both parties, but an obstacle remained: her husband was alive, and the law would not permit her to have two husbands; whereupon, she grows the more eager.

eager of a divorce, that so she might have a new husband, for women of her disposition delight in change, and therefore renews her complaint; advice is taken in the business, whether such a thing may be had, there being no cause of publick adultery, or dislike of the husband: again, it was a question, Whether the wife might sue a divorce, or not, for that the bill of divorcement was given to the husband, and not to the wife; many such like objections being disputed to and again, at last, it is concluded,

That, in case the earl was so unable, as she reported, to execute the office of an husband, and that, upon the search of twelve matrons, she appeared still to be a maid, it was lawful, that there might be a divorce, and the reason was twofold: one, that there might be a frigidity *quoad hanc*: another, that marriage was appointed for procreation sake, for which cause, it was thought lawful to sue a divorce.

Upon this, they proceeded to the search, twelve matrons were impannelled, the day appointed, the search made, and the verdict returned, that she was a true maid; who should bring this to the ears of the king, but my lord of Northampton, and so to the world, who grows jealous of fraud, doubting either corruption or deceit? For it was vulgarly reported, that she had a child long before, in my lord's absence; whereupon, some say this, some say that, and most, that the countess was not searched, but that one of Sir Thomas Monson's daughters was brought in to be searched in her place, and so both judges and jury deceived. But how true this is, is not credible; yet, nevertheless, they grant a bill of divorce; and, now a separation being had between them, the earl, in a great discontent, leaves the court, and repaired to his house in Warwickshire, and there lives a private life.

The motion of marriage goes forward; Overbury's opinion concerning it; he dissuades Rochester from it; the breach between them; the principal cause of it.

NOW might there be a lawful discourse of marriage, since there was a lawful divorce, had it nevertheless been kept private, and only some particular friends made privy on Rochester's side; but Overbury's advice he requires amongst others, in this business, though to what end, it is unknown. Nevertheless, Overbury was utterly against it; and, being in serious discourse with him, concerning this subject, in the passage-gallery at Whitehall, entered into these or the like words, as was reported:

First, How much he stood obliged to him, for his countenance and favour, who, therefore, would speak nothing but what was truth. Then how dutiful and ready he was to perform all his commands, from whence, he might easily perceive, that what he spoke was out of affection. And lastly, That he had often endeavoured to avert his mind from these things; that both time and the envy of men might turn to his prejudice, taxing him, that he had made all this to become

hurtful unto him, and converting the meaning of good intentions towards him, to his disparagement and loss: notwithstanding, the viscount still pressed him on to pass his opinion, protesting great kindness, and to do nothing without his opinion; whereupon he lets him understand, That, perceiving the common reports of the multitude, and weighing them with the greatness of his person, he found it to be no less hurtful to his preferment, than helpful to subvert and overthrow him. For who would, being possessed of so great possibility as he was, so great honours and large revenues, and daily in expectation of others, cast all away upon a woman, that is noted both for her injury and immodesty, and pull upon him the hatred and contempt of great personages, for so small a matter? Then he willed him to consider with himself the condition of the person, whereof he spoke; the manner of her carriage from her youth, her present conversation, the many envies, dishonours, and dislikes that were attendant upon her; and besides, which is now the common report of the vulgar, and he should find them to be so many evils to attend her subversion and overthrow.

It is not the nature of a wise man to make her his wife, whom he hath made his whore. Lastly, he willed him to expect no better requital at her hands, than which she had shewed to her former husband, and withal, to weigh the present condition that he was in, and to compare it with the future; now he had, as it were, but an inclination unto such a thing, neither were those things made evident, that after ages would lay open; nevertheless, that he was taxed with incivility, levity, and indeed effeminateness; that, by the opinion of the wife, he was adjudged altogether unworthy of that honour, that was bestowed upon him. But, when these surmises should come by this his marriage to be made evident, what evils, before, were but suspected, should then be enlarged, and laid to his charge: honour is not attended with voluptuousness, nor are the ruins of a rotten branch to be cherished, upon a new planted tree; but, if that he meant to be made famous, and to continue that with him, that now he freely enjoyed, his opinion was, that he should utterly leave and forsake her company, and to hold her was both hurtful and hateful.

These speeches drew on others, and the viscount, being a little nettled in his affection, grows somewhat harsh. And Sir Thomas having been heretofore accepted at, with these kinds of contentions, grows so much the more careless, and answers word for word, so that from fair and friendly speeches, they grew to words of anger, and to cross each other. In conclusion, Overbury requires his portion due unto him, and so wills Rochester to leave him to his own fortunes, for that he could not endure these inordinate jangles, which he had accustomed towards him of late; and that, if there had been any thing said, that was either offensive to him, or to the disparagement of the countess, it was by his own procurement, and by reason of the good-will and affection that he bore to him; with these, and many such words, they parted.

Rochester

Rochester and the countess meet, and conclude the death of Overbury: that Northampton had a hand in it, causes why.

THE countess having, before this, borne a deadly hate towards Overbury, because he had oftentimes before dissuaded the viscount, to abstain from her company; yet now, having disclosed unto her this speech, she becomes much more revengeful, especially, because he had taxed her, with the name of a whore; for truth is hateful to the evil, and what before she concealed, now breaks forth with fury. For concealing anger is much worse than open violence; persuading Rochester, that it was not possible, that ever she should endure these injuries, or hope for any prosperity, as long as he lived, he being the only man that withstood his purposes, with many other persuasions; that he only of all men began to grow eminent, and who was the man so likely to step up after him, as Overbury? Inasmuch as these persuasions, together with his own conceived evil, procure the viscount to give a liking to her determination, and to put his hand into the fire, where he needed not, making himself accessory to that, which he had no occasion to put in practice at all.

There were some that charged Northampton to have had a hand in these businesses, and to have uttered these and the like words: that he wondered how the viscount could be so much affected to this man Overbury, that without him he could do nothing, as it were, making him his right-hand, seeing he, being newly grown into the king's favour, and wholly depending upon his greatness, must expect to come to ruin, when that man rose to preferment. Also he condemned Overbury for his boldness and peremptory sauciness, that checked and corrected the viscount for the love that passed between the viscount and him, and opposed many of his designs and purposes; whereupon he concluded, that, unless he did either curb his greatness, or abate his pride, he in time would be equal with him, both in power and greatness. Whether this proceeded out of fear of himself, or envy towards Overbury, or to collogue with his niece and Rochester, or to prevent the plagues of Sir Thomas, who altogether distasted these niggling courses, it cannot be conceived, that these are the last words, that he spoke of this subject: that, for his own part, he knew himself clear of all offences against the state, and their family was so eminent in the commonwealth, that he could not hurt him. But, for Rochester, being made privy to all his designs, growing peremptory, and no whit tractable to his disposition; besides, likely to come to eminency and honour in the commonwealth; he finds it both necessary and fitting for his safety, that he should be a means to dispatch him; whereupon the viscount being led by the nose, as he thought, for the best, gives consent, and endeavours to put in practice what they have determined. Now on all hands they cast about how this might be effected and pass unregarded, so that they might sustain no loss or disparagement by the attempt.

Sir William Wade removed from the lieutenancy of the Tower. Sir Jervase Yelvis preferred.

FOR this purpose alone it was thought that a quarrel was picked with Sir William Wade, who was now lieutenant of the Tower, and had continued so a great while; but there were other causes objected: and first, He was thought too severe against the Lady Arabella, and gave some other prisoners too much liberty. Another, was, That he being now grown rich, began to grow careless, and neglected his office. But the very truth of the business was thought to be this: Sir Jervase Yelvis, being a Lincolnshire gentleman, having been brought up in a publick life from his youth, trained in the study of the publick laws at Lincoln's-Inn, and ambitious of preferment, offered a sum of money for that honour and place; for, howsoever Sir William Wade might be one way taxed for his too much desire of wealth (which thing might be tolerable in him, being pressed with a great charge) yet he was wise, honest, and discreet in his place, and discharged it with much more sufficiency, than he that succeeded him; but, according to the saying of the poet,

*Quisquis habet nummos, secura navigat aura;
Fortunaque suo tempore arbitrio.*

Those men, that store of money have,
With prosp'rous wind shall fail;
And fortune plays unto their wish,
To speed they cannot fail.

By this means he is got into the lieutenancy, and for this cause Sir William Wade is put out. Things, ordered after this sort, never proceed without envy; unless the persons, that enjoy such places, be very considerate, it is likely they will have a sudden fall: but what care men of power for such things? He, being established in his office, must recollect his money paid, by using some kind of extortion; and, to bear out this, be observant to such as preferred him; and so, by their countenance, he might use the greater liberty. For this cause he made the earls of Northampton and Rochester the whole end of his actions, fearing more to displease them than the king: a fit man for their purpose.

The countess repairs to Mrs. Turner to inquire a man out for her; makes complaint of Overbury's insolency; and discloses her determination. Weston is nominated.

IN the mean time, the countess thought it not enough to hear, nor to fret and fume, nor persuade and intreat my lord to undertake this dangerous enterprise; but to Mrs. Turner she must go, and there renew her complaints with tears (hardly found in a woman of her disposition) protesting she was never so defamed, nei-

ther did she ever think, that any man durst to be so saucy as to call her whore and base woman, and that to Rochester, her only hopes, and with an impudent face; but Overbury, that negro, that scum of men, that devil incarnate, he might do any thing, and pass either unregarded, or unpunished: this moves pity in this pitiful woman Mrs. Turner, who frets as fast to see her fret, so that there is such storming between them, as is incredible. At length, as we see two clouds, after long strife in the air, which shall have the priority in place, join in one; so these two women, after they had fulfilled their frantick humour, join in this, to be the death of him: that must be the end; there is no malice like the malice of a woman; no submission, no intreaty, no persuasion could prevail, but he must die. Mrs. Turner sooths her with *aye*, that she would; and it is pity he should live to defame so honourable a lady, so well descended, to the utter disparagement of her house; and that, rather than he should pass with life, she would dispatch him herself: words of course in such cases, where people are carried away with heady malice, not with reason. Yet, for all this, coming to their right senses, they begin to weigh the matter, and that it was no small thing to kill a man, both in respect of conscience, and law; therefore they cast about which should be the best way to do it; at last they conclude, that to poison him was the only way, and that with least suspicion. But then the party that should do it was to seek; for he must be no ordinary man, but an apothecary, or physician, that might temper the poison rightly to take effect, according to their mind, and of long study: one Weston was named, that had some time been servant to Dr. Turner, and thereby learned such experience, that none was so fitting to accomplish this exploit to him. This man, now in the country, must be sent for; Mrs. Turner must work upon him to bring him to this exploit; for things of this nature must be carried with wisdom and discretion: for who will hazard his life for had I wist? Two hundred pounds are proffered him, and he of all men undertakes it.

Overbury's great favour. The motion of the council to send him ambassador to the archduke. He contemplates of it, and is persuaded by my lord viscount to refuse it.

THESE things notwithstanding, Overbury still grows into favour, and the council, still finding his diligence and sufficiency in his place, nominates him as a man fit to be sent ambassador into the Low-Countries to the archduke, making that a means to draw him up to great preferments. This comes to Overbury's ear, who, knowing my lord of Northampton to be his utter enemy, and growing jealous of Rochester, begins to contemplate what the meaning of this might be; thus between hope and fear he stands amazed: to refuse would be to his great disgrace; to undertake it would

be to the loss of his preferment. Standing in these doubts, the viscount, after so many jangles, comes to him and salutes him, and after many discourses, falls into speech of the intention of the council concerning this ambassage, not so much to assist and encourage him to it, as to see how he stood affected; whereupon, finding him hammering upon his determinations, not being certainly determined to any thing, he joins with him, and utterly dissuades him from undertaking it: for, saith he, your preferments and your expectations lie not among foreign nations; you are now in credit at home, and have already made trial of the dangers of travel; why then should you hazard all upon uncertainties, being in possession, as a man may say, of all that you may expect by this means already? These speeches, what with the trust he put in the viscount, what with the doubtfulness of his mind, do in a manner confirm his opinion rather to leave it, than to take it. But nevertheless he gives him to understand, that it was no small thing to oppose the determination of the council, and to contradict the king's employment; for in either of these he must expect the displeasure of both, and be in danger to receive condign punishment.

But Rochester, to get these doubts out of his mind, with great protestation and long discourses, let him understand he had so much experience of his worth, and found him so faithful and diligent in employments, that he could as well miss his right-hand, as miss him; and that, in case any such danger should happen to him, yet nevertheless, if either his word, his letter, credit, or favour could either mitigate, release, or relieve him, it should not be wanting to do him ease and pleasure.

Being led on with these hopes, he is in a manner drawn utterly to deny that which was intended for his profit, and to give him a fit opportunity to excuse their malice towards him, as after happened according to the saying of the poet:

*Ne quicquam crede, haud credere quicquam
— nam fronte polito
Astutum rapido torrent sub pectore vulpem.*

Believe not thou scarce any man;
For oft a Phrygian face
Is smoothly cover'd with a smile,
But within seeks thy disgrace.

The viscount, seeing him at this time in so fitting a vein to be wrought upon, and so easily to be dissuaded from his purpose, shewed him much more favour than heretofore he had done, the better to confirm credence in him towards his persuasions, and to encourage him in his determination; and by this means he is utterly deceived, and grows confident to forsake it; in this mind the viscount leaves him, and betakes himself to his purpose.

The

The countess, earl, and viscount meet. They determine of the matter. The king is incensed against Overbury.

SIR Jervase, being now grown old in his office, and being acquainted with it, amongst other things, is founded whether he stands faithful to his patrons, Northampton and Rochester, whereby it is found, that he would be pliant to any thing they would desire, but yet not made acquainted with this determination; nevertheless, it feeds them with hope to execute their purposes with better prosperity: for the lieutenant being their friend, and Weston, a man that had gotten the art of poisoning, entertained for the purpose, and with a resolute mind ready to effect it, made them neither suspect nor doubt any thing, only how they might get him to the Tower. For this purpose it is thought fit, that Rochester, having the king's ear, should be a means to possess the king with some misdemeanors that he had committed, that thereby the king being incensed against him, and the refusal of the ambassage making evident the truth of these complaints, they need not doubt of any such matter; whereupon my lord of Rochester, amongst other things, at a time convenient, lets the king understand how insolent Overbury was grown; that he not only contemned him, but his majesty also, estimating this employment to be sent ambassador either too light a preferment for his deserts, or else intended to procure him further evil, and that he utterly disliked it, and determined to refuse it.

The king being possessed of these things, and by him, who to the judgment of the world was his greatest friend, took displeasure at it, so that by his countenance one might have perceived his anger; for the frowning of a king is like the roaring of a lion, terrible to the spectators and hearers, so that now they doubted not of their expectations to get him into the Tower; where being a prisoner in the king's disgrace, under the protection of one who more esteemed their favour than the king's displeasure, sequestered from his friends, no intercourse suffered to come unto him but what came from the countess, Northampton, Rochester, and Weston, a fit agent to execute all manner of evils; why, to the judgment of the world, it is impossible that ever this evil should come to light. And thus, being ranked up in their own conceits, they run headlong to their own destruction: for when there were but two persons privy to the act of murder, as in Cain and Abel, it could not pass unpunished, but that Cain must be marked with a perpetual mark of ignominy; how much less shall this go undiscovered, when there are so many privy to it?

*Thus may we see that one sin another doth provoke,
And that murder is as near to lust as flame to smoke.*

Sir Thomas refuses the ambassage; incurs the king's displeasure; he is sent to the Tower. Weston is preferred

to him. Gresham dies. Franklin is entertained into the business. A new speech of marriage between the Countess and Rochester.

SIR Thomas Overbury and Rochester having, for some private occasion, fallen into a new breach at Newmarket, he returns very pensively to London; and now the time being come that he should give an answer, what he would do concerning this ambassage, he answered, that he acknowledged himself much bound unto his majesty for many favours that he had bestowed upon him, as to prefer him to so great honour; but yet nevertheless, knowing himself of such a place unexperienced how to execute it, and besides tied to many domestick businesses, desired to be excused. It seeming something strange and harsh, that he should neglect his own good, and by this means incur the displeasure of the king, and lose his expectations, makes some of his friends to wonder, and others to stand in amaze.

But in the conclusion, as he had justly deserved, by reason of his contempt, he is committed to the Tower, but not to be kept as a close prisoner; but after my lord of Northampton and Rochester, being both of the privy-council, and in great favour at court, send unto the lieutenant that he should keep him close prisoner; who afterwards received by word of mouth from Sir Thomas Monson, that he should not suffer any letters, tokens, or other things to be delivered unto him.

Their expectation in this thing being accomplished, Mrs. Turner, by the instigation of the countess, becomes a great suitor to Sir Thomas Monson, to have his letter to prefer Weston unto Sir Thomas to wait on him in the Tower; who hearing the name of the countess, and withal understanding the great affection that was between her and Rochester, condescended, wrote, and sent him with the letter to Sir Jervase in the Tower; he shewed it to Sir Thomas, who, willing to deserve his patrons chiefest favour, with the more readiness entertained him: as, when a man ignorantly treads upon a serpent, he is stung for his labour, so Sir Thomas harbours in his own breast the author of his own destruction.

Now Gresham growing into years, having spent much time, and many foul prayers, to accomplish these things, at this time gathers all his baubles, viz. pictures in lead, in wax, in plates of gold, of naked men and women, with crosses, crucifixes, and other implements, wrapping them all up together in a scarf; crossed every letter in the sacred word, Trinity crossed, A. W. O. crossed: these were very holily delivered into the hands of one Weston, to be hid in the earth, that no man might find them; and so in Thames-street, having finished his evil times, he died, leaving behind him a man and a maid, the one hanged for a witch, the other for a thief.

After his death with much writing, many intreaties and rewards, one Franklin was entertained into these actions, a man of a reasonable stature, crook-shoul-

dered, of a swarthy complexion, and thought to be no less a wizard than the two former, Gresham and Forman; this man was more employed to make poisons fit to be administered by Weston than otherwise; for he was excellent in that art, to mitigate or increase their strength, so that sometimes a poison should be a month before it worked: verily evil actions shall never want evil actors; and, in all ages, physicians, apothecaries, druggists, and cashiered serving-men fallen into want, have still been the agents in such enterprizes. Tiberius's physician, Spado an apothecary, and Ligdo, Drusus's servant, are made agents to be his poisoners. Nero's bond-man must kill him; Piso's captain under Germanicus must poison him; and by the help of a woman, poisoner of Cowe, a town in Greece, who was so skilful, that she conveyed poison into his hair, to kill himself; a centurion to Maximus must poison him; Alexander's physician, Antipater, and Aristotle, must be the authors of his own death. And here Franklin, a kind of physician; Weston, a servant to Sir Thomas; Sir Jervase Yelvis, who is, as hereafter you shall hear, privado to the earl and viscount, and the countess and mistress Turner are made instruments to kill and dispatch Sir Thomas Overbury: so that it hath been almost in all ages, and in all such outrages found, that either such persons or women have been actors in such attempts.

Overbury, being thus confined in the Tower, and accounted amongst them as a friar, a dead person in the law, in whose breast many secrets were contained, being still fed on with hope of preferment and liberty, lest he should disclose what he knew: they at their will and pleasure carouse full healths of sin and abomination, and freely discourse of a marriage to be consummated between the Countess and Rochester, that so being tied in this bond of matrimony, and joined in affinity with the lord of Northampton, more trust might be had in him, and better use might be made of his honour and greatness.

Now there is none to support him, no man to dissuade him, his looseness with the countess gauls his conscience, and that it might be the more offensive to him, and make him the willing to consent unto this motion, he is still pressed with it, and that it is both unfit and unseemly; whereas on the other side, if they marry, it will be both lawful, and honourable, and commendable, and the ears of the vulgar will be then stopped, and none dare be so bold as to touch it; this carries shew of truth, so that what with his former affection, what with his present offence that he conceives at these courses, he concludes the marriage: times are appointed to confer, how impediments might be avoided, and what should be fitting to be done in this behalf.

How the lieutenant came acquainted with the business, and is encouraged to persist by Northampton. Rewards promised him. He examined Sir Thomas to find out his

affection: most think of religion: some think towards the Countess.

IT is now high time to enter into this action, and the countess means to be the first, who, for this purpose, went and got a glass of blue water, two inches long; this, being wrapped in a paper, she delivers to Weston's son with instructions, that he should go to the Tower, and deliver it to his father; he doth so, who having his matter aforehand put into his head, at supper-time takes the same in one hand, and part of Sir Thomas Overbury's supper in the other hand, and who should he meet withal but Sir Jervase Yelvis, the lieutenant? So he demanded of him, with a kind of caution, Whether he should give it him now? The lieutenant stops, and asked him, What? To which Weston answered, Sir, you know what is to be done. This made him stand in amaze, and doubt the worst; whereupon he calls Weston into examination, and makes him confess all his intention, from what grounds, and of whom he received it, and partly the cause of it; he now, being made a slave to greatness, and having laid out much money to purchase his place, for fear to lose the one, and to offend the other, lets Weston go, with this caution to omit it for that time; whereas a wise man, rather than he would have run himself headlong into perdition, would have discovered, and have made this a means to have manifested his faithfulness in his office.

But what shall we say to a man lost? The next day he is sent for to the lord of Northampton: there, after many long and large discourses, at length the earl discloses to him his intention concerning Overbury, and with those things mingles many of his insolencies: first, of his obstinacy against the viscount, his insolency against the countess, his opposition almost against all good men, and that, for the causes of such a thing happening, there being none to look after him, it would pass unregarded or unrespected; but withal gives him many cautions how he should manage himself in the business, letting him understand what manner of man he was; a scholar, and one that had an excellent tongue and wit; a traveller, experienced in the course of the world, and, besides that, favoured the contrary faction, and as great a politician as any was this day in England; therefore, in regard he ought to be the more wary both who came to him, and who went from him, and, above all, that no letters pass to and fro: these, and many such like other speeches, having past between them, (for the earl was two hours, by his own confession, prompting him with cautions and considerations, that he might be the readier to act his part in this adventure he was to deal in.) Lastly, he concludes, that above all he should insinuate with him, to see how he stood affected to these proceedings, and what words he uttered from a heart full of thirst with grief and sorrow, that must either speak or burst, and his service and diligence herein shall be rewarded with a thousand pounds.

Whether it was the greediness of the reward, or the foolish

foolish desire he had to give content to the earl and viscount, they being his only favourers, or some other hope still unknown; yet he by this means is brought to his own destruction, and so gives consent to conceal that which was intended. At his coming back, he repairs to Sir Thomas Overbury, under pretence to comfort him in his sorrow, and adviseth him to be more lightsome, and not to consume himself with grief; by this means entering into further discourse, secretly insinuates into his intentions: Sir Thomas, having a good opinion of him, and supposing all was done out of faith and honesty towards him, having by this means learned what he could of him, writes unto the lord of Northampton a letter to this effect:

My especial good Lord,

HAVING undertook my prisoner, according to your instructions, after long silence, as standing between hope and fear, he takes his bible, and after he had read upon it, and by it protested his innocence, upon further conference concerning the countess, he said, that he had justified her already, and that he could do no more than what he had done: but for himself, alas! faith he, what will they do with me? I answered, so reason you, as you shall make no question hereafter of your pureness; and I left him in some sense to work upon him. As I was going, he concluded, that, in the generality, she was so worthy, that she might be a wife, in particular, for my lord of Rochester, he would not say it left my lord should condemn him for weighing his worth.

At my next coming to him, I found him not in sense but fury: he let fly at you, but was respectful to my lord of Rochester, whose part he taketh altogether. I see the event, I desire it may be safely covered; what my service may do you in this, or any thing else, I will be faithful to your lordship, and so I rest,

JERVASE YELVIS.

These, and many other things, being inserted into this letter, were sent unto the earl; which he read, and in reading laughs and smiles at the simplicity of the one, and ignorance of the other; nevertheless, in outward appearance, he applauds all the actions of Sir Jervase, but especially to my lord of Rochester, holding him both a discreet and wise man, and that his services, and honest dealing in this employment, deserve everlasting praises with after-ages.

More poisons are sent from the Countess. Sir Thomas Monson is suspected to have a hand in the business. Overbury grows sickly, and jealous of his diet; no access is suffered to him.

WESTON, having received twenty-four pounds of his allowance, and yet nevertheless nothing accomplished according to the countess's expectation,

is checked by Mistress Turner for delaying it; whereupon he gets into his hands certain poisons, viz. rosacre, white arsenick, mercury sublimite, cantharides, red mercury, with three or four more several poisons, tempering them with his broth and his meat, according as he saw them affected, increasing and diminishing their strength, as he was instructed by his ancient friend Master Franklin; besides these, tarts and jellies are sent by the viscount and countess to Sir Thomas Monson, as from thence by the hands of one Simon, master-servant unto Sir Thomas, to be delivered to Weston, and so to Overbury, every of which tarts and jellies were poisoned with a several poison.

These courses caused Sir Thomas Monson to be suspected of this act, and to have a hand in it: first, in respect he preferred Weston to his service: secondly, poisoned tarts and jellies went out of his house: and, lastly, for that he did not discover these things, his men only having access to the Tower, and that to speak with Weston. Now his salt, his meat, his drink, and whatsoever he eats is mingled with poison; and, for the increase of his torment, is increased or diminished, as they saw Sir Thomas Overbury affected.

By this means he begins to grow extreme sickly, having been heretofore accustomed to very good health, insomuch that he can scarce stand or go, what with the pain of his body and the heat: yet, nevertheless, being a strong man, he stood it out a long time, till at length he began to grow jealous of his man Weston, for his malady increased or diminished as he affected; but yet some physick he desired, and at his special instance and request, and not without some gratitude, as was thought, one Paul de la Bell, an apothecary, by the advice of Doctor Marvin, brought a bath to cool his body, with advice to be sparing of his diet, for that he suspected that his meat was not wholesome: surely this did him much good, and preserved his life longer than they expected, insomuch that they misdoubt some fallacy or fraud; and therefore send new letters to the lieutenant, to have a special care that none may be suffered to see him, or speak with him; for evil men are full of needless fears; and now there is such special watch had over him, that none of his men might be permitted so much liberty as to speak with him out at a window; and the reason being asked, answer was made, that the lieutenant had commandment from the council that it should be so.

Thus the good gentleman passed away his tedious and sorrowful days with many discontents, being filled with pains and grief, without friends and comforters, ready to be vexed and tormented upon every occasion, and consuming and languishing away without any common society that was allowed to the meanest prisoner in the house. In this man we may see the misery of such as fall into the hands of popish catholicks, for by Northampton's means was this strictness shewed towards him; here will we leave him languishing in sorrow, and lamenting his misfortune.

The

The marriage between the viscount and the countess published; questioned, whether it might be lawful. A nullity obtained to make it lawful. My lord of Essex repays the portion. The viscount made earl of Somerset.

TIME can no longer conceal these secret meetings, but they must at length come to light: the marriage between the viscount and the countess is published; this is strange to the world, and so much the more strange, by how much three such great and eminent persons as the earl of Essex, the countess, and the viscount were interested in it: and now, according to the common course, every one speaks as he stands affected; some boldly, others sparingly; some call her a loose woman, and pity the good earl of Essex, and say that he had sustained more wrong than ever any English peer had done.

First, to suffer disgrace by the prince, now by his wife; others blame her with words harsh and unseemly; a third sort Rochester; and that it is pity, but that she should prove as bad a wife to him as ever she was to the earl of Essex; then, if Overbury had been at liberty, this had never happened. Others, that were more stayed and judicious in their opinion, foresaw the ruin and downfall of Rochester by this means, but none durst speak of it. For who will put his finger into the fire, unless he be compelled? Nevertheless, to stop the mouths of the vulgar, this marriage is called into question, whether it may be lawful or not, because her husband was then living: for this cause, the bishops of this land were divided. By the opinion of some she might, by the opinion of others she might not; my lord of Canterbury, London, and many others were utterly against it; but Winchester and Ely stood stiffly it might, provided a nullity might be had; for by that means the former marriage should be utterly determined.

A nullity was obtained, and upon the grant of that it was ordered, that my lord of Essex should repay the portion that he received with her at his marriage, that is, to the shew of the world, it might be said, there had been no marriage between them. This afterwards was called into question, and thought a mere trick of Northampton, to discharge some of the greatest of the clergy, and to discountenance our religion; it left a foul scar, and gave a foul occasion to the adversaries to speak broadly where they had liberty, and of some even in our kingdom.

This order being sent to my lord of Essex, he forthwith prepares for the re-payment of five thousand pounds, for so much he had received with her; and for this purpose he sold and felled divers woods at Adderston, and near thereabouts: his grandmother, the countess of Leicester, helped him much, or else he should have been constrained to sell much land to pay it; verily a hard course, having sustained so many injuries!

The king, nevertheless, continues his favour towards Rochester; and that he might be as eminent as the best, he is installed earl of Somerset. Thus fa-

vours are heaped upon him, though he little deserved them. And the countess, what she desireth, is still to be a countess, but called after another name, that is, countess of Somerset. Many are the chances that happen in the world, some good, some bad, and those things we least suspect do soonest happen to divert us.

At this time, my lord of Somerset little thought to have been laid in the Tower, and made heir of Overbury's bed-chamber; but by this we may see, that all things are in the hands of God.

The marriage comes to Overbury's ears. He propheseth his own death. He falleth into a relapse. He writes to the earl to remember his promise. Answer is sent him with white mercury, instead of a medicinal powder. His death. The state of his body after his death. The rumour that is spread of him. The author's lamentation.

NOW, although Sir Thomas Overbury was kept private, and that no man might have access to him; yet the news of this marriage comes to his ears, and presently upon hearing of it he tells the messenger, that he had almost as good have said, To-morrow he should die, for he was sure now not to live long; and thereupon falls into great lamentations, as well in regard of the earl of Somerset, that he had so cast away his fortunes, as of himself, for that now he more suspected his life than ever heretofore. Whereupon he falls into a relapse, and his malady increased every day more and more upon him, whether weakened with grief, or for want of liberty, or through abstinence; it is not unknown, that the poison had more power over him than ever heretofore, insomuch that he could scarce contain himself, by reason of his extreme languishing away, as a man in a consumption; but with much more extremity: so that now, being in this extremity, he thinks it high time to put Somerset in mind of his promise. And for this purpose he writes a letter to this effect:

Right noble and worthy Sir,

THE former accustomed favours, and absolute promise, concerning my present delivery, have caused me at this time, by these lines, to solicit your lordship, and to put you in remembrance of the same, not doubting that your honour is at all forgetful of me, but only by reason of my imprisonment, being possessed of a dangerous disease, would, for my body's safety, partake of the felicity of the open air: in which case, if your lordship please to commiserate my present necessities, and procure me my speedy delivery, I shall not only stand so much the more obliged, but also acknowledge you the defender and preserver of my life.

These lines being subscribed, were sent to Somerset, and delivered into his own hands; the messenger returns answer, That presently he could not accomplish what he required, but willed him not to doubt, for

for shortly he should hear of his deliverance. Thus being fed with hopes, he takes new comfort to him; in the mean time Weston repairs to Mrs. Turner for more of his pay, being in want: answer was made, that as soon as he had ended his employment, he should not fail to receive it; but before then he must not expect any thing: whereupon he returns, and enters into new designs; for in all this time, that is, from the one-and-twentieth of April until the beginning of September following, in the year 1636, Sir Thomas had held out: while he was thus puzzling himself to bring this to perfection, Somerset sent him a letter to this effect:

THAT, as yet, the court was busy about important business, and the king's ear was not at leisure to entertain any motion; but as soon as he could find opportunity, he would not fail to speak in his behalf. In the mean time, to ease the pain of his malady, he had sent him a sovereign powder, either to be eaten, or drank, which powder was rank poison. This feeds him still with hope, but brings him small comfort.

Now Weston had found out an unknown apothecary, and with him concludes, for twenty pounds, to administer a clyster, wherein should be put mercury sublimed; the youth was to come to dye it; Weston prepares it, and persuades Sir Thomas that it will be much for his health; whereupon, about the fourteenth day of September, he brings the said apothecary to execute his office, assists him therein, and by the infusion thereof, he falls into a languishing disease, with a pain in his guts; the next day after, with extremity of pain, he gave up the ghost.

After his death, Weston receives the rest of his pay, and dispatches the unknown apothecary into France. After, it was given out, that Sir Thomas lived a base, loose life in the Tower, and not according to that strictness as became a prisoner; but being suffered to have too much liberty, he ran into excess of lasciviousness, so that thereby he got the pox, and thereof died. This went for current amongst some; amongst others that were ignorant, some little respect was had to it; but to others, that sought narrower into the matter, they found it far otherwise, for De la Bell, the apothecary before spoken of, having relation to him, a little before his death, reported, he was changed in his complexion, his body consumed away, and full of yellow blisters, ugly to look upon; and it appeared, by a letter my lord of Northampton wrote unto Rochester, to pick a thank, that there was found in his arm a blister, and upon his belly twelve kernels raised, not like to break, each as broad as three-pence, and as big as a small button; one issue upon his back, whereupon was a plaister from his shoulder downward, of a dark tawny colour, strange and ugly to behold; he stunk so intolerably, as was not to be borne withal, being thrown in a loose sheet into his coffin, and buried without knowledge or privacy of his friends upon Tower-hill; at last he concludes, that God is gracious in cutting off ill instruments before their time.

Some of the factious crew had a purpose, if he had got out, to have made some use of him; from whence may be gathered, how that Northampton held Protestants factious, and suspected Sir Thomas to have further knowledge of his secrets, than he would have had him: which was the cause, as was thought, besides the former evils, that hastened his end, and caused him to be taxed with so great infamy, as to die of the pox. This passed current, and the mischief lies concealed; who dare speak of it, two such great men having their hands in it?

Thus we may see, good and bad men come to miserable ends, and oftentimes those that are virtuous, do soonest suffer disgrace and contempt. This man, before he came to court, was brought up in all gentlemanlike qualities: in his youth, at Cambridge; after, in the Middle-Temple, there instructed in the qualities becoming a gentleman; by the intreaty of my lord treasurer, Sir Robert Cecil, preferred to court, found favour extraordinary; yet hindered of his expectation by some of his enemies, and, to shift off discontents, forced to travel, and therein spent not his time, as most do, to loss; but furnished himself with things fitting a statesman, by experience in foreign governments, knowledge of the language, passages of employment, external courtship, and good behaviour, things not common to every man: notwithstanding, such are the imperfections of our times, he is brought into ignominy and contempt, and all those good qualities are obscured, by the disgraceful reproaches of a dissolute woman. What shall we then say, since that vice and virtue do both end in misery? He is most happy that liveth most private; for, according to the saying of the poet,

*Vitam, animas, operam, sumptus, impendimus aula,
Præmia, pro meritis, quæ retributa putas?
Aula dedit nobis rescripta votata papyro,
Et sine mente sonos, & sine corde manus.
Paucos beavit, aula plures perdidit,
Sed & hos quoque ipsos, quos beavit, pendebit.*

Our lusts, our souls, our wealth we spend
In court to purchase praise;
But what reward it in the end
For our deserts repays?

There vows and protestations deep,
Not press'd in paper, but in mind;
There sounds of words do lull asleep,
From body forc'd, not from the mind;

Hands there we join, but not our hearts,
Whereby it happeneth few are blest,
And many thousands that resort
Unto the court, by it are lost.

And, of those few that blessed are,
We often see their fall again;
Their blessed days they spend in care,
And after end their lives in pain.

The complaint for want of treasure. The king sets many lands to fee-farm. The death of the Lord Harrington. The death of his son.

GREAT sums of money being disbursed upon her grace's wedding, and daily employments for others; some for Ireland; the lord treasurer wanting there to defray ordinary expences, some for the king's own use, and some for other occasions, causes a great complaint for want of treasure: officers at court go unpaid, and many of the king's servants receive not their wages at set times, so that the king is forced to set many of his lands to fee-farm, and the four deputy treasurers, with some few others, have the passing of them; now my Lord Harrington obtained a patent for the making of brass farthings, a thing that brought with it some contempt, though lawful; for all things lawful are not expedient; who being enjoined to go into the Low-Countries with her grace, by the way lost his life. His son succeeded both in honour and patent, and enjoyed them not long before he died: within a short time after, the hopefullest gentleman of that name, more fit for employments than for private life, and for a statesman than a soldier: he had been at Cambridge, there reputed for a great scholar; he travelled into Italy, Venice, and France; he employed his time, for the most part, in study, whereby he made himself apt for great matters. But yet it pleased God, even then, when he was in his greatest hope, to cut off his days: he gave all that he had to the countess of Bedford, his sister, defeating her neither of the land, nor the right of the barony, esteeming her to be worthy of much more than he had to leave. He made a worthy and godly end: these things coming so thick one after another, left no time for men to dream of Overbury's death.

The earl of Somerset's conscience accuseth him. Northampton's speech to him. He becometh a neuter in religion. The earl of Northampton's course.

A NULLITY being thus purchased, he dignified, as is said, and the match concluded about Candlemas, 1614, they marry with much joy and solemnity, a masque being performed at Somerset's charge, and many rumours pass without any respect: all these things notwithstanding, a guilty conscience can never go without accusation; pensiveness and fulness do possess the earl, his wonted mirth forsakes him, his countenance is cast down, he takes not that felicity in company as he was wont to do, but still something troubles him: verily, it is a dangerous thing to fall within the compass of a guilty conscience, it eateth and consumeth the soul of a man as rust doth iron, or as beating waves hollow the rocks; and though these things are not made publick, yet nevertheless Northampton observed it in him; having so admirable capacity, he could make use of all things; wherefore,

knowing his disease, viz. his mind galled with murder, and knowing the earl tractable, as he desired, he enters into more familiar discourse with him: for when the mind of a young man is corrupted with evil, he runs headlong into sin without stay or fear; wherefore, amongst many other discourses, this falls between them: that, in case the death of Sir Thomas Overbury should come to light, they were then in a most dangerous state; and the next thing they must expect is loss of life, goods, lands, honours, their names to be made scandalous to the world, and, to conclude, to be branded with an ignominious death; neither was there any way left for to escape this, but either by making their own fortunes so great, that they might oppose all accusations, or else, being catholicks, to endeavour, that, in defending them, they again might assist their cause, in case that any matter came against them; this carrying some shew and likelihood of truth, and, indeed, his case being desperate, if ever it should come to light, he concludes to combine with Northampton in whatsoever he should undertake, and, in conclusion, became a neuter in religion; whereupon, to the intent he might set up further evils on foot besides those before remembered, he begins to rip up the ancient quarrel between the Welch and the English, who now murmur at some discontents; and, to the intent to hearten on the Irish, sends letters thither, by the hands of one Hammon, a poor man, unto such whom he knows to be faithful in the Romish religion, and thereby confirms them in their opinion, assuring them that God will still provide one or more to protect his church, and that now the greatest favourite in England would stand for them; upon which letter the Irish grew obstinate, as I have said, and altogether neglect the service of God, and utterly deny the oath of supremacy, protesting loss of life and goods, rather than to be forced to so damnable a thing.

Now we see there the church utterly forsaken, none to hear divine service: the discipline of their own church established, and the Irish in general expecting a day to have their liberty and freedom in religion. The same man, returning this news, is also sent into Yorkshire with a black staff, and a knob upon the end, within which knob letters are conveyed from place to place, as well for appointing assemblies as meetings for mass, and entertaining of priests; now might a man go to mass in divers places of the city, and who were so publickly favoured as priests? Their number increase, their priests are entertained, confession in many places publickly practised, and although it was contrary to the law, yet greatness countenancing them, it was little regarded. In the mean time, quarrels went forward between the Scotch and English, continual complaints, and the suit of clothworkers, with hope of obtaining their request; not so much because of the profit, as to raise up a discontent between the Dutch and them. These courses caused divers men to pass divers opinions, and many men to pass their opinion as they affected either parties.

The

The rumours of the Spanish fleet. A proclamation against Spanish money. A leaguer in the Low-Countries. The publick rumours against my lord of Northampton. He exhibits a bill in the star-chamber against the publishers. They justified by my lord of Canterbury's speech. The death of my lord of Northampton; his funeral; his will. The names of those that succeeded him in his offices.

NOT long after it was rumoured abroad, that the Spaniard had drawn out a navy of ships of an hundred sail, but to what purpose no man knew; many suspected for England, because they were come so far upon those coasts; others said, for the use of the mariners to accustom them to sea; but most of all were of opinion that these were but shadows, and that the Spaniard was to have taken advantage of the time. Howsoever, upon this there followed a proclamation against Spanish money, that their money should not go current in England, which caused many to suspect worse than the worst, and some said one thing, some another: upon the neck of that come wars in the Low Countries, some say against the Palsgrave, others against the state. The Scots begin to fly out in rebellion, and are suppressed. The wild Irish in Ireland begin to stir, sometimes thirty, sometimes forty, sometimes three hundred, fly out and stand upon their guard. These things minister occasion of wonder to the ignorant, and many of them, who knew the truth of things, knew not what to say to it. Priests come into the kingdom by tens, fiftens, twenty at a time, and have free access, so that my lord of Northampton being warden of the Cinque Ports, begins to be called into question: some say he hath a hand in those things; others say, he lets priests have their free access, and that in Bloomsbury, amongst his own buildings, they have free harbour; others say, that through his countenance, thither any man might go to publick mass. Besides many other intelligences brought from beyond the seas, draw him further into suspicion, and the king begins to withdraw his favour from him; wherefore he exhibits his bill against such as defamed him, into the Star-Chamber: some are for this cause committed to the Tower, others to Newgate, others to the Fleet, till they come to their answer. And in the end, openly in the Star-Chamber he is accused for suffering priests to have free access into Yorkshire, under pretence of his office; for countenancing them, for sending letters to and again to encourage men in their opinions, and many other such like things.

And when my lords came to pass their voices, my lord of Canterbury, amongst the rest, made a speech to this effect; 'That although many have been the rumours and reports that had passed in these times, some of them shut up for uncertain truths and flying fables, then entertained for approved truths; yet, nevertheless, such things are grounded upon reason, and for which men of upright consciences have some occasion to speak; to have such either

'lightly valued or punished, was rather injustice, than any way befitting the equity of that court; but in truth these, whereof we now speak, are grounded upon some cause, and my lord's own letters make evident, that he hath done some things both against his own conscience and meaning, merely to attain unto honour and sovereignty, and to please the king.' And with that he pulls out a letter, written from my lord to Cardinal Bellarmine, to this effect:

'THAT howsoever the condition of the times compelled him, and his majesty urged him to turn Protestant, yet, nevertheless, his heart stood with the Papists, and that he would be ready to further them in any attempt. This and much more being read, to some purpose he proceeded, and shewed how that those things were not merely uncertain, but even the actions that followed them did justify them to be true. For there were never known to be so many priests to come over into this kingdom in so short a time, as of late there had done, neither could he assure himself that my lord was true-hearted unto the state. Also he harboured such about him, as would undertake to write in defence of the gunpowder-treason.'

This and much more being said, about the latter end of Easter term, in the year 1614, my lord, being hereat much discouraged, after the court broke up, took his barge, went to Greenwich, and there made his will, wherein he published himself to die in the faith he was baptized; made some of his servants his executors, and others he bestowed gifts upon; his fair house he disposed to my lord chamberlain, his lands to my Lord Theophilus Howard; retired back to his house at London, and before Midsummer term following was dead.

Many were the rumours that were raised of this man after his death: that he was a traitor to the state, and that he was not dead, but carried beyond sea to blind the world; and the reason was, because he would be buried at Dover, and not at London.

Others say, that if he had lived he would have been the author of much stir; many dislike him, and, as was reported, even the king himself towards his latter end, which made him to fall into these courses; but truly he was a notable politician, and carried things more commodiously for the Papists, than ever any before him. His funeral was kept privately at Rochester, where he desired to be buried, because it was the chief port-town of his office, without any state to outward appearance. My lord treasurer, that now is, succeeded him in his treasurer-ship. My lord of Somerset is made chancellor of Cambridge. My Lord Zouch, warden of the Cinque-Ports. My lord of Worcester, some short time after, lord privy seal. These succeeded him in his offices.

The clothworkers obtain their petition. The old charter of the merchant-adventurers is seized into the king's hands.

The Dutch grow discontented at it. The doubtfulness of Somerset's mind. He sues for his pardon; obtains it. My lord chancellor refuseth to seal it. Falls into suspicion. Begins to be neglected.

THE clothworkers still persisting in their suit, and having such strong friends to stand for them, and Alderman Cocking, a rich merchant, to back them, they at length obtained what they desired, and proclamation goes forth, That no more white cloth shall go over undyed, or undressed; and, for this purpose, the old charter of the merchant-adventurers is seized into the king's hands, so that the company fall to decay. Now the Dutchmen they begin to murmur against the English, and make proclamation there, that no man shall buy any such cloths as come over so dressed and dyed: whereupon the English make a new proclamation, That no man shall transport wool out of the kingdom. These things fed some with hope of some further troubles; yet, nevertheless, it is so ordered by the council, that all things are pacified, and some quantity, amounting to a certain number of white cloths, are suffered to be transported, as well to give content to the Hollanders, as satisfaction and employment to some young merchants that had entered into this trade, by which means these clamours are a little stayed; yet, nevertheless, great impression of envy is between these two countries.

Now, one of the greatest friends that Somerset had, being dead, and himself still jealous of his safety, he begins to cast about how he might avoid the danger of the law; for his intelligencers gave him notice of many desperate words, that were uttered concerning Overbury's death; whereupon, finding the king in a good humour, he moves him to this effect: That, whereas it had pleased his majesty to commit many things into his charge, and some of them proving something too weighty for him to undergo, it was so, that ignorantly he run himself into a *præmunire*, whereby he had forfeited to him both his lands, goods, and liberties; and that he came now to surrender them all up into his majesty's hands, unless it pleased him, of his wonted favour towards him, to grant him pardon for that, and many other offences that he had ignorantly committed. The king, still bearing a good affection towards him, bade him draw out his pardon, and he would sign it; whereupon he makes his repair to Sir Robert Cotton, and intreats him to look him a pardon, the largest he could find in former precedents: so he brings him one, that was made by the pope to Cardinal Wolsey; the effect of which was,

'That the king of his mere motion and special favour, did pardon all and all manner of treasons, misprisions of treasons, murders, felonies, and outrages whatsoever, by the said Sir Robert Carr, earl of Somerset, committed, or hereafter to be committed; with many other words, to make it more ample and large, according to form; which he caused to be drawn and ingrossed, and brought it unto the king. The king signs it; at length it comes to my lord chan-

cellor's hands; he peruses it, and refuses to let it pass the seals. My lord asks the reason. Answer was made, that he could not justify the doing of it, but that he should incur a *præmunire*, as well as himself. This struck Somerset to the heart, and then he was in greater doubt, than ever he was before; for still he is stung with fear to be touched with Overbury's death, and so very pensively returns to Whitehall, and there remains.

The king coming to London, my lord chancellor acquainted him with the pardon, and shewed the king what danger he had incurred, in case he had sealed it. The king, perceiving the truth of the business, suspecting some greater matter, than he knew of, withdraws his countenance from Somerset, who, now wanting virtue to support his greatness, without the king's favour, falls into the contempt of many; and those, that are his enemies, neglect him, and do, as it were, deride his manner of carriage; by which means he runs headlong into his own perdition, as shall be hereafter shewed.

My lord chancellor is sued in the star-chamber, for being within the compass of a præmunire. The king goes to Cambridge. A breach about Ignoramus. My Lord Coke stands against my lord chancellor. The king graces Sir George Villiers, and bestows great honours upon him. Somerset's courses to conceal Overbury's death. His covetousness. His insolency. He is crossed by Villiers. The report of the vulgar.

IN this year (1614) the king, by the intreaty of Somerset, determined to go to Cambridge, and there was entertained with great solemnity; but, amongst the rest, there was a play, called by the name of *Ignoramus*, that stirred up a great contention between the common lawyers and the scholars, insomuch that their flouts grew unsufferable; but at last it was stayed by my lord chancellor, and the explaining of the meaning.

About this time it happened, that, divers citizens having recovered certain sums of money in the King's Bench, and thereof having had judgment against the party, the defendant, he, nevertheless, exhibits his bill into the Chancery, to have relief of the plaintiffs at the common law; having already had judgment of the same matter, there stands out, and disobeyes the king's process; whereupon a writ of contempt issues against them, they are taken, committed to the Fleet, and there continue in their obstinacy; nevertheless, not long after, upon some advice, they exhibit their bill into the star-chamber against my lord, pretending, that he ought not to intermeddle with any matters that were already determined at the common law, and whereof a judgment had been passed; and this was ordained by the statute of 4 Hen. IV. cap. 23. whereby it was enacted, That judgment, given in the king's court, shall not be examined in chancery, parliament, or elsewhere, until it be undone by attain, or error, &c. Now, my lord having laid them fast upon a bill exhibited before him,

him, and judgment being already given, that therefore my lord had incurred a *præmunire*, and humbly prayed relief in this case; many were the opinions of lawyers concerning this matter: some stood on my lord chancellor's side; some said the poor men had injury, and that they might justify what they had done; and, amongst many, my Lord Coke stood out very stiffly, that my lord chancellor could not justify that action: and thus it stood still in question, Whether my lord be in a *præmunire*, or no?

My lord of Somerset, continuing still in his loose courses, and utterly neglecting that severity, that ought to be in a man of his place, besides the former suspicions and jealousies, gives occasion of others also, whereby the king doth more and more fall into dislike, there being at this time about the court a young gentleman, that, not long before, had arrived from his travels out of France; his name was Villiers, a Leicestershire gentleman, and of an ancient house; who, as well in respect of carriage, as of his countenance, was more remarkable than many others. On this man the king casts a particular affection, holding him to be the properest and best deserving gentleman of England; whereupon he entertained him into favour, bestowed a thousand pounds upon him, and afterwards adorned him with the title of knighthood. And now he begins to grow every day more eminent than other; greater honours are bestowed upon him, as, the dignity to be knight of the garter, and master of the horse: places not common to every person, and so much the more remarkable, because they are bestowed upon him, being so young in years; his wisdom is commended of the wisest, and his expectations greater, than many that went before him.

This stings Somerset to the heart, to see another step to his place; he more fears his subversion and downfall; wherefore he goes about to circumvent danger, and for this purpose sends into France, to make away the apothecary, that administered the physick that killed Sir Thomas, endeavouring to get in all letters and writings that had passed concerning the business, and disgracing and discountenancing all such as at any time once spoke of the death of Overbury, to the intent that it might be concealed and kept close; but what God will have disclosed, shall never be concealed: messengers are sent from place to place; he being a privy-counsellor, and in favour, his warrant passes current, so that in all places trunks, chests, boxes, studies, diaries, and such houses, wherein he suspected any letters, or other matters that appertained to that mischief, lay hid, were broken open and searched, to the intent that they might bring some writings to my lord; yet nevertheless many, and more than were dreamed on, of those letters, came to my lord of Canterbury's hand, and my lord Coke's, so that those courses makes him rather more suspected, than any whit at all eased his grief.

At home in his office using extraordinary covetousness and parsimony, he thereby heaped up to himself great store of money, and would not undertake any

enterprise, unless he was well rewarded for his pains; every new occasion and occurrence, that came to his hands, brought him in also a fleece of money. Offices in court in his gift were not bestowed without money, the king's letters not purchased without money, no pardon without money, so that he was as great a bribe-taker, as his mother the countess of Suffolk, and many rumours and hard reports were spread on him for the same; yet nevertheless he still continued his favour, in despite, as a man may say, of his opposites, even unto the greatest dignity, which caused him to be as proud as covetous, and to commit as many insolencies, as he had received secret bribes. He thought it no matter to lean on the cushion in publick to check some of the nobility; and amongst the rest to make a flat breach with my lord of Canterbury, a grave and reverend gentleman, one of the pillars of this kingdom, and that could discern the follies of this young man. Thus, admiring of his own worth, he works his own subversion, and by these insolencies plucking more evils upon his head, and daily adding more enemies, to those that before he had deserved.

These things laid him open to the envy of the greatest; and Sir George Villiers, seeing his exceeding covetousness, having now the ears of the king, would oftentimes cross his expectations, as it is credibly reported, and deceive him of many a bribe which he hoped for, doing those things voluntarily, and for thanks, which my lord would not have spoken of without much money. These courses laid him open to the contempt of the vulgar also: and now all men, according to their custom, began to exclaim of his great extortion. Thus may we see him falling.

Overbury's death called into question. Weston sent for; and, by my Lord Coke examined, stands out; upon my lord of London's persuasion, confesseth all. The earl and countess attached; they deny the deed. Sir Thomas Monson committed to the Tower. Sir Walter Raleigh and the countess of Shrewsbury set at liberty. The death of the Lady Arabella. The conviction of the earl and countess: the manner of their arraignment, and the many rumours that were spread upon these things.

THE death of Overbury having now lain concealed about two years, and the earl's insolence growing every day greater than other, procures him many more enemies, as is said; yet there was no man that was so hardy, for fear of the king's displeasure, he carrying a very good affection still towards him, to make him acquainted with it, or bring it to the trial of the law. At last, for divers are the rumours how it was discovered, one was, that Sir Thomas Overbury's man petitioned my Lord Coke, and the substance of the petition was, to let his lordship understand that whereas his master had been committed to the Tower by the consent of Northampton and Somerset, and there languished to death unnaturally; that, if it pleased his lordship to call one Weston before him, he might gather that out of him that might discover the whole plot

and practice. Others say that my lord of Canterbury, having conceived, as is said, some dislike against Somerset, and willing to make himself gracious with the king, possessed Sir Ralph Winwood with the business, one that was preferred to be secretary under my lord of Somerset, and to assist him, and lets him understand the whole matter, as hath been related; and that many letters came unto his hands, and presumptions therein that it should be true; and there remained a trunk in such a place, wherein many writings, are contained, that would make evident the truth. Sir Ralph, being willing likewise to become more eminent with the king, possessed him with the business, and proceeding upon a confident ground, a warrant was sent to my Lord Coke to prosecute the matter. Others say, that by the loss of a letter it was disclosed; and divers opinions there were, how it should come to light, it having been kept close so long: for things of this nature, when they are so long concealed, bring more wonder; but, howsoever it was made known, my Lord Coke, by virtue of his warrant, sent for Weston to come before him, and examined him upon divers articles concerning this subject, and persuaded him, intreated him, and threatened him to tell the truth: Weston stood out, and would not; thus he persisted, for a week or fortnight; many men urged him to it; accusers were brought before him, and deposed upon their oaths, That whatsoever was objected against him was true; this little prevailed.

At last, my lord of London went to him, and, by his persuasions, he tells all: how Mrs. Turner and the countess came acquainted; what relation she had to witches, forcerers, and conjurers; that Northampton, Somerset, Franklin, the Monfons, and Yelvis had their hands in that business; whereupon they were all apprehended, some sent to the Tower, others to Newgate. Having thus confessed this evil, being convicted according to the course of law, he was had to Tyburn to be hanged, and there Sir Hides, and others, imagining this to be but a fable, and that he was hired to accuse those persons (for who, almost, would have believed it?) examine him at the gallows; and, upon his examination, he justified what he had done, to the great wonder of all those that stood by and heard it. After him Mrs. Turner, after her Franklin, then Sir Jervase Yelvis, upon their arraignments of the facts, were found guilty, and hanged, all very penitent and sorrowful for what was done.

To write the particulars of their arraignments, confessions, and the manner of their deaths is needless, being common. Now the countess and the earl are attached, and committed to protection; one to the dean of Westminster, the other to the sheriff of London; and, according to the course of such cases, there are great reports raised, watch and ward kept more than ordinary, and the guard more observant. This makes the king stand amazed, and to imagine there is no truth in men; he grows more jealous of himself than heretofore, because his only favourite, and that as it were, in his bosom, should be intrapped in such

an evil: and the tongues of the vulgar began to walk; some say, that Northampton and Somerset had combined with the Spaniard, for a some of money, to deliver them up the navy, and that Sir William Monson, vice-admiral, should have done it the next spring: that the king and the whole state, should have been poisoned at the christening of the countess's child, for she was then with child; and many more the like rumours were spread, not worth relating, to the intent to incense the people the more against them, and to make the matter more heinous and grievous to the world. At this time the Lady Arabella died, a matter more remarkable than was observed, and gave some occasion of speech to many, but yet, nevertheless, passed over in silence.

These hurlyburlies being grown somewhat calm, and the minds of men a little settled, the countess, and others authorized for that purpose, were examined; and my Lord Coke was the man that pressed the evidence against them, which, as it was thought, procured some great enemies; twenty-two articles were objected against them. Somerset pleaded ignorance, and that these objections were mere tricks to intrap him, and set the king against him; the same answer was in the countess, and that it might rather proceed out of envy, than for any just cause. They cause it to be given out, that their accusations were wrongful, and none were accused, but such as were the greatest favourites to the king, so that there was much ado to little purpose. At last, when they heard that Weston, Turner, Franklin, and Yelvis were all hanged, and that they had confessed the matter, the countess, being brought before the council, confessed the whole truth; but Somerset stood to it still, that he was not an agent in it, and that these accusations did nothing touch him, and therefore he ought to be excused.

Nevertheless, his lands and goods were committed to custody, part to my lord treasurer, and part to others, to the king's use: the money, plate, and jewels, which he had heaped up together, amounted, by report, unto two hundred thousand pounds, his lands nineteen thousand pounds *per annum*, and the king bestowed many of them upon the prince. There was little speech of this, in respect that both person and matter, wherein he was an agent, were both envied and facinorous; neither was there any that pitied him, but most said, that he had but his just deserts, for the injuries and wrongs that he offered unto Essex.

The arraignment was put off, and, in the mean time, Sir Walter Raleigh was set at liberty. This man had continued in the Tower now almost ten years a condemned person, for a plot intended against his majesty at his first coming in; he bore a great envy against Somerset, because he had begged his lands of the king, and got them into his possession, giving him many taunts, during the time he was in the Tower. These two accidents happening beyond expectation (the one being the especial favourite of the king, the other a condemned man; the one imprisoned, the other set at liberty) gave great occasion of speech and rumour, and so

so much the more wonder and admiration, because of Raleigh's wit and policy.

And this year also the countess of Shrewsbury, who was committed for being privy to the escape of the Lady Arabella, was set at liberty, and the earl, her husband, died, leaving the greatest part of his land unto his daughters; during all this time, that is, from Michaelmas term, unto the short vacation, between Easter and Trinity term, the arraignment was put off; some attributed the cause to be, because the countess was with child, and, in the mean time, was delivered of a daughter; some, that further proofs of uncertainties might be brought in; others, to give them longer time to consider on the matter, and that it was a great favour; I say, these rumours being published amongst the people, at length, the king authorised my lord chancellor to be high steward of England for the time being, and joined eight of his judges with him for his assistance, viz. the four judges of the King's-Bench, my lord chief justice of the Common-Pleas, Justice Nichols, my lord chief baron, and others of the barons, with power to call Somerset and the countess before them, to shew cause why they should not have sentence of death passed upon them for this offence committed, both against the laws of the land, and against the king, his crown and dignity. So, upon the twenty-fourth of May, in this year 1616, there being a seat royal placed at the upper end of Westminster-hall, a little short of the King's-Bench, and seats made round about it, for the rest of the justices and peers to sit on, and a little cabin built close by the Common-Pleas, for the prisoners, when they came from the Tower, to be put to rest them in, they proceed to the trial after this manner: as soon as my lord high steward, with great state, came into Westminster-hall, with his assistants the judges, divers lords and gentlemen attending, and four serjeants at arms before him, ascending a little gallery made of purpose to keep off the croud, he takes his seat, and the rest of the assistants and peers, according to their places. This being done, after silence proclaimed, one of the heralds at arms reaches the high steward's patent, and delivers it to the clerk of the crown to read it; after, Sir Ralph Coningsby reaches him the staff, and is there present, according to his place, to give attendance.

After the patent read, and proclamation for silence, and that the accusers should come in, the prisoners were sent for by the clerk of the exchequer, whose office it was to attend the prisoners: this being done, and the prisoners placed at the bar, Sir Henry Fanshawe reads the indictment, to which the countess pleaded guilty, and confessed the fact: but Somerset pleaded not guilty, and had time from ten of the clock to clear himself; much was said, but to little purpose: at last the peers, having conferred of the matter, return their verdict, laying their hands upon their breasts, and swearing by their honours (for they do not make an oath as ordinary jurors do) that he was guilty of the murder and poisoning of Sir Thomas Overbury, whereupon my lord high steward pronounced sentence

of death against him; and so he was had back to the Tower, where he remaineth at the mercy of the king. This man may justly say as Pope Barbarossa said, when he was put from the popedom:

*Qui modo summus eram, latatus nomine, præsul,
Tristis & abjectus, nunc mea fata gemo.
Excelsus solio nuper versabar in alto,
Cunctaque gens pedibus oscula prona dabant;
Nunc ego pænarum fundo deculcor in imo,
Vultum deformem pallidaque ora gero.
Omnibus e terris aurum mihi sponte ferebant,
Sed nec gaza juvat, nec quis amicus adest.
Sic varians fortuna vices adversa secundis
Subdit & ambiguus nomine ludit atro;
Cedit in exemplum cunctis quos gloria tollit,
Vertice de summo mox ego papa cado.*

Lo here I am, that some time took delight
in name of pope;
Now, being sad and abject, do bewail
my fate and hope;
Of late preferr'd, I did converse with state-
ly pomp and grace,
And every nation to my feet their
ready kisses place:
But now in dungeon deep am thrown of pains
in mortal fear,
A countenance pale, a body lean, deform'd
with grief I bear.
From all parts of the earth they brought me
gold without constraint,
But now no gold nor precious stones nor friends
can ease my plaint.
So variable fortune is so nice
to great attempts,
So subject and so doubtful too, so ad-
verse in events,
That Atys with our name doth play, as with
a tennis-ball;
For, being lifted up with fame, the great-
er is our fall:
Let this example be to such, whom for-
tune doth advance,
That they, as I by popedom fell, may fall
by like mischance.

For we cannot read of any that ever was so great a favourite as Somerset, neither the Spencers with Edward the Second, nor the earl of Warwick with Henry the Sixth, nor the duke of Suffolk with Henry the Eighth, as this man was with the king; neither was there any that ever came to so sudden and unexpected a fall.

They therefore, that do but rightly consider this discourse, shall find in it three things worthy observation:

First, That neither honour nor wealth, are any certain inheritance, but occasion (unless God be merciful unto us) for the devil to pick a quarrel against us, to bring us to infamy.

Secondly, That God never leaves murder (though never so closely carried) unpunished.

Lastly, That there were never known, in so short a time, so many great men to die with suspicion of poison and witchcraft; viz. First, my lord treasurer, the prince, my Lord Harrington, his son, Overbury, and Northampton; besides these, which are no less than six, others within three years and an half, and the two Monfons, which yet remain untied.

Sir Francis Bacon's speech at the arraignment of the earl of Somerset.

IT may please your grace, my lord high steward of England, and you my lords the peers, you have here before you Robert earl of Somerset to be tried for his life, concerning the procuring and consenting to the imprisonment of Sir Thomas Overbury, then the king's prisoner in the Tower of London, as an accessory before the fact.

I know your hopes cannot behold this nobleman, but you must remember the great favours which the king hath conferred on him, and must be sensible, that he is yet a member of your body, and a peer as you are, so that you cannot cut him off from your body but with grief; and therefore you will expect from us, that give in the king's evidence, found and sufficient matter of proof, to satisfy your honours and consciences.

As for the manner of the evidence, the king our master who (amongst his other virtues, excelleth in that virtue of the imperial throne which is justice) hath given us command, that we should not expatiate, nor make invectives, but materially pursue the evidence, as it conduceth to the point in question.

A matter, that, though we are glad of so good a warrant, yet we should have done of ourselves; for far be it from us, by any strains, or wit of arts, to seek to play prizes, or to blason our names in blood, or to carry the day otherwise than upon sure grounds; we shall carry the lanthorn of justice, which is the evidence, before your eyes upright, and to be able to save it from being put out with any grounds of evasion or vain defences; that is our parts, and within that we shall contain ourselves, not doubting at all, but that the evidence itself will carry that force, as it shall need no advantage, or aggravation.

First, My lords, the course that I will hold in delivering of that which I shall say, for I love order, is this: First, I will speak somewhat of the nature and greatness of the offence, which is now to be tried, not to weigh down my lord with the greatness of it; but rather contrariwise to shew, that a great offence needs a good proof. And that the king, howsoever he might esteem this gentleman heretofore, as the signet upon his finger (to use the scripture phrase) yet, in such a case as this, he was to put him off.

Secondly, I will use some few words touching the nature of the proofs, which in such a case are competent.

Thirdly, I will state the proofs.

And, lastly, I will produce the proofs, either out of examination, and matters of writing, or witnesses *viva voce*.

For the offence itself, is of crimes next unto high treason the greatest, it is the foulest of felonies: it hath three degrees of stages. First, It is murder by im poisoning. Secondly, It is murder committed upon the king's prisoner in the Tower. Thirdly, I might say, that it is murder under the colour of friendship, but that it is a circumstance moral, and therefore I leave that to the evidence itself.

For murder, my lords, the first record of justice, which was in the world, was judgment upon a murder, in the person of Adam's first-born Cain; and though it was not punished by death, but with banishment, and a mark of ignominy, in respect of the primogenitors, or the population of the world, yet there was a severe charge given, that it should not go unpunished.

So it appeareth likewise in scripture, that the murder of Abner by Joab, though it were by David respited, in respect of great services past, or reason of state, yet it was not forgotten.

But of this I will say no more, because I will not discourse: it was ever admitted and ranked in God's own tables, that murder is of offences, between man and man, next unto high treason, and disobedience to authority, which sometimes have been referred to the first table, because of the lieutenancy of God in princes the greatest.

For im poisoning, I am sorry it should be heard of in our kingdom: it is not *nostri generis nec sanguinis peccatum*: it is an Italian comit for the court of Rome, where that person, that intoxicateth the kings of the earth, is many times really and materially intoxicated and im poisoned himself. But it hath three circumstances, which makes it grievous beyond other matters: the first is, that it takes a man away in full peace, in God's and the king's peace, that thinks no harm, but is comforting of nature with refection and food, so that, as the scripture saith, *his table is made a snare*.

The second is, That it is easily committed, and easily concealed; and, on the other side, hardly prevented, and hardly discovered: for murder by violence, princes have guards, and private men have houses, attendants, and arms; neither can such murder be committed, but *cum sonitu*, with some overt and apparent acts, that may discover and trace the offenders: but, for poison, the cup itself of princes will scarce serve, in regard of many poisons, that neither discolour nor distaste: it comes upon a man when he is careless, and without respect; and every day a man is within the gates of death.

And the last is, Because it concerneth not only the destruction of the maliced man, but of every man, *Quis modo tutus erit?* For many times the poison is prepared for one, and is taken by another, so that men die other men's deaths, *Cecidit infelix alieno vulnere*, and is, as the Psalmist calleth it, *Sagitta nocte volans*,
The

The arrow that flieth by night, that hath no aim nor certainty; and therefore, if any man shall say to himself, Here is great talk of im poisoning, but I am sure I am safe, for I have no enemies, neither have I any thing another man should long for: why, that is all one, he may sit next him at the table, that is meant to be im poisoned, and pledge him of his cup: as we may see in the example of 21 Hen. VIII. that, where the purpose was to poison one man, there was poison put into barm or yeast, and with that barm pottage or gruel was made, whereby sixteen of the bishop of Rochester's servants were poisoned; nay, it went into the alms-basket likewise, and the poor at the gate were poisoned. And therefore, with great judgment, did the statute made that year, touching this accident, make im poisoning high treason; because it tends to the dissolving of human society; for whatsoever offence does so, is, in the nature thereof, high treason.

Now, for the third degree of this particular offence, which is, That it is committed upon the king's prisoner, who was out of his own defence, and merely in the king's protection, and for whom the king and the state were a kind of respondent: it is a thing that aggravates the fault much, for certainly, my lord of Somerset, let me tell you this, that Sir Thomas Overbury is the first man that was murdered in the Tower of London, save the murder of the two young princes, by the appointment of Richard the Third.

Thus much of the offence; now to the proofs.

For the nature of proofs, you may consider, that im poisoning, of all offences, is the most secret; even so secret, as that if, in all cases of im poisoning, you should require testimony, you should as good proclaim impunity.

Who could have impeached Livia by testimony, for the poisoning of the figs upon the tree, which her husband was wont to gather with his own hands? Who could have impeached Parasitis for the poisoning of the knife she carried with her, and keeping the other side clean, so that she herself did eat of the same piece of meat they did, whom she did im poison?

These cases are infinite, and need not to be spoken of the secrecy of im poisoning; but wise men must take upon them in these secret cases Solomon's spirit, that when there could be no witnesses, collected the act by the affection: but yet we are not at our cause, for that, which your lordships are to try, is not the act of im poisoning, for that is done to your hands; all the world by law is concluded to say, that Overbury was poisoned by Weston; but the question before you is of the procurement only, and, as the law termeth it, as accessory before the fact, which abetting is no more, but to do or use any act or means, which may aid or conduce to the im poisoning.

So that it is not the buying, nor the making of the poison, nor the preparing, nor confecting, nor commixing of it, nor the giving, or sending, or laying of the poison, that are the only acts that do amount unto the abetment; but, if there be any other act or means done or used to give opportunity of im poisoning, or

to facilitate the execution of it, or to stop, or divert, any impediments that might hinder it and that it be with an intention to accomplish and achieve the im poisoning; all these are abetments and accessories before the fact: as for example, if there be a conspiracy to murder a man, as he journeyeth on the way, and it be one man's part to draw him forth to that journey by invitation, or by colour of some business; and another takes upon him to dissuade some friend of his company, that he is not strong enough to make his defence; and another hath a part to hold him in talk, till the first blow be given; all these, my lords, without scruple, are accessories to the murder, although none of them give the blow, nor assist to give the blow.

My lords, he is not the hunter alone, that lets slip the dog upon the deer, but he that lodgeth him, and hunts him out, or sets a train or trap for him, that he cannot escape, or the like.

But this, my lords, little needeth in this case; for such a chain of acts of im poisoning as this, I think was never heard nor seen.

And thus much of the nature of the proofs.

To descend to the proofs themselves, I shall keep this course:

First, I will make a narration of the fact itself.

Secondly, I will break and distribute the proofs, as they concern the prisoner.

And, thirdly, According to the distribution, I will produce them, or read them to use them.

So that there is nothing I shall say, but your lordship shall have free thought or cogitations to answer it.

First, When I open it, you may take your aim.

Secondly, When I distribute it, you may prepare your answers without confusion.

And, lastly, When I produce the witnesses, or the examinations themselves, you may again ruminat, and re-advise to make your defence.

And this I do, that your memory and understanding may not be oppressed or overlaid with length of evidence, or with confusion of order; nay more, when your lordship shall make your answer in your time, I will put you in mind, where cause shall be, of your omission.

First, therefore, Sir Thomas Overbury, for a time, was known to have great interest and strict friendship with my lord of Somerset, both in his meaner fortunes, and afterwards, inasmuch that he was a kind of oracle of direction unto him; and, if you will believe his own vaunts, being indeed of an insolent and thraconical disposition, he took upon him, that the fortunes, reputation, and understanding of this gentleman, who is well known to have an able teacher, proceeded from his company and counsel: and this friendship rested not only in conversation and business at court, but likewise in communication of secrets of state; for my lord of Somerset, exercising at that time, by his majesty's special favour and trust, the office of secretary provisionally, did not forbear to acquaint Overbury with the king's packets and dispatches from all parts of Spain, France, and the Low-Countries; and

and this not by glimpses, or now and then rounding in the ear for a favour, but in a settled manner. Pacquets were sent, sometimes opened by my lord, sometimes unbroken, unto Overbury, who perused them, copied them, registered them, and made table-talk of them, as they thought good. So, I will undertake, the time was, when Overbury knew more of the secrets of state than the council-table did; nay, they were grown to such inwardness, that they made a play of all the world besides themselves, so as they had cyphers and jargons for the king and queen, and great men of the realm; things seldom used, but either by princes, or their confederates, or at least by such as practise and work against, or at least upon princes.

But understand me, my lord, I shall not charge you with disloyalty this day; and I lay this for a foundation, That there was great communication of secrets between you and Sir Thomas Overbury, and that it had relation to matters of state and the great causes of this kingdom.

But, my lords, as it is a principle in nature, That the best things are in their corruption the worst, and the sweetest wine maketh the fowrest vinegar; so fell it out with them, that this excess, as I may say, of friendship, ended in mortal hatred, on my lord of Somerset's part.

I have heard my lord steward say sometimes in chancery, That frost and fraud end foul; and I may add a third, and that is the friendship of ill men, which is truly said to be conspiracy, and not friendship. For it fell out, about a twelvemonth, or more, before Overbury's imprisonment in the Tower, that the lord of Somerset fell into an unlawful love towards that unfortunate lady, the countess of Essex, and to proceed to a marriage with Somerset. This marriage and purpose did Overbury mainly impugn, under pretence to do the true part of a friend, for that he accounted her an unworthy woman.

But the plain truth was, Overbury, who, to speak plainly, had little that was solid for religion, or moral virtue, but was wholly possessed with ambition and vain-glory, was loth to have any partners in the favour of my lord of Somerset, and especially not any of the house of the Howards, against whom he had always professed hatred and opposition.

And, my lords, that this is no sinister construction, will appear to you, when you shall hear, that Overbury made his brags to my lord of Somerset, that he had won him the love of the lady by his letters and industry: so far was he from cases of conscience in this point.

And certainly, my lords, howsoever the tragical misery of this poor gentleman, Overbury, might somewhat obliterate his faults, yet, because we are not upon points of civility, but to discover the face of truth before the face of justice, for that it is material to the true understanding of the state of this cause, Overbury was naught and corrupt; the ballads must be mended for that point.

But to proceed: When Overbury saw, that he was like to be possessor of my lord's grace, which he had possessed so long, and by whose greatness he had promised himself to do wonders, and being a man of an unbounded and impudent spirit, he began not only to dissuade, but to deter him from the love of that lady, and, finding him fixed, thought to find a strong remedy; supposing that he had my lord's head under his girdle, in respect of communication of secrets of state; as he calls them himself, *Secrets of Nature*; and therefore dealt violently with him, to make him desist, with menaces of discovery, and the like. Hereupon grew two streams of hatred upon Overbury; the one from the lady, in respect that he crossed her love, and abused her name, which are furies in women; the other of a more deep nature, from my lord of Somerset himself, who was afraid of Overbury's nature, and that, if he did break from him, and fly out, he would wind into him, and trouble his whole fortunes. I might add a third stream of the earl of Northampton's ambition, who desires to be first in favour with my lord of Somerset, and, knowing Overbury's malice to himself, and to his house, thought that man must be removed and cut off; so as certainly it was resolved and decreed, that Overbury must die.

Hereupon they had variety of devices to send him beyond the seas, upon occasion of employment.

That was too weak, and they were so far from giving way to it, that they crossed it; there rested but two ways of quarrel, assault and poison. For that of assault, after some proposition and attempt, they passed from it, as a thing too open and subject to more variety of shame; that of poison likewise was an hazardous thing, and subject to many preventions and caution, especially to such a working and jealous brain as Overbury had, except he was first fast in their hands; therefore the way was first to get him into a trap and lay him up, and then they could not miss the mark; and, therefore, in execution of this plot, it was denied, that he should be designed to some honourable employment in foreign parts, and should underhand, by my lord of Somerset, be encouraged to refuse it; and so, upon contempt, he should be laid prisoner in the Tower; and then they thought he should be close enough, and death should be his bail, yet were they not at their end; for they considered, that, if there were not a fit lieutenant of the Tower for their purpose, and likewise a fit underkeeper of Overbury: first, They should meet with many impediments in the giving and the exhibiting of the poison. Secondly, They should be exposed to note an observation that might discover them. And, thirdly, Overbury, in the mean time, might write clamorous and furious letters to his friends, and so all might be disappointed. And, therefore, the next link of the chain was, to displace the then Lieutenant Wade, and to place Yelvis, a principal abettor in the imprisonment; to displace Carey, that was underkeeper in Wade's time, and to place Weston, that was the actor in the imprisonment. And this was done in such a while,

a while, that it may appear to be done, as it were, in a breath.

Then, when they had this poor gentleman in the Tower close prisoner, where he could not escape nor stir, where he could not feed but by their hands, where he could not speak or write but through their trunks, then was the time to act the last day of his tragedy.

Then must Franklin, the purveyor of the poison, procure five, six, seven several poisons, to be sure to hit his complexion: then must Mrs. Turner, the lay mistress of the poisons, advise what works at present, and what at a distance: then must Weston be the tormentor, and chace him with poison after poison, poison in salt meats, poison in sweet meats, poison in medicines and vomits, until, at last, his body was almost come, by use of poison, to the state of Mithridates's body, by the use of treacle, and preservatives, that the force of the poisons is blunted upon him; Weston confessing, when he was chid, for not dispatching him, that he had given him enough to poison twenty men.

And, lastly, because all this asked time, courses were taken by Somerset, both to divert all the true means of Overbury's delivery, and to entertain him with continual letters, partly with hopes and protestations for his delivery, and partly with other fables and negotiations, somewhat like some kind of persons which keep in a tale of fortune-telling, when they have a felonious intent to pick their pocket and purses.

And this is the true narration of this act, which I have summarily recited.

Now, for the distribution of the proofs, there are four heads to prove you guilty, whereof two are precedent to the imprisonment, the third is present, and the fourth is following or subsequent, for it is in proofs, as it is in lights; there is a direct light, and there is a reflexion of light, and a double light.

The first head or proof thereof is, that there was a root of bitterness, a mortal malice or hatred, mixed with a deep and bottomless mischief, that you had to Sir Thomas Overbury.

The second is, That you were the principal actor, and had your hand in all those acts, which did conduce to the imprisonment, and gave opportunity to effect it, without which, the imprisonment could never have been, and which could seem to tend to no other end, but to the imprisonment.

The third is, That your hand was in the very imprisonment itself; and that you did direct poison, and that you did deliver poison; and that you did continually hearken to the success of the imprisonment; and that you spurred it on, and called for dispatch, when you thought it lingered.

And, lastly, That you did all things after the imprisonment, which may detect a guilty conscience, for the smothering of it, and the avoiding of punishment for it, which can be but of three kinds.

That you suppressed, as much as in you was, testimony; that you did deface, destroy, clip, and misdate

all writings that might give light to the imprisonment; and you did fly to the altar of guiltiness, which is a pardon of murder, and a pardon for yourself, and not for yourself.

In this, my lord, I convert my speech unto you, because I would have you alter the points of your charge, and so make your defence the better.

And two of these heads I have taken to myself, and left the other to the king's two serjeants.

For the first main part, which is the mortal malice, coupled with fear, that was in you, to Sir Thomas Overbury, although you did palliate it with a great deal of hypocrisy and dissimulation, even to the very end: I will prove it, my lord steward, the root of this hate was that which cost many a man's life, that is, fear of discovering of secrets; I say, of secrets of a dangerous and high nature, wherein the course that I will hold shall be this:

I will shew that a breach and malice was betwixt my lord and Overbury, and that it burst forth into violent threats and menaces on both sides.

Secondly, That these secrets were not of a light, but an high nature, I will give you the elevation of the pole; they were such, as my lord of Somerset had made a vow, that Overbury should neither live in court, nor country; that he had likewise opened himself so far, that either he or himself must die for it; and of Overbury's part, he had threatened my lord, that, whether he did live or die, my lord's shame should never die; but that he would leave him the most odious man in the world: and, further, that my lord was like enough to repent where Overbury wrote, which was in the Tower of London; he was a prophet in that; so there is the highest of the secret.

Thirdly, I will shew you, that all the king's business was, by my lord, put into Overbury's hands, so as there is work enough for secrets, whatsoever they write them; and, like princes confederates, they had their cyphers and their jurgons.

And, lastly, I will shew you, that it was but a toy to say the malice was only in respect he spoke dishonourably of the lady, or for doubt of breaking the marriage, for that Overbury was coadjutor to that love, and the lord of Somerset was as deep in speaking ill of the lady, as Overbury: and, again, it was too late for that matter, for the bargain of the match was then made, and past; and, if it had been no more than to remove Overbury, for disturbing the match, it had been an easy matter to have landed over Overbury, for which they had a fair way, but that would not serve.

And, lastly, *periculum periculo vincitur*, to go so far as an imprisonment, must have a deeper malice than flashes, for the cause must have a proportion in the effect.

For the next general head, or proof, which consists in the acts preparatory, or middle acts, they are in eight several points of the compass, as I may term them.

First, There were divers devices and projects to fet Overbury's head on work to dispatch him, and to overthrow him, plotted between the countess of Somerset, the earl of Somerset, and the earl of Northampton, before they fell upon the imprisonment; for always, before men fix upon a course of mischief, there will be some rejection; but die he must, one way or other.

Secondly, That my lord of Somerset was principal practiser, I must speak it, in a most perfidious manner, to set a train and trap for Overbury to get into the Tower, without which, they durst not attempt the imprisonment.

Thirdly, That the placing of the Lieutenant Yelvis, one of the imprisoners, was done by my lord of Somerset.

Fourthly, That the placing of Weston, the under-keeper, who was the principal imprisoner, and the displacing of Carey, and the doing all this within the while of fifteen days after Overbury's commitment, was by the means and countenance of my lord of Somerset. And these were the active instruments of the imprisonment; and this was a business the lady's power could not reach unto.

Fifthly, That because there must be a cause of this tragedy to be acted, and chiefly because they would not have the poisons work upon the sudden, and for that the strength of Overbury's nature, or the very custom of receiving the poisons into his body, did overcome the poisons, that they wrought not so fast; therefore Overbury must be held in the Tower, as well as he was laid in; and, as my lord of Somerset got him into the trap, so he keeps him in, and abuses

him with continual hope of liberty; but diverted all the true and effectual means of his liberty, and makes light of his sickness and extremities.

Sixthly, That not only the plot of getting Overbury into the Tower, and the devices to hold and keep him there, but the strange manner of the close keeping of him, being in but for a contempt, was, by the device and means of my lord of Somerset, who denied his father to see him, denied his servants that offered to be shut up close prisoners with him, and, in effect, handled it so, that he made him close prisoner to all his friends, and exposed to all his enemies.

Seventhly, That all the advertisement the lady received from time to time, from the lieutenant, or Weston, touching Overbury's state of body, and health, were ever sent nigh to the court, though it were in progress, and that from my lady, such a thirst and listening he had to hear that he was dispatched.

Lastly, That there was a continual negotiation to set Overbury's head on work, that he should undertake to clear the honour of the lady, and that he should be a good instrument towards her, and her friends; all which was but entertainment: for your lordships shall see divers of my lord of Northampton's letters, whose hand was deep in this business, written, I must say, in dark words and clauses; that there was one thing pretended, and another thing intended. That there was a real charge, and somewhat not real; a main drift and dissimulation: nay, further, there are some passages, which the peers, in their wisdoms, will discern, to point directly at the imprisonment.

A brief Relation of certain special and most material Passages and Speeches in the Star-Chamber; occasioned and delivered, June the fourteenth, 1637, at the Censure of those three worthy Gentlemen, Dr. Bastwicke, Mr. Burton, and Mr. Prynne, as it hath been truly and faithfully gathered from their own Mouths, by one present at the said Censure.

BETWEEN eight and nine o'clock in the morning, the fourteenth of June, the lords being set in their places in the said court of Star-chamber, and casting their eyes upon the prisoners, then at the bar, Sir John Finch, chief justice of the Common Pleas, began to speak after this manner:

I had thought Mr. Prynne had had no ears, but methinks he hath ears, which caused many of the lords to take the stricter view of him; and, for their better satisfaction, the usher of the court was commanded to

turn up his hair and shew his ears; upon the sight whereof the lords were displeased they had been formerly no more cut off, and cast out some disgraceful words of him.

To which Mr. Prynne replied, My lords, there is never a one of your honours, but would be sorry to have your ears as mine are.

The lord keeper replied again, In good faith he is somewhat faucy.

I hope, said Mr. Prynne, your honours will not be offended, I pray God give you ears to hear.

The

The business of the day, said the lord keeper, is to proceed on the prisoners at the bar.

Mr. Prynne then humbly desired the court to give him leave to make a motion or two; which being granted, he moves,

First, That their honours will be pleased to accept of a cross bill against the prelates, signed with their own hands, being that which stands with the justice of the court, which he humbly craved, and so tendered it.

Lord Keeper. As for your cross bill, it is not the business of the day; hereafter if the court should see just cause, and that it favours not of libelling, we may accept of it; for my part I have not seen it, but have heard somewhat of it.

Mr. Prynne. I hope your honours will not refuse it, being it is on his majesty's behalf; we are his majesty's subjects, and therefore require the justice of the court.

Lord Keeper. But this is not the business of the day.

Mr. Prynne. Why then, my lords, I have a second motion, which I humbly pray your honours to grant, which is, That your lordships will be pleased to dismiss the prelates, here now sitting, from having any voice in the censure of this cause, being generally known to be adversaries, as being no way agreeable with equity or reason, that they, who are our adversaries, should be our judges; therefore we humbly crave they may be expunged out of the court.

Lord Keeper. In good faith, it is a sweet motion: Is it not? Herein you are become libellous; and, if you should thus libel all the lords and reverend judges, as you do the most reverend prelates, by this your plea, you would have none to pass sentence upon you for your libelling, because they are parties.

Mr. Prynne. Under correction, my lord, this doth not hold; your honour need not put that for a certainty which is an uncertainty; we have nothing to say to any of your honours, but only to the prelates.

Lord Keeper. Well, proceed to the business of the day: read the information.

Which was read, being very large, and these five books annexed thereunto, viz. A book of Dr. Bastwicke's written in Latin.

The second, a little book intitled, *News from Ipswich*. The third, intitled *A Divine Tragedy, recording God's fearful Judgments on Sabbath-breakers*. The fourth, Mr. Burton's book, intitled, *An Apology of an Appeal to the King's Most Excellent Majesty, with two Sermons for God and the King, preached on the fifth of November last*. The fifth and last, Dr. Bastwicke's Litany.

The king's council, being five, took each of them a several book, and descanted there, at the bar, upon them, according to their pleasure.

Mr. Attorney began first with Dr. Bastwicke's Latin book, picking out here, and there, particular conclusions, that best served for his own ends, as did all the other council, out of the former other books, to

the great abuse of the authors; as themselves there immediately complained, intreating them to read the foregoing grounds, upon which the said conclusions depended, without which they could not understand the true meaning of them.

Next unto the attorney, Serjeant Whitfield falls upon the Reverend Mr. Burton's book, who vented much bitterness against that unreprieveable book, as all that read it, with an honest and orthodox heart, may clearly perceive, swearing, in good faith, my lords, there is never a page in this book, but deserves a heavier and deeper censure than this court can lay upon him.

Next followed A. B. who in like manner descanted upon the *News from Ipswich*, charging it to be full of pernicious lyes, and especially vindicating the honour of Matthew Wren, bishop of Norwich, as being a learned, pious, and reverend father of the church.

In the fourth place follows the king's solicitor, Mr. Littleton, who acts his part upon the *Divine Tragedy*; to which part of it, concerning God's judgments on sabbath-breakers, he had little to say, but only put it off with a scoff, saying, That they sat in the seat of God, who judged those accidents, which fell out upon persons suddenly stricken, to be the judgment of God for sabbath-breaking, or words to the like effect; but enlarged himself upon that passage, which reflected upon that late reverend, as he termed him, and learned professor of the law, and his majesty's faithful servant. Mr. William Noy, his majesty's late attorney, who, as he said, was most shamefully abused by a slander laid upon him; which was, that it should be reported, that God's judgment fell upon him for so eagerly prosecuting that innocent person Mr. Prynne; which judgment was this, that he, laughing at Mr. Prynne, while he was suffering upon the pillory, was struck with an issue of blood in his privy part, which, by all the art of man, could never be stopped unto the day of his death, which was soon after: But the truth of this, my lords, saith he, you shall find to be as probable as the rest: for we have here three or four gentlemen, of good credit and rank, to testify, upon oath, that he had that issue long before: and thereupon made a shew, as if he would call for them in before the lords, to witness the truth thereof, with these particular words, Make room for the gentlemen to come in there, but no one witness was seen to appear; which was pretty delusion, and worth all your observations that read it; and so concluded, as the rest, that this book also deserved a heavy and deeper censure.

Lastly, follows Mr. Herbert, whose descant was upon Dr. Bastwicke's Litany, picking out one or two passages therein; and so drawing thence his conclusion, that, jointly with the rest, it deserved a heavy censure.

The king's council having all spoken what they could, the lord keeper said to the prisoners at the bar;

You hear, gentlemen, wherewith you are charged;
S f 2 and

and now, lest you should say, you cannot have liberty to speak for yourselves, the court gives you leave to speak what you can, with these conditions :

First, That you speak within the bounds of modesty.

Secondly, That your speeches be not libellous.

Prisoners. They all three answered, They hoped so to order their speech as to be free from any immodest or libellous speaking.

Lord Keeper. Then speak in God's name, and shew cause why the court should not proceed in censure, as taking the cause *pro confesso*, against you.

Mr. Prynne. My honourable good lords, such a day of the month, there came a subpoena from your honours, to enter my appearance in this court ; which being entered, I took forth a copy of the information ; which being taken, I was to draw my answer ; which I endeavoured to do, but, being shut up close prisoner, I was deserted of all means, by which I should have done it ; for I was no sooner served with the subpoena, but I was shortly after shut up close prisoner, with suspension of pen, ink, and paper ; which close imprisonment did eat up such a deal of my time, that I was hindered the bringing in of my answer : you did assign me council, it is true ; but they neglected to come to me, and I could not come to them, being under lock and key : then, upon my motion in court, ye gave me liberty to go to them ; but then, presently after that motion, I know not for cause, nor upon whose command, I was shut up again ; and then I could not compel my council to come to me ; and my time was short, and I had neither pen, nor ink, nor servant to do any thing for me ; for my servant was then also kept close prisoner, under a pursuivant's hands : this was to put impossibilities upon me. Then, upon a second motion for pen and ink, which was granted me, I drew up some instructions, and, in a fortnight's time, sent forty sheets to my council ; suddenly after, I drew up forty sheets more, and sent to them : my lord, I did nothing but by the advice of my council, by whom I was ruled in the drawing up of all my answer, and paid him twice for drawing it ; and some of my council would have set their hands to it. Here is my answer, I tender it upon my oath, which your lordships cannot deny with the justice of the court.

Lord Keeper. We can give you a precedent, that this court hath proceeded, and undertaken a cause, *pro confesso*, for not putting in an answer in six days ; you have had a great deal of favour shewed, in affording you longer time ; and therefore the court is free from all calumny, or aspersion, for rejecting your answer, not signed with the council's hands.

Mr. Prynne. But, one word or two, my lords, I desire your honours to hear me ; I put a case in law, that is often pleaded before your lordships : one man is bound to bring in two witnesses ; if both, or one of them fail, that he cannot bring them in. Doth the law, my lords, make it the man's act ? You assigned me two counsellors ; one of them failed, I cannot

compel him ; here he is now before you ; let him speak, if I have not used all my endeavours to have had him signed it ; which my other council would have done, if this would have set his hand to it with him ; and to have put in, long since.

Council. My lord, There was so long time spent, e're I could do any thing, after I was assigned his council, that it was impossible his answer could be drawn up in so short a time, as was allotted ; for, after long expectation, seeing he came not to me, I went to him, where I found him shut up close prisoner, so that I could not have access to him ; whereupon I motioned to the lieutenant of the Tower, to have free liberty of speech with him concerning his answer ; which being granted me, I found him very willing and desirous to have it drawn up ; whereupon I did move, in this court, for pen and paper ; which was granted : the which he no sooner had gotten, but he set himself to draw up instructions, and, in a short time, sent me forty sheets ; and, soon after, I received forty more ; but I found the answer so long, and of such a nature, that I durst not set my hand to it, for fear of giving your honours distaste.

Mr. Prynne. My lords, I did nothing, but according to the direction of my council ; only I spoke mine own words ; my answer was drawn up by his consent, it was his own act, and he did approve of it ; and, if he will be so base a coward, to do that in private, which he dares not acknowledge in publick, I will not such a sin lie on my conscience, let it rest with him. Here is my answer ; which, though it be not signed with their hands, yet here I tender it upon my oath, which you cannot in justice deny.

Lord Keeper. But, Mr. Prynne, the court desires no such long answer : Are you guilty or not guilty ?

Mr. Prynne. My good lords, I am to answer in a defensive way : Is here any one, that can witness any thing against me ? Let him come in. The law of God standeth thus : That a man is not to be condemned, but under the mouth of two or three witnesses. Here is no witness come in against me, my lord ; neither is there, in all the information, one clause, that doth particularly fall on me ; but only, in general, there is a book laid to my charge. And, Shall I be condemned for a particular act, when no accusation of any particular act can be brought against me ? This were most unjust and wicked. Here I tender my answer to the information, upon my oath : My lord, you did impose impossibilities upon me ; I could do no more, than I was able.

Lord Keeper. Well, hold your peace ; your answer comes too late : Speak you, Dr. Bastwicke.

Dr. Bastwicke. My honourable lords, Methinks you look like an assembly of gods, and sit in the place of God ; ye are called the *Sons of God* : and, since I have compared you to gods, give me leave a little to parallel the one with the other, to see, whether the comparison between God and you doth hold in this noble and righteous cause. This was the carriage of Almighty God, in the cause of Sodom : before he would

would pronounce sentence, or execute judgment, he would first come down, and see, whether the crime was altogether according to the cry that was come up. And with whom doth the Lord consult, when he came down? With his servant Abraham; and he gives the reason: *For I know, saith he, that Abraham will command his children and household after him, that they shall keep the way of the Lord, to do justice and judgment.* My good lords, thus stands the case between your honour and us, this day: there is a great cry come up into your ears against us from the king's attorney; why now be you pleased to descend, and see if the crime be according to the cry; and consult, with God, not the prelates (being the adversary-part, and, as it is apparent to all the world, do proudly set themselves against the ways of God, and from whom none can expect justice, or judgment) but with righteous men, that will be impartial on either side, before you proceed to censure; which censure you cannot pass on us, without great injustice, before you hear our answers read. Here is my answer, which I here tender upon my oath. My good lords, give us leave to speak in our own defence: We are not conscious to ourselves of any thing, we have done, that deserves a censure this day in this honourable court; but that we have ever laboured to maintain the honour, dignity, and prerogative royal of our sovereign lord the king. Let my lord the king live for ever! Had I a thousand lives, I should think them all too little to spend for the maintenance of his majesty's royal prerogative. My good lords, Can you proceed to censure, before you know my cause? I dare undertake, that scarce any one of your lordships have read my books; and, Can you then censure me for what you know not, and before I have made my defence? O, my noble lords, Is this righteous judgment? This were against the law of God and man, to condemn a man, before you know his crime. The governor, before whom St. Paul was carried (who was a very heathen) would first hear his cause, before he would pass any censure upon him: and, Doth it beseem so noble and christian an assembly to condemn me, before my answer be perused, and my cause known? Men, brethren, and fathers, Into what an age are we fallen! I desire your honours to lay aside your censure for this day, and inquire into my cause; hear my answer read; which if you refuse to do, I here profess, I will clothe it in Roman buff, and send it abroad into the view of all the world, to clear my innocency, and shew your great injustice, in this cause.

Lord Keeper. But this is not the business of the day: Why brought you not in your answer in due time?

Dr. Bastwicke. My lord, a long time since, I tendered it to your honour, I failed not in any one particular; and, if my council be so base and cowardly, that they dare not sign it, for fear of the prelates, as I can make it appear, Therefore have I no answer? My lord, here is my answer; which, though my coun-

cil, out of a base spirit, dare not set their hands unto, yet I tender it upon my oath.

Lord Keeper. But, Mr. Doctor, you should have been brief; you tendered in too large an answer, which, as I heard, is as libellous as your books.

Dr. Bastwicke. No, my lord, it is not libellous, though large; I have none to answer for me, but myself, and, being left to myself, I must plead my conscience, in answer to every circumstance of the information.

Lord Keeper. What say you, Mr. Doctor? Are you guilty, or not guilty? Answer, Yea or No; you needed not to have troubled yourself so much about so large an answer.

Dr. Bastwicke. I know, none of your honours have read my book: and can you, with the justice of the court, condemn me, before you know what is written in my books?

Lord Keeper. What say you to that was read to you even now?

Dr. Bastwicke. My lord, he, that read it, did so murder the sense of it, that, had I not known what I had written, I could not tell what to have made of it.

Lord Keeper. What say you to the other sentence read to you?

Dr. Bastwicke. That was none of mine; I will not father that, which was none of my own.

Lord Keeper. Did not you send that book, as now it is, to a nobleman's house, together with a letter directed to him?

Dr. Bastwicke. Yes, my lord, I did so; but, withal, you may see, in my epistle set before the book, I did at first disclaim what was not mine; I sent my book over by a Dutch merchant; who it was that wrote the addition, I do not know; but my epistle, set to my book, made manifest what was mine, and what was not; and I cannot justly suffer for what was none of mine.

Lord Arundel. My lord, you hear, by his own speech, the cause is taken *pro confesso*.

Dr. Bastwicke. My noble lord of Arundel, I know you are a noble prince in Israel, and a great peer of this realm: there are some honourable lords in this court, that have been forced out as combatants in a single duel. It is between the prelates and us, at this time, as between two that have appointed the field; the one, being a coward, goes to the magistrate, and, by virtue of his authority, disarms the other of his weapons, and gives him a bulrush, and then challenges him to fight. If this be not base cowardice, I know not what belongs to a soldier. This is the case between the prelates and us: they take away our weapons (our answers) by virtue of your authority, by which we should defend ourselves, and yet they bid us fight. My lord, Doth not this favour of a base, cowardly spirit? I know, my lord, there is a decree gone forth (for my sentence was passed long since) to cut off our ears.

Lord

Lord Keeper. Who shall know our censure, before the court pass it? Do you prophesy of yourselves?

Dr. Bastwicke. My lord, I am able to prove it, and that from the mouth of the prelates own servants, that, in August last, it was decreed, That Dr. Bastwicke should lose his ears. O, my noble lords, is this righteous judgment? I may say, as the apostle once said, What whip a Roman? I have been a soldier, able to lead an army into the field, to fight valiantly for the honour of their prince: now I am a physician, able to cure nobles, kings, princes, and emperors: and to curtail a Roman's ears, like a cur, O, my honourable lords, is it not too base an act for so noble an assembly, and for so righteous and honourable a cause? The cause, my lords, is great, it concerns the glory of God, the honour of our king, whose prerogative we labour to maintain, and to set up in a high manner, in which your honours liberties are engaged: and doth not such a cause deserve your lordships consideration, before you proceed to censure? Your honours may be pleased to consider, that, in the last cause, heard and censured in this court, between Sir James Bagge and the Lord Moone, wherein your lordships took a great deal of pains, with a great deal of patience, to hear the bills on both sides, with all the answers and depositions largely laid open before you: which cause, when you had fully heard, some of your honours, now sitting in the court, said, You could not, in conscience, proceed to censure, till you had taken some time to recollect yourselves. If, in a cause of that nature, you could spend so much time, and afterwards recollect yourselves, before you would pass censure, How much more should it move your honours to take some time in a cause, wherein the glory of God, the prerogative of his majesty, your honours dignity, and the subjects liberty, is so largely engaged? My good lords, it may fall out to be any of your lordships cases, to stand as delinquents at this bar, as we now do: it is not unknown to your honours, the next cause, that is to succeed ours, is touching a person that sometimes hath been in greatest power in this court: and, if the mutations and revolutions of persons and times be such, then I do most humbly beseech your honours too look on us, as it may befall yourselves. But, if all this will not prevail with your honours to peruse my books, and hear my answer read, which here I tender, upon the word of a soldier, a gentleman, a scholar, and a physician: I will clothe them, as I said before, in Roman buff, and disperse them throughout the Christian world, that future generations may see the innocency of this cause, and your honours unjust proceedings in it; all which I will do, though it cost me my life.

Lord Keeper. Mr. Doctor, I thought you would be angry.

Dr. Bastwicke. No, my lord, you are mistaken, I am not angry nor passionate; all that I do press is, that you would be pleased to peruse my answer.

Lord Keeper. Well, hold your peace. Mr. Burton, what say you?

Mr. Burton. My good lords, your honours (it should seem) do determine to censure us, and take our cause *pro confesso*, although, we have laboured to give your honours satisfaction in all things: My lords, What have you to say against my book? I confess I did write it; yet did I not any thing out of intent of commotion or sedition: I delivered nothing, but what my text led me to, being chosen to suit with the day, namely the fifth of November; the words were these, &c.

Lord Keeper. Mr. Burton, I pray stand not naming texts of scripture now, we do not send for you to preach, but to answer to those things which are objected against you.

Mr. Burton. My lord, I have drawn up my answer to my great pains and charges, which answer was signed with my council's hands, and received into the court, according to the rule and order thereof. And I did not think to have been called this day to a censure, but have had a legal proceeding by way of bill and answer.

Lord Keeper. Your answer was impertinent.

Mr. Burton. My answer (after it was entered into the court) was referred to the judges, but by what means I do not know, whether it be impertinent, and what cause your lordships had to cast it out, I know not. But, after it was approved of, and received, it was cast out as an impertinent answer.

Lord Finch. The judges did you a good turn to make it impertinent, for it was as libellous as your book, so that your answer deserved a censure alone.

Lord Keeper. What say you, Mr. Burton, Are you guilty, or not?

Mr. Burton. My lord, I desire you not only to peruse my book, here and there, but every passage of it.

Lord Keeper. Mr. Burton, time is short, Are you guilty, or not guilty? What say you to that which was read? Doth it become a minister to deliver himself in such a railing and scandalous way?

Mr. Burton. In my judgment, and as I can prove it, it was neither railing nor scandalous; I conceive that a minister hath a larger liberty than always to go in a mild strain: I being the pastor of my people, whom I had in charge, and was to instruct, I supposed it was my duty to inform them of those innovations, that are crept into the church, as likewise of the danger and ill consequence of them: as for my answer, ye blotted out what ye would, and then the rest, which made best for your own ends, you would have to stand; and now for me to tender only what will serve for your own turns, and renounce the rest, were to desert my cause, which before I will do, or desert my conscience, I will rather desert my body, and deliver it up to your lordships to do with it, what you will.

Lord Keeper. This is a place where you should crave mercy and favour, Mr. Burton, and not stand upon such terms as you do.

Mr. Burton. There wherein I have offended thro' human frailty, I crave of God and man pardon: and I pray

pray God, that, in your sentence, you may so censure us, that you may not sin against the Lord.

Thus the prisoners, desiring to speak a little more for themselves, were commanded to silence. And so the lords proceeded to censure.

The Lord Cottington's Censure.

I Condemn these three men to lose their ears in the Palace-yard at Westminster; to be fined five thousand pounds a man to his majesty: and to perpetual imprisonment in three remote places of the kingdom, namely, the castles of Caernarvon, Cornwall, and Lancaster.

The Lord Finch added to this Censure.

Mr. Prynne to be stigmatised in the cheeks with two letters (S and L) for a seditious libeller. To which all the lords agreed. And so the lord keeper concluded the censure.

THE execution of the Lords Censure in the Star-chamber upon Dr. Bastwicke, Mr. Prynne, and Mr. Burton, in the Palace-yard at Westminster, the thirtieth day of June last, 1637; at the spectation whereof the number of people was so great (the place being very large) that it caused admiration in all that beheld them, who came with tender affections, to behold those three renowned soldiers and servants of Jesus Christ, who came with most undaunted and magnanimous courage thereunto, having their way strewed with sweet herbs from the house out of which they came to the pillory, with all the honour that could be done unto them.

Dr. Bastwicke and Mr. Burton first meeting, they did close one in the other's arms three times, with as much expression of love as might be, rejoicing that they met at such a place, upon such an occasion, and that God had so highly honoured them, as to call them forth to suffer for his glorious truth.

Then immediately after, Mr. Prynne came, the doctor and he saluting each other, as Mr. Burton and he did before. The doctor, then, went up first on the scaffold, and his wife immediately following came up to him, and like a loving spouse saluted each ear with a kiss, and then his mouth; whose tender love, boldness, and chearfulness so wrought upon the people's affections, that they gave a marvellous great shout, for joy to behold it. Her husband desired her not to be, in the least manner, dismayed at his sufferings: and so for a while they parted, she using these words: Farewel, my dearest, be of good comfort, I am nothing dismayed. And then the doctor began to speak these words.

Dr. Bastwicke. There are many that are, this day, spectators of our standing here, as delinquents, though not delinquents, we bless God for it. I am not con-

scious to myself, wherein I have committed the least trespass (to take this outward shame) either against my God, or my king. And I do the rather speak it, that you, that are now beholders, may take notice, how far innocency will preserve you in such a day as this: for we come here in the strength of our God, who hath mightily supported us, and filled our hearts with greater comfort than our shame or contempt can be. The first occasion of my trouble was by the prelates, for writing a book against the pope, and the pope of Canterbury said I wrote against him; and therefore questioned me; but, if the presses were as open to us, as formerly they have been, we should shatter his kingdom about his ears: but be ye not deterred by their power, neither be affrighted at our sufferings; let none determine to turn from the ways of the Lord, but go on, fight courageously against Gog and Magog. I know there be many here who have set many days apart for our behalf, let the prelates take notice of it, and they have sent up strong prayers to heaven for us; we feel the strength and benefit of them at this time, I would have you to take notice of it we have felt the strength and benefit of your prayers all along this cause. In a word, so far I am from base fear, or caring for any thing that they can do, or cast upon me, that, had I as much blood as would swell the Thames, I would shed it every drop in this cause, therefore be not any of you discouraged; be not daunted at their power, ever labouring to preserve innocency, and keep peace within; go on in the strength of your God, and he will never fail you in such a day as this; as I said before, so I say again, had I as many lives as I have hairs on my head, or drops of blood in my veins, I would give them all for this cause; this plot of sending us to those remote places, was first consulted and agitated by the Jesuits, as I can make it plainly appear. O see what times we are fallen into, that the lords must sit to act the Jesuits plots! For our own parts we owe no malice to the persons of any of the prelates, but would lay our necks under their feet to do them good as they are men; but against the usurpation of their power, as they are bishops, we do profess enemies till dooms-day.

Mr. Prynne shaking the doctor by the hand, desired him that he might speak a word or two. With all my heart, said the doctor.

The cause (said Mr. Prynne) of my standing here, is for not bringing in my answer, for which my cause is taken *pro confesso* against me. What endeavours I used for the bringing in thereof, that, God and my own conscience, and my council knows, whose cowardice stands upon record to all ages. For, rather than I will have my cause a leading cause, to deprive the subjects of that liberty which I seek to maintain, I rather expose my person to be a leading example, to bear this punishment: and I beseech you all to take notice of their proceedings in this cause: when I was served with a subpoena into this court, I was shut up close prisoner, that I could have no access to council,

council; nor be admitted pen, ink, or paper, to draw up my answer by my instructions, for which I feed them twice (to no purpose) yet, when all was done, my answer would not be accepted into the court, though I tendered it upon my oath. I appeal to all the world, if this was a legal proceeding. Our accusation is in point of libel, but supposedly, against the prelates; to clear this now, I will give you a little light what the law is in point of libel, of which profession I have sometimes been, and still profess myself to have some knowledge in; you shall find, in case of libel, two statutes; the one in the second of Queen Mary, the other in the seventh of Queen Elizabeth. That in the second of Queen Mary, the extremity and height of it runs thus: That, if a libeller doth go so far and so high as to libel against king or queen, by denomination, the height and extremity of the law is, that they lay no greater fine on him than an hundred pounds, with a month's imprisonment, and no corporal punishment, except he does refuse to pay his fine, and then to inflict some punishment instead of that fine at the month's end. Neither was this censure to be passed on him, except it was fully proved by two witnesses, who were to produce a certificate of their good demeanor for the credit of their report, or else confessed by the libeller. You shall find in that statute 7 Eliz. some further addition to the former of 2 Mariz, and that only in point of fine and punishment, and it must still reach as high as the person of king or queen. Here this statute doth set a fine of two hundred pounds; the other, but one: this sets three months imprisonment, the former but one: so that therein only they differ. But in this they both agree, namely, at the end of his imprisonment to pay his fine, and so to go free without any further question: but, if he refuse to pay his fine, then the court is to inflict some punishment on him correspondent to his fine. Now see the disparity between those times of theirs, and ours. A libeller in Queen Mary's time was fined but an hundred pounds, in Queen Elizabeth's time two hundred: in Queen Mary's days but a month's imprisonment, in Queen Elizabeth's, three months; and not so great a fine, if they libelled not against king or queen. Formerly the greatest fine was but two hundred pounds, though against king or queen; now five thousand pounds, though but against the prelates, and that but supposedly, which cannot be proved: formerly, but three months imprisonment; now perpetual imprisonment: then, upon paying the fine, no corporal punishment was to be inflicted; but now, infamous punishment, with the loss of blood, and all other circumstances that may aggravate it. See now what times we are fallen into, when that libelling (if it were so) against prelates only, shall fall higher, than if it touched kings and princes.

That, which I have to speak of next, is this: the prelates find themselves exceedingly aggrieved and vexed against what we have written concerning the usurpation of their calling, where indeed we declare their calling not to be *Jure Divino*. I make no doubt,

but there are some intelligencers or abettors within the hearing, whom I would have well to know and take notice of what I now say: I here in this place make this offer to them, that, if I may be admitted a fair dispute, on fair terms, for my cause, that I will maintain, and do here make the challenge against all the prelates in the king's dominions, and all the prelates in Christendom, let them take in the pope and all to help them, that their calling is not *Jure Divino*. I will speak it again, I make the challenge against all the prelates in the king's dominions, and all Christendom, to maintain, that their calling is not *Jure Divino*. If I make it not good, let me be hanged up at the hall-gate. Whereupon the people gave a great shout.

The next thing, that I am to speak of, is this: the prelates find themselves exceedingly grieved and vexed against what I have written in point of law, concerning their writs and process, that the sending forth of writs and process in their own name, is against all law and justice, and doth intrench on his majesty's prerogative royal, and the subjects liberties. And here now I make a second challenge against all the lawyers in the kingdom, in way of fair dispute, that I will maintain, the prelates sending forth of writs and process, in their own names, to be against all law and justice, and intrencheth on his majesty's prerogative royal, and subjects liberty. Lest it should be forgotten, I speak it again, I here challenge all the whole society of the law upon a fair dispute to maintain, that the sending forth of writs and process, in the prelates own names, is against all law and justice, and intrencheth on the king's prerogative royal, and the subjects liberty. If I be not able to make it good, let me be put to the tormentingest death they can devise.

We praise the Lord, we fear none but God and the king: had we respected our liberties, we had not stood here at this time: it was for the general good and liberties of you all, that we have now thus far engaged our own liberties in this cause. For, did you know, how deeply they have intrenched on your liberties in point of popery; if you knew but into what times you are cast, it would make you look about you: and, if you did but see what changes and revolutions of persons, causes, and actions have been made by one man, you would more narrowly look into your privileges, and see how far your liberties did lawfully extend, and so maintain it.

This is the second time that I have been brought to this place, who hath been the author of it, I think you all well know: for the first time, if I could have had leave given me, I could easily have cleared myself of that which was then laid to my charge: as also I could have done now, if I might have been permitted to speak; that book for which I suffered formerly, especially for some particular words therein written, which I quoted out of God's word and ancient fathers, for which notwithstanding they passed censure on me; that same book was twice licensed by publick authority,

rity, and the same words I then suffered for, they are again made use of, and applied in the same sense by Heylin, in his book lately printed, and dedicated to the king, and no exceptions taken against them, but are very well taken.

Aye, said Dr. Bastwicke, and there is another book of his licensed, wherein he rails against us three at his pleasure, and against the martyrs that suffered in Queen Mary's days, calling them schismatical hereticks; and there is another book of Pocklington's licensed; they be as full of lies, as dogs be full of fleas; but, were the presses as open to us, as they are to them, we would pay them, and their great master that upholds them, and charge them with notorious blasphemy.

Said Mr. Prynne, You all, at this present, see, there be no degrees of men exempted from suffering: here is a reverend divine for the soul, a physician for the body, and a lawyer for the estate; I had thought they would have let alone their own society, and not have meddled with any of them; and the next, for aught I know, may be a bishop. You see they spare none, of what society or calling soever; none are exempted that cross their own ends. Gentlemen, look to yourselves, if all the martyrs, that suffered in Queen Mary's days, are accounted and called schismatical hereticks, and factious fellows: What shall we look for? Yet so they are called, in a book lately come forth under authority; and such factious fellows are we, for discovering a plot of popery. Alas! poor England, what will become of thee, if thou look not the sooner into thy own privileges, and maintainest not thine own lawful liberty? Christian people, I beseech you all, stand firm, and be zealous for the cause of God, and his true religion, to the shedding of your dearest blood, otherwise you will bring yourselves, and all your posterities, into perpetual bondage and slavery.

Now the executioner being come, to fear him and cut off his ears, Mr. Prynne said these words to him, Come, friend, come burn me, cut me, I fear not; I have learned to fear the fire of hell, and not what man can do unto me. Come fear me, fear me, I shall bear in my body the marks of the Lord Jesus; which the bloody executioner performed with extraordinary cruelty, heating his iron twice to burn one cheek; and cut one of his ears so close, that he cut off a piece of his cheek. At which exquisite torture, he never moved with his body, or so much as changed his countenance, but still looked up, as well as he could, towards heaven, with a smiling countenance, even to the astonishment of all the beholders, and uttering, as soon as the executioner had done, this heavenly sentence: *The more I am beaten down, the more am I lift up*; and, returning from the execution in a boat, made, as I hear, these two verses by the way, on the two characters branded on his cheeks:

S. L. STIGMATA LAUDIS.

*STIGMATA maxillis bajulans insignia LAUDIS
Exultans remeo, victima grata Deo.*

Which once since thus englished:

S. L. LAUD'S SCARS.

Triumphant I return, my face describes
Laud's scorching scars, God's grateful sacrifice.

Mr. Burton's heavenly and most comfortable speech, which he made at the time of his suffering, both before, and while he stood in the pillory, which was something distant from the other double pillory, wherein Dr. Bastwicke and Mr. Prynne stood.

THE night before his suffering, about eight o'clock, when he first had certain notice thereof, upon occasion of his wife's going to ask the warden, whether her husband should suffer the next day, immediately he felt his spirits to be raised to a far higher pitch of resolution and courage to undergo his sufferings, than formerly he did; so as he intreated the Lord to hold up his spirits at that height all the next day, in his sufferings, that he might not flag nor faint, lest any dishonour might come to his majesty, or the cause; and the Lord heard him: for all the next day, in his suffering, both before and after, his spirits were carried aloft, as it were upon eagle's wings, as himself said, far above all apprehension of shame or pain.

The next morning, being the day of his sufferings, he was brought to Westminster, and, with much cheerfulness, being brought into the Palace-yard, unto a chamber that looked into the yard, where he viewed three pillories there set up. Methinks, said he, I see Mount Calvary, where the three crosses, one for Christ, and the other two for the two thieves, were pitched; and, if Christ were numbered among thieves, Shall a Christian, for Christ's cause, think much to be numbered among rogues, such as we are condemned to be? Surely, if I be a rogue, I am Christ's rogue, and no man's. And, a little after, looking out at the casement towards the pillory, he said, I see no difference between looking out of this square window and yonder round hole, pointing towards the pillory; he said, It is no matter of difference to an honest man. And, a little after that, looking somewhat wishfully upon his wife, to see how she did take it, she seemed to him to be something sad, to whom he thus spake, Wife, why art thou so sad? To whom she made answer, Sweetheart, I am not sad. No, said he, see thou be not; for I would not have thee to dishonour the day, by shedding one tear, or fetching one sigh; for behold, therefore, thy comfort, my triumphant chariot, on which I must ride for the honour of my lord and master. And never was wedding-day so welcome and joyful a day, as this day is; and so much the more, because I have such a noble captain and leader, who hath gone before me with such undauntedness of spirit, that he saith of himself, I gave my back to the smiters, my cheeks to the nippers, they plucked off the hair; I hid not my face from shame

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and spitting, for the Lord God will help me, therefore shall I not be confounded; therefore have I set my face like a flint, and I know I shall not be ashamed. At length, being carried towards the pillory, he met Dr. Bastwicke at the foot of the pillory, where they lovingly saluted and embraced each other; and, parting a little from him, he returned, such was the ardency of his affection, and most affectionately embraced him the second time, being heartily sorry he missed Mr. Prynne, who was not yet come, before he was gone up to his pillory, which stood alone next the Star-chamber, and about half a stone's cast from the other double pillory, wherein the other two stood, so as all their faces looked southward, the bright sun all the while, for the space of two hours, shining upon them: being ready to be put into the pillory, standing upon the scaffold, he espied Mr. Prynne, new come to the pillory, and Dr. Bastwicke in the pillory, who then hastened off his band, and called for a handkerchief, saying, What, shall I be last, or shall I be ashamed of a pillory for Christ, who was not ashamed of a cross for me? Then being put into the pillory he said: Good people, I am brought hither to be a spectacle to the world, to angels, and men; and, howsoever I stand here to undergo the punishment of a rogue, yet, except to be a faithful servant to Christ, and a loyal subject to the king, be the property of a rogue, I am no rogue; but yet, if to be Christ's faithful servant, and the king's loyal subject, deserve the punishment of a rogue, I glory in it; and, I bless my God, my conscience is clear, and is not stained with the guilt of any such crime, as I have been charged with, though, otherwise, I confess myself to be a man subject to many frailties and human infirmities. Indeed, that book intitled, *An Apology of an Appeal*, with sundry epistles, and two sermons, for God and the king, charged against me in the information, I have, and do acknowledge, the misprinting excepted, to be mine, and will, by God's grace, never disclaim it, whilst I have breath within me. After a while, he having a nosegay in his hand, a bee came and pitched on the nosegay, and began to suck the flowers very favourably; which he beholding, and well observing, said, Do ye not see this poor bee? She hath found out this very place, to suck sweetness from these flowers: and cannot I suck sweetness in this very place from Christ? The bee sucking all this while, and so took her flight. By and by he took occasion, from the shining of the sun, to say, You see how the sun shines upon us: but that shines as well upon the evil as upon the good, upon the just and unjust; but that the sun of righteousness, Jesus Christ, who hath healing under his wings, shines upon the souls and consciences of every true believer only, and no cloud can hide him from us, to make him ashamed of us; no, not of our most shameful sufferings for his sake; and why should we be ashamed to suffer for his sake, who hath suffered for us? All our sufferings be but flea-bitings to that he endured; he endured the cross, and despised the shame, and is set on the right hand of God. He is a

most excellent pattern for us to look upon, that, treading in his steps, and suffering with him, we may be glorified with him: and what can we suffer, wherein he hath not gone before us even in the same kind? Was he not degraded, when they scornfully put on him a purple robe, a reed in his hand, a thorny crown upon his head, saluting him with *Hail, King of the Jews*, and so disrobed him again? Was not he deprived, when they smote the shepherd, and the sheep were scattered? Was not violence offered to his sacred person, when he was buffeted and scourged, his hands and his feet pierced, his head pricked with thorns, his side gored with a spear, &c.? Was not the cross more shameful, yea, and more painful, than a pillory? Was not he stripped of all he had, when he was left stark-naked upon the cross, the soldiers dividing his garments, and casting lots upon his vesture? And was not he confined to perpetual close imprisonment, in man's imagination, when his body was laid in a tomb, and the tomb sealed, lest he should break prison, or his disciples steal him away? And yet did he not rise again, and thereby bring deliverance and victory to us all, so as we are more than conquerors through him that loved us? Here then we have an excellent pattern indeed.—And all this he uttered, and whatsoever else he spoke, with marvellous alacrity.

One said unto Mr. Burton, Christ will not be ashamed of you at the last day; he replied, He knew whom he had believed, and that Christ was able to keep that he had committed to him against that day. One asked him how he did? he said, Never better, I bless God, who hath accounted me worthy thus to suffer. The keeper keeping off the people from pressing near the pillory, he said, Let them come, and spare not, that they may learn to suffer. This same keeper, being weary, and sitting him down, asked Mr. Burton if he were well, and bade him be of good comfort; to whom he replied, Are you well? If you be well, I am much more, and full of comfort, I bless God. Some asked him, If the pillory were not uneasy for his neck and shoulders? He answered, How can Christ's yoke be uneasy? This is Christ's yoke, and he bears the heavier end of it, and I the lighter; and, if mine were too heavy, he would bear that too: O, good people, Christ is a good and sweet master, and worth the suffering for! And, if the world did but know his goodness, and had tasted of his sweetness, all would come and be his servants; and, did they but know what a blessed thing it were to bear his yoke, O who would not bear it! The keeper going about to ease the pillory, by putting a stone or a brick-bat between, Mr. Burton said, Trouble not yourself, I am at very good ease, and feel no weariness at all; and espying a young man at the foot of the pillory, and perceiving him to look pale on him, he said, Son, son, what is the matter you look so pale? I have as much comfort as my heart can hold, and, if I had need of more, I should have it. One asked him, a while after, if he would drink some *aqua vite*;
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to whom he replied, That he needed it not; for I have, said he, laying his hand upon his breast, the true water of life, which, like a well, doth spring up to eternal life. Pausing a while, he said, with a most chearful and grave countenance, I was never in such a pulpit before, but little do ye know, speaking to them that stood about him, what fruits God is able to produce from this dry tree: they looking stedfastly upon him, he said, Mark my words, and remember them well; I say, little do you know what fruits God is able to produce from this dry tree; I say, remember it well, for this day will never be forgotten; and through these holes, pointing to the pillory, God can bring light to his church. The keeper going about again to mend the pillory, he said, Do not trouble yourself so much; but, indeed, we are the troublers of the world. By and by, some of them offering him a cup of wine, he thanked them, telling them, He had the wine of consolation within him, and the joys of Christ in possession, which the world could not take away from him, neither could it give them unto him. Then he looked towards the other pillory, and, making a sign with his hand, chearfully called to Dr. Bastwicke and Mr. Prynne, asking them how they did; who answered, Very well. A woman said unto him, Sir, every christian is not worthy this honour which the Lord hath cast upon you this day. Alas, said he, who is worthy of the least mercy? But it is his gracious favour and free gift, to account us worthy, in the behalf of Christ, to suffer any thing for his sake. Another woman said, There are many hundreds, which, by God's assistance, would willingly suffer, for the cause you suffer for this day; to whom he said, Christ exalts all of us, that are ready to suffer afflictions for his name, with meekness and patience: but Christ's military discipline, in the use of his spiritual warfare in point of suffering, is quite forgotten; and we have, in a manner, lost the power of religion, in not denying ourselves, and following Christ, as well in suffering as in doing. After a while, Mr. Burton, calling to one of his friends for a handkerchief, returned it again, saying, It is hot, but Christ bore the burthen in the heat of the day: let us always labour to approve ourselves to God in all things, and unto Christ, for therein stands our happiness, come of it what it will in this world.

A Christian friend said to Mr. Burton, The Lord strengthen you. To whom he replied, I thank you, and I bless his name, he strengthens me. For, though I am a poor sinful wretch, yet I bless God for my innocent conscience, in any such crime as is laid against me; and were not my cause good, and my conscience sound, I could not enjoy so much unspeakable comfort in this my suffering, as I do, I bless my God. Mrs. Burton sends commendation to him by a friend: he returned the like to her, saying, Commend my love to my wife, and tell her, I am heartily chearful, and bid her remember what I said to her in the morning, namely, that she should not blemish the glory of this day with one tear, or so much as one sigh. She re-

turned answer, that she was glad to hear him so chearful: and that she was more chearful of this day, than of her wedding-day. This answer exceedingly rejoiced his heart, who thereupon blessed God for her, and said of her, She is but a young soldier of Christ's, but she hath already endured many a sharp brunt, but the Lord will strengthen her unto the end: and he, having on a pair of new gloves, shewed them to his friends there about him, saying, My wife yesterday, of her own accord, bought me these wedding-gloves, for this is my wedding-day.

Many friends spoke comfortably to Mr. Burton, and he again spoke as comfortably to them, saying, I bless my God that called me forth to suffer this day. One said to him, Sir, by this sermon, your suffering, God may convert many unto him. He answered, God is able to do it indeed. And then he called again to Dr. Bastwicke and Mr. Prynne, asking them how they did? Who answered as before. Some speaking to him concerning that suffering of shedding his blood; he answered, What is my blood to Christ's blood? Christ's blood is a purging blood, but mine is corrupted and polluted with sin. One friend asked another standing near Mr. Burton, If there should be any thing more done unto him? Mr. Burton, overhearing him, answered, Why should there not be more done? For what God will have done, must be accomplished. One desiring Mr. Burton to be of good chear: to whom he thus replied: If you knew my chear, you would be glad to be partaker with me; for I am not alone, neither hath God left me alone in all my sufferings and close imprisonment, since first I was apprehended. The halbertmen standing round about, one of them had an old rusty halbert, the iron whereof was tacked to the staff with an old crooked nail; which one observing, and saying, What an old rusty halbert is that? Mr. Burton said, This seems to me to be one of those halberts, which accompanied Judas when he went to betray and apprehend his master. The people, observing Mr. Burton's chearfulness and courage in suffering, rejoiced, and blessed God for the same. Mr. Burton said again, I am persuaded that Christ, my advocate, is now pleading my cause at the Father's right-hand, and will judge my cause, though none be found here to plead it, and will bring forth my righteousness as the light at noon-day, and clear my innocency in due time. A friend asking Mr. Burton, If he would have been without this particular suffering? To whom he said, No, not for a world. Moreover, he said, that his conscience, the discharge of his ministerial duty and function, in admonishing his people to beware of the creeping in of popery and superstition, exhorting them to stick close unto God and the king in duties of obedience, was that which first occasioned his sufferings: and said, As for this truth I have preached, I am ready to seal it with my blood, for this is my crown both here and hereafter. I am jealous of God's honour, and the Lord keep us that we may do nothing that may dishonour him, either in doing or suffering; God can bring light out

of darkness, and glory out of shame: and what shall I say more? I am like a bottle which is so full of liquor, that it cannot run out freely; so I am so full of joy, that I am not able to express it.

In conclusion, some told him of the approach of the executioner, and prayed God to strengthen him. He said, I trust he will. Why should I fear to follow my master Christ? who said, I gave my back to the smiters, and my cheek to the nippers, that plucked off my hair; I hid not my face from shame and spitting, for the Lord God will help me, therefore shall I not be confounded; therefore have I set my face like a flint, and I know that I shall not be ashamed.

When the executioner had cut off one ear, which he had cut deep and close to the head, in an extraordinary cruel manner; yet this champion of Christ never once moved or stirred for it, though he had cut the vein, so as the blood ran streaming down upon the scaffold, which divers persons standing about the pillory seeing, dipped their handkerchiefs in, as a thing most precious, the people giving a mournful shout, and crying for the surgeon, whom the crowd and other impediments for a time kept off, so that he could not come to stop the blood; this patient all the while held up his hands, and said, Be content, it is well, blessed be God. The other ear being cut no less deep, he then was freed from the pillory, and came down, where the surgeon waiting for him, presently applied a remedy for stopping the blood, after a large effusion thereof; yet for all this he fainted not, in the least manner, though through expence of much blood he waxed pale. And one offering him a little wormwood water; he said, it needs not, yet, through importunity, he only tasted of it, and no more, saying, his master Christ was not so well used, for they gave him gall and vinegar, but you give me strong water to refresh me, blessed be God. His head being bound up, two

friends led him away to an house provided for him in King's-street, where being set down, and bid to speak little, yet he said after a pause, This is too hot to hold long. Now, lest they in the room, or his wife, should mistake, and think he spoke of himself concerning his pain, he said, I speak not this of myself; for that which I have suffered is nothing to that my Saviour suffered for me, who had his hands and feet nailed to the crosses: and, lying still a while, he took Mr. Prynne's sufferings much to heart, and asked the people how he did, for, said he, his sufferings have been great. He asked also how Dr. Bastwicke did, with much compassion and grief, that he, being the first that was executed, could not stay to see how they two fared after him. His wife being brought to him, behaved herself very graciously towards him, saying, Welcome, sweetheart, welcome home. He was often heard to repeat these words: The Lord keep us that we do not dishonour him in any thing. *Amen.*

Thus, christian reader, you have heard the relation of such a censure, and the execution thereof, as I dare say, all circumstances laid together, cannot be paralleled in any age of man throughout the christian world, and I think I may take in even the world of pagans and heathens to it: which though it be not drawn up in so elegant a strain as it was delivered and deserved, nor all the heavenly words and eloquent speeches recorded, which were uttered by these three worthies of the Lord, both in the presence of the lords themselves at their censure, and also at the place of execution: yet I earnestly beseech you in the bowels of Jesus Christ, that you do not in the least manner undervalue the glory and dignity, either of the persons, or the cause, but rather lay the blame upon the rudeness and mean capacity of the composer, who is an unfeigned well-wisher to them both.

Two Speeches spoken by the Earl of Manchester, and John Pym, Esq. as a Reply to his Majesty's Answer to the City of London's Petition, sent from his Majesty, by Capt. Hearne, and read at the Common-hall, on Friday the Thirteenth of January, 1642. Also, a true Narration of the Passages of that Day.

A speech delivered by the Earl of Manchester.

MY lord-mayor and gentlemen, you of the city of London, this assembly can never be looked upon by any members of both houses of parliament, but there must be some offering of gratitude made to you, both of thanks and acknowledgment, for your former large-hearted expressions both of affection and care for the preservation both of the parliament and

kingdom. The occasion, why my lords and these gentlemen of the house of commons are come hither, is this: They have read an answer to an humble petition of the lord-mayor and common-council and citizens of London to his majesty: in which answer they find many wounding aspersions cast upon persons of very eminent authority in your city, and upon others of very great fidelity and trust among you; this answer they do find, as it is printed, to agree with that which the

the gentleman from his majesty hath here read; and they, owning themselves equally interested (in all things that concern you) with you, have commanded this gentleman to make some observations, by way of vindication, both of the proceedings of both houses of parliament, and of the proceedings of the city, with this assurance, that they will never desert you, but will stand by you with their lives and fortunes, for the preservation of the city in general, and those persons in particular, who have been faithful, and deserved well, both of the parliament and kingdom; and they will pursue all means, both with their lives and fortunes, that may be for the preservation of this city, and for the procuring of safety, happiness, and peace to the whole kingdom.

The speech of this noble lord being entertained with loud expressions of joy and thankfulness by the commons, and after some time of silence being made, Mr. Pym, that worthy member of the house of commons, and patriot of his country, gave the sense of both houses upon the several passages of his majesty's answer, expressing it as follows:

A speech delivered by John Pym, Esq.

MY lord-mayor, and you worthy citizens of this noble and famous city of London, I am commanded by the lords and commons to let you know, that in this answer, which hath been published to you, they do observe many things of great aspersion upon the proceedings of parliament, very scandalous and injurious to many particular members of this city; whereupon they think that it becomes them, both in tenderness of their own honour, and in respect to you, to take away all those aspersions, and to let you know the truth of their proceedings, which have been full of honour and justice, as they stand in relation to their own duty, and full of humility and obedience towards his majesty, and of care for the common good, and so shall ever be. And they have commanded me to let you know the true answer to most of those things that are imputed either to the parliament or to the city, by observing some particulars of this book which hath been read to you, and to let you know the proceedings in their own native condition, clear from those misrepresentations, which make them appear in a quality much different from the truth; which before I enter into, I am to declare, as the sense of both houses, That your petition was so full of loyalty, humility, and obedience, that you might well have expected an answer of another kind.

The first observation I am to make you is this: that it is said here, 'That his majesty was enforced by tumults to leave the parliament, and to go from Whitehall, and to withdraw himself into those courses which now he hath taken.'

I answer thereunto, I am commanded to tell you, That there was no occasion given, by any tumults

rising out of this city, or the suburbs, which might justly cause his majesty's departure; and you may very well remember, that after his violent coming to the commons house of parliament in that unusual and unheard-of manner, which was the beginning of these unhappy differences, the very next day his majesty came into the city without any guard; that he was present at the common-council, dined at the sheriff's, and returned back again, with manifold evidences of fidelity on the part of the city, and without any such expressions as were unbeseeming the majesty of a king, or the duty of subjects; that he resided divers days at Whitehall, and afterwards at Hampton-court, Windsor, and places adjoining, with small forces about him, and yet never any attempt was made, which might give him any apprehension of fear: by all which it is manifest, that this is an unjust aspersion cast upon this city, That any tumultuous carriage of your's was the occasion of his majesty's leaving the parliament, and withdrawing himself to remoter parts.

It is affirmed, 'That the government of your city hath been managed by a few desperate persons, and that they do exercise an arbitrary power.' In answer to which, the two houses of parliament give you this testimony, That you have, in most of the great occasions concerning the government of the city, followed their direction; and that direction which they have given, and you have executed, they must and will maintain to be such as stands with their honour in giving it, and your trust and fidelity in the performance of it.

It is objected, in the third place, 'That contributions have been publickly made for the maintenance of that army which did join battle with the king, and did, by all the means that treason and malice could suggest, endeavour to take away his life, and destroy his issue.' To this I am commanded to say, That the design of bringing up the English armies, the gathering together of the cavaliers about Whitehall, the violent coming to the house of commons, the king's going into the north, and raising armies there, are clear evidences that violence was first intended, and divers practices were made against the parliament, before they took any course, or made any preparation to take up arms for their defence. For the danger of his majesty's person, they were sorry for it, and did, by divers humble petitions, labour to prevent it; and, as touching the royal issue, they have sufficiently declared to the world their good affections towards them, by the care they have taken, both for the safety and maintenance of those who are left here.

It is further expressed, in this answer, 'That the king demands the Lord-Mayor, Mr. Alderman, Fowke, Colonel Ven, and Colonel Manwaring, to be delivered up, as guilty of schism and high-treason.' Concerning which I am commanded to tell you, as the sense of both houses of parliament, That this demand is against the privilege of parliament (two of them being members of the commons house) and most dishonourable to the city, That the lord-mayor of

of London should be subjected to the violence of every base fellow, be assaulted, seized on, without due process or warrant, which the law doth afford every private man; and that you should be commanded to deliver up your chief magistrates, and such eminent members of the city to the king's pleasure, only because they have done their duty, in adhering to the parliament for the defence of the kingdom; and that it is against the rules of justice, that any men should be imprisoned upon such a general charge, when no particulars are proved against them; and this you are to take notice of, as the answer to those scandals, and to that disgrace upon my lord-mayor and the other members of the city.

And I am further to tell you, That there is little cause for his majesty to make this demand, considering that he himself doth, by force, keep away many accused in parliament, as my Lord Digby, and many more impeached of high-treason, besides divers other great delinquents, that stand charged there for heinous crimes; all which, by force, are kept from the due proceedings and legal trial in parliament.

It is alledged in this answer, 'That my lord-mayor, and those other persons named, are countenancers of Brownists, and Anabaptists, and all manner of sectaries.' To this I am commanded to say, That thereof there is no proof; it doth not appear, that they give any such countenance to sectaries of any kind whatsoever; and if it did, his majesty hath little reason to object it, while, notwithstanding the profession he hath often made, That he will maintain the Protestant reformed religion, he doth in the mean time raise an army of Papists, who by the principles of their religion are bound, if power be put into their hands, to destroy and utterly to root out the Protestants, together with the truth which they profess.

It is affirmed, 'That men's persons have been imprisoned, and their houses plundered, because they will not rebel against his majesty.' To this I am commanded to declare, That no men's houses have been plundered by any direction of the parliament, but that they have been very careful to restrain all such violent courses so far as they were able; and that they have never committed any man, but such as, by due information, they conceived to be seditious persons, and like to trouble the peace of the state.

It is objected further; 'That the property of the subject is destroyed by taking away the twentieth part, by an arbitrary power.' To this they say, That that ordinance doth not require a twentieth part, but doth limit the assessors, that they shall not go beyond a twentieth part, and that this is done by a power derived from both houses of parliament; the lords, who have an hereditary interest in making laws in this kingdom, and the commons who are elected and chosen to represent the whole body of the commonalty, and trusted for the good of the people; whenever they see cause, to charge the kingdom: and they say further, That the same law that did enable the two houses of parliament to raise forces to maintain

and defend the safety of religion, and of the kingdom, doth likewise enable them to require contributions, whereby these forces may be maintained; or else it was a vain power to raise forces, if they had not a power likewise to maintain them in that service for which they were raised.

And to this point I am commanded to add this further answer, That there was little reason for this to be objected, on his majesty's behalf, when it is well known, that from the subjects which are within the power of his army, his majesty doth take the full yearly value of their lands, and in some cases more; that not only particular houses, but whole towns have been plundered by command and design; and that by proclamations men are declared to forfeit all their estates, because they will not obey arbitrary commands; and this is commonly practised by his majesty, and on his part, and therefore there was little reason to charge the parliament with so necessary and moderate a contribution as the twentieth part.

It is declared, 'That the king expects to be kept from tumults and affronts.' Upon which I am commanded to observe, that his majesty's expressions, in his answer, tend to the making of a division in this city, and to the raising of a party, which may make some disturbance in that orderly government which is now established; both which will certainly prove equally destructive to him and both houses of parliament, and more prejudicial to his quiet abode here, than any thing that hath ever been acted by the houses of parliament, or the present governors of the city.

They observe further, that in this answer, 'His majesty doth profess, that he will seize upon the estates of those that shall contribute any thing towards the maintenance of the parliament's army, and will put them out of his protection, and by his ministers in foreign states, will take such course, that they may be proceeded against as enemies; that is, destroyed and spoiled.' To which the lords and commons do declare, That this is an excess of rigour and injustice beyond all example, that particular men should lose their private estates here without law, or judicial proceeding: and that our prince, who owes protection to the kingdom, as well as to particular persons, should suffer the wealth thereof to be robbed and spoiled by foreign states; upon due consideration whereof, they hope his majesty will be induced, by better counsel, to forbear the execution, than that by which he hath been persuaded to publish such a resolution.

Besides these observations out of the answer, I am to observe one out of a narrative that was received from the common-council, that the king did declare, that he would send some messengers here, to observe your carriage in the city, and what was done amongst you; the parliament have just cause to doubt, that these will be messengers of sedition and trouble, and therefore desire you to observe them and find them out, and that they may know who they are.

I am for a conclusion to commend to your considerations,

derations, that you see by the proceedings to which the king is drawn by the ill council now about him, that religion, the whole kingdom, this glorious city, and the parliament, are all in great danger, and that this danger cannot be kept off in all likelihood, but by the army that is now a-foot; and that the lords and commons are so far from being frightened by any thing that is in this answer, that they have for themselves, and the members of both houses, declared a further contribution towards the maintenance of this army, and cannot but hope and desire, that you that have shewed so much good affection in the former necessities of the state, will be sensible of your own, and of the condition of the whole kingdom, and add to that which you have already done, some further contribution whereby this army may be maintained for all your safeties.

At the end of every period of this speech, the applause was so great, that he was fain to rest till silence was again made, and at last the company ready to be dissolved, after some pause and consultation with the committees of lords and commons then present, and by their direction silence being made, he closed all with the words following:

‘Worthy citizens, you have understood the sense of both houses of parliament, concerning my lord-mayor here, and those worthy members of your city that are demanded; you have heard the parliament declare, that they will protect them in that which they have done by direction of both houses, and they

‘expect that you should express it yourselves likewise, that if any violence be offered to them, you will secure and defend them with your uttermost force; and you shall always find, that this protection of the parliament shall not only extend to these, but to all others that have done any thing by their command.’

Which words were no sooner uttered, but the citizens, with one joint harmony of minds and voices, gave such an acclamation as would have drowned all the former, if they had been then breathing, which after a long continuance, resolved itself into this more articulate and distinct voice, ‘We will live and die with them; we will live and die with them,’ and the like.

So that in the managing of this day’s work, God was so pleased to manifest himself, that the well-affected went away not strengthened only, but rejoicing; but the malignants, as they have been called, some convinced, others silenced; many ashamed; it fully appearing how little power they had to answer their desires of doing mischief; whilst instead of dividing the city, they were exceedingly united; instead of a dissipation, thousands were unexpectedly brought, as it were, into an unthought of association, to live and die in the defence of those zealous and honourable assertors of the peace and liberties: all which we may sum up in that triumph of the man of God: ‘In the thing wherein they dealt proudly, God was above them.’

A View of the Reign of King Charles the First; wherein the true Causes of the Civil War are impartially delineated, by Strokes borrowed from Lord Clarendon, Sir Philip Warwick, H. L’Estrange, and other most authentick and approved Historians.

IT is a melancholy reflection, that the best things, through the perverseness of our nature, are generally corrupted to the worst ends; and that the liberty we enjoy in England, under the best of queens, and the best constituted government, should, by some licentious and servile writers, be abused to the defaming honest patriots, and branding publick-spirited nations; which naturally tends to the bringing in slavery: for nothing can more effectually destroy our happy constitution, than the heats and animosities industriously raised and fomented amongst us by a party of designing men, who, under pretence of vindicating the memory of the royal martyr, asperse and calumniate those who endeavour to compose our differences.

A sad instance of this we find in the usage the reverend Dr. Kennet, doctor in divinity, archdeacon of Huntingdon, and minister of St. Botolph’s without Aldgate, has lately met with, upon account of an excellent sermon by him preached before his parishioners, on the thirty-first of January last, and since made publick in print, to clear the misapprehension of some few who heard it, and to silence the confident, though false, report of a far greater number who did not hear it.

The publication of this sermon has, in a great measure, had a contrary effect to what that reverend divine ought reasonably to have expected: for though it has undeceived many honest people, yet at the same time

time it has given birth to several libels, in which his innocent expressions are maliciously made to signify what the author never had in his thoughts.

The first thing excepted against by the doctor's unfair censurers, is the title, as well as the subject of his sermon, endeavouring to insinuate to the world, 'That *civil war* is an expression that palliates the crime, rather than any ways agreeable to the solemnities of the day.' How this can give offence to any is hard to be imagined, since the word *civil war* was ever used as synonymous with *rebellion*, even by the warmest sticklers for that unfortunate prince; as Dr. Kennet himself does in several places in this very sermon.

However, which of the two words, *civil war*, or *rebellion*, is the properest, history alone can determine; and therefore let us listen to historians.

'Things were now going fast on' (says Dr. Welwood*) 'towards lessening the confidence betwixt the king and parliament; and yet there were not wanting endeavours, on both sides, to accommodate matters by soft and healing methods, when the king's coming to the house of commons in person, to demand five of their members, whom he had ordered the day before to be impeached of high-treason, did put all into combustion, and gave occasion to the house to assert their privileges. This was the most unlucky step King Charles could have made at that juncture, and the indiscretion of some, that attended the king to the lobby of the house, was insisted upon as an argument, that the king was resolved to use violence upon the parliament; which, it is to be presumed, was a thing far from his thoughts: whoever they were that advised the king to this rash attempt, are justly chargeable with all the blood that was afterwards spilt; for this sudden action was the first and visible ground of all our following miseries. For immediately upon it, there was nothing but confusion and tumults, fears and jealousies every where, which spread themselves to Whitehall in the rudest manner, so that his majesty thinking himself not safe there, he retired with his family to Hampton-court. The king leaving the parliament in this manner, there were scarce any hopes of a thorough reconciliation. But when, after a great many removes from place to place, his majesty came to set up his standard at Nottingham, there ensued a fatal and bloody war; which, it is reasonable to believe, was never designed by either side. Each party blamed the other for beginning this war, and it is not easy to determine which of them began it. Though the king made the first steps that seemed to tend that way, such as raising a troop for a guard to his person, summoning the gentlemen and freeholders of several counties to attend him in his progress to the North, and ordering arms and ammunition to be bought in Holland for his use; yet the parliament did as much at the same time, for they like-

wise raised guards of their own, and took care that the magazine of Hull should not fall into the king's hands: so that the king and parliament prepared themselves insensibly for war, without considering that these preparations must gradually and inevitably come to blows in the end.—During the whole course of this unnatural war, it was hard to divine what would be the fate of England, whether an absolute, unlimited monarchy, a new huddled-up commonwealth, or a downright anarchy. If the king should prevail, the first was to be feared; if the parliament, the second was to be apprehended; and if the army should set up for themselves, as afterwards they did, the last was inevitably to follow. All which some of the best men about the king wisely foresaw, and trembled at the event of every battle that was fought, whoever happened to be the victors. It was the dread of these misfortunes that hindered the lords and commons, whom the king called to Oxford, to assume to themselves the name of the parliament of England, and from declaring those men at Westminster REBELS; though the king again and again importuned them to it, and took their refusal so ill, that, in one of his letters to the queen, he called them in derision his *mongrel parliament*.'

Thus far Dr. Welwood. Let us now hear the account the earl of Clarendon gives of the beginning of the civil war: 'The rebellion of Ireland,' says that noble historian, 'which was highly detrimental to the king's affairs that began to recover life, broke out in all parts of the kingdom, during his majesty's stay in Scotland, and made a wonderful impression upon the minds of men, who were induced to believe that it was influenced by the court; the scandal of which aspersion stuck upon the queen's skirts. Some time after, the king commanded his attorney-general to accuse the Lord Kimbolton, and five commoners, of high-treason; and the next day his majesty, attended by his ordinary guard and some few gentlemen, came to the house of commons; and commanding his attendants to wait without, himself, with the prince elector his nephew, went into the house, to the great astonishment of all, to demand the impeached members: but finding, as he said, the birds were all flown, he returned to Whitehall, and the house, in great disorder, adjourned till the next day. When the Lord Digby, the only person that gave the counsel, found the ill success of the impeachment in both houses, he advised the king to go the next morning to the Guildhall, and acquaint the mayor and aldermen of the grounds of it. As he passed through the city, the rude people crowded together, crying out, "Privilege of parliament, privilege of parliament." However the king, though much mortified, pursued his resolution, and having dined with one of the sheriffs, he returned to Whitehall; and the next day a pro-

* Welwood's Memoirs, p. 67, & seq.

† See Clarendon's History of the Rebellion.

clamoration came forth for the apprehension of the accused members, forbidding any persons to conceal or entertain them. These proceedings of the king created a wonderful change in the minds of all sorts of people; all the former noise of plots against the parliament, which before had been laughed at, was now thought to be built upon good grounds; and what hitherto had been only whispered of Ireland, was now talked aloud, and published in print. They, who with the greatest courage had thwarted seditious practices, were now confounded with the thoughts of what had been done, and what was like to follow. Though they were far from imagining the accused members had been much wronged, yet they thought they had been called to an account at a very unseasonable time; and the exposing the dignity and safety of the king, in his coming in person, in that manner, to the house of commons, and going the next day to the Guildhall, where he met with such reproaches to his face, added to their anger and indignation: all which was justly charged upon the Lord Digby, who was before less beloved than he deserved, and was now the most universally hated of any man in the nation; and yet continued in his majesty's confidence. When the king perceived how ill his accusation against the five members succeeded, and that all who expressed any signal zeal to his service, would be removed from him under the notion of delinquents, he resolved the queen should remove to Portsmouth, and that himself would go to Hull (where his magazine lay); and that being secured in those places of strength, whither his friends might resort and be protected, he would sit quiet till the angry party could be brought to reason. But this resolution was discovered to the leading members, who obtained orders from the parliament for securing Hull and Portsmouth; for which reason, and a promise from several lords, that they would vigorously unite to support the regal power, together with the extreme fear the queen had of danger, that counsel was laid aside; and it was concluded the queen should transport herself to Holland, there to provide arms and ammunition; and the king retire to York, and listen to no particulars till he knew how far the alteration would extend. Hitherto the greatest acts of hostility, excepting Sir John Hotham's denying the king entrance into Hull, were no more than votes and orders; but now the king saw he was so far from having Hull restored, that the garrison there increased daily, so that Sir John Hotham was better able to take York, than his majesty to recover Hull; and therefore he thought it now high time to follow their example, and put himself into a posture of defence. Hereupon such gentlemen as were willing, listed themselves, by his majesty's appointment, into a troop of horse, of whom the prince of Wales was made captain; which, with one regiment of trained-bands, was his body-guard. As soon as they heard at London, that the king actually had a guard, these

votes were published by both houses, "That the king, seduced by evil counsellors, intended to make war against the parliament: that, whensoever he did so, it would be a breach of the trust reposed in him, contrary to his oath, and tending to the dissolution of the government: and that whosoever shall serve him, or assist him in such wars, were traitors by the fundamental laws of the kingdom, and had been so adjudged by two acts of parliament, 2 Rich. II. and 1 Hen. IV." These votes were sent to the king at York, with a petition, that he would disband his new-raised forces, and content himself with his ordinary guard; otherwise they should hold themselves bound with their utmost care to serve the parliament, and secure the publick peace.

Upon the king's denying their demand, they began to provide for the raising of an army: and here the same noble author thinks it not amiss to consider the method of God's justice, "That the same principles should be used to the extorting all sovereign power from the crown, which the crown had a little before used to extend its authority beyond its bounds, to the prejudice of the just rights of the subject. A supposed necessity was then thought reason sufficient to create a power of taxing the subject, as they thought convenient, by writs of ship-money, never known before; and a supposed necessity is now more fatally concluded a good plea to exclude the crown from the exercise of any power, by an ordinance of parliament, for ordering the militia, never before heard of; and the same maxim of *Salus populi suprema lex*, which had been used to break in upon the liberty of the people, was applied for the destroying the rights of the crown. The king (pursues our author) conceiving the rumours spread abroad might induce many to believe he intended to raise a war against his parliament, he professed in council, and said, "He declared to all the world, that he ever had an abhorrence to such designs; but that all his endeavours aimed at a sure settlement of the Protestant religion, the just privileges of parliament, the liberty of the subject, the law, peace, and prosperity of this kingdom." However, about this time the king, by the advice of some eminent judges and lawyers, issued out a declaration concerning the militia, asserting the right of the crown in granting commissions of array for the better government thereof, and dispatched those commissions into all counties, expressly forbidding any obedience to be paid to the ordinance for the militia by both houses, under the penalty of high-treason. This only exasperated the paper combates in declarations, each party insisting the law was on their side; to which the people yielded obedience, as they saw it for their conveniency. Some men, well affected to the crown, and averse to the extravagant carriage of the house of commons, could not conceal their aversion to the commission of array, as a thing unwarrantable by law; and many believed, if the king had applied himself

himself to the old known way of lords lieutenants, and their deputies, it had been more beneficial to his service; for the people, having never heard of a commission of array, were easily blown up to a jealousy by the specious suggestions of the houses. Some time after, the king made a vain attempt upon Hull, and upon his return to York, found himself, by an accident that fell out, under an absolute necessity of declaring war: the accident was, that Colonel Goring, governor of Portsmouth, had declared for his majesty, and refused to obey the parliament; who had thereupon sent Sir William Waller, with an army under his command, to reduce that town. The king's affairs received a considerable reputation, in that so important a place as Portsmouth, and so good an officer as Goring was returned to his duty; whereupon, he forthwith published a declaration, in which he recited all the insolent rebellious actions of the two houses against him, forbidding all his subjects to pay any obedience to them; and at the same time published his proclamation, "requiring all men, who could bear arms, to come to him at Nottingham, where he intended to set up his royal standard; which all his good subjects were obliged to attend." Thus far the earl of Clarendon. By all which passages it appears, that after reciprocal provocations given, and many unwarrantable things done on both sides, two contending parties in the same nation, rose up in arms, endeavouring the one to conquer and destroy the other; and what is this but a civil war?

The authors of the libels published against Dr. Kennet are so unfair, as to suspect the praises he bestows, in the first page of his sermon, upon King Charles, whom he sincerely and justly calls 'the martyr of the day, and one of the most virtuous and most religious of our English princes,' as if thereby he only intended to convey the deadly poison more easily and effectually. But, to pass over these malicious slurs, let us proceed to the vindication of the doctor's general positions; the first of which is, 'That a French interest and alliance was one of the leading causes of the king's murder.'

To prove this, Dr. Kennet justly * remarks, 'That there was that frame and constitution in our ancestors, that their true English hearts had continually some secret aversion and antipathy to that neighbouring nation; and that England and France, like Rome and Carthage, stood always jealous and reviling one another. The old English aversion, continues he, seems to have begun with the Norman conquest; when our good forefathers, then lately secured by the best laws and liberties in the world, were invaded and subdued by a pretender from France; and they soon felt that foreign yoke to be so hard and grievous, that they would gladly have shaken it off; but, the more patience they were forced to, the more they hated those insolent new lords and masters, call-

ing often for their old liberties and the laws of King Edward. This anger, and sort of aversion to the French, did continue fixed and rooted in the minds of our right English forefathers; and it was this inspired spirit of emulation, that so often led our English armies into the bowels of France, and in the reprisals of honour, conquered that kingdom more than once, but never once suffered this kingdom to be conquered by the French.' To deny this would betray an absolute ignorance of our English history, and therefore I shall not go about to illustrate it by examples.

It is certain, that nothing could ever allay the natural aversion the English have to the French, but the conformity in religion with some of the latter; and it was only upon that score, that the nation was well pleased with the seasonable assistance, which Queen Elizabeth yielded, from time to time, to the reformed of France. And, by the succours that politick princess was all along sending to the United Provinces, she put an invincible bar to the progress Spain and Rome were then making towards universal empire, and kept the balance of power even between the two great monarchies of Europe.

But the next prince, † James the First, did not tread in her steps, while he governed: 'National, or the protestant interest, was no where pursued; secret negotiations were carried on with the pope; the protestants were not only oppressed in Germany, but reduced to the last extremity; and besieged in Montauban by Lewis the Thirteenth, and in Rochelle by Count Soissons and the duke of Guise; and all, that was done towards their relief from hence, was by a mediation carried on without any vigour: and which gave the people dreadful apprehensions. Spain, in those days, was still formidable, and an over-balance for all the rest of Europe; whose designs, instead of being opposed, were promoted by England, and the king meanly courted an alliance with his greatest enemy. The fear of universal monarchy awakened the whole kingdom, and brought on that parliament, which was assembled in 1621; where very plain remonstrances were presented to the throne, setting forth the dangers that threatened the nation, who still had a fresh sense of the calamities their ancestors had suffered, under the reign of Queen Mary. But Spanish gold had charmed our court; and that parliament was dismissed in anger, and several of the principal members were imprisoned, who could not sit silently and see their country lost. Thus this old prince chose rather to follow the dictates of his own will, and the pernicious advice of his favourites and ministers, than the faithful and disinterested counsel of his parliaments, who addressed to him to arm, and to enter into such leagues as might oppose the growth of the Spanish monarchy: but he entertained secret hopes, that so potent an alliance, as that with Spain appeared to be, would make him

* See his Sermon, p. 7.

† See D'Avenant's Essay on Balance of Power, p. 8. sect. 7.

‘ more powerful over his own people ; and so, notwithstanding the representations of his lords and commons, in order to accomplish this match, he broke some of those wholesome and necessary laws, made against Papists, which at last proved fatal to him and his posterity ; for by his rough dealings with the house of commons, he then sowed the seed of that discontent, which ended in the ruin of his son. The general clamours of the people, and their fear of the power of Spain, produced in that reign another parliament, which sat in 1623, and then the Spanish match was broken off.’

Hereupon, the States General of the United Provinces recommended a Protestant lady to King James ; but that prince, being resolved to have the daughter of a great king for his son, did fatally turn his eye to Henrietta Maria, daughter of France.

‘ The marriage-treaty was not so fair, smooth, and plausible in the progress, as in the entrance : for the French, perceiving that King James desired the match unmeasurably, abated of their forwardness, enlarged their demands in favour of the Papists, as the Spaniards had done before ; and strained the king to the concession of such immunities, as he had promised to his parliament he would never grant, upon the mediation of foreign princes*.’ Cardinal Richelieu, who began to have the sole management of the French king’s affairs, in concert with Spada, the pope’s nuncio, took all imaginable precautions, by this treaty, to advance the Romish religion and interest, hoping, as indeed it proved, that the ecclesiasticks, the queen was allowed to bring over with her, would propagate the popish faith ; and that the descendants of that marriage, who were to be under the tuition and government of their mother, till they came to the full age of thirteen, would by that time have sufficiently imbibed her religion, and should in time sit upon the English throne ; which the Protestants of this kingdom felt to their sorrow ; for of Henrietta’s two sons †, who reigned after their father ‡, one § did all along secretly favour the Roman Catholics, and § after a continued dissimulation, and a most scandalous life, died in that ** persuasion ; and the other ††, ‘ though not so dissolute in his manners, did not scruple to own his true sentiments, and, notwithstanding his solemn promise to maintain the Protestant religion, by law established, endeavoured by open force to destroy it.’

The conclusion of the marriage-treaty was attended, in France, with many outward and voluntary expressions of joy, as bonfires, and illuminations ; but it was only by express orders from the privy-council, that the like was done in London : for, as Dr. Kennet says very justly, ‘ our English people never could heartily approve any royal match into the court of France ;

‘ and wherever any such match was entered into by our former governors, it seems to have been against the genius of our people, and therefore fatally against the interest of these princes.’ He instances the two unfortunate reigns of Edward the Second, and Richard the Second, whose marriages into that court had the consequence of a calamitous life, and an untimely death, to these two monarchs.

‘ There was somewhat of the like pernicious influence, adds Dr. Kennet, that worked upon the tragedy of this day. Our royal martyr, by taking a royal consort from the Bourbon family, did apparently bring over some evils and mischiefs that disturbed his whole reign : for within less than one year, the French servants of that queen grew so imperious and insolent, that the king was forced to discharge them, and to humble them by a return into their own country.’

‘ A very sad doom it was certainly to the French, says one of our †† English historians ; but, as the animadversion was extreme severe, so their offences were in like degree heinous. The bishop of Mende, the queen’s almoner, stood charged for putting intolerable scorn upon, and making religion itself do penance, by enjoining her majesty, under the notion of penance, to go barefoot, to spin, and to wait upon her family servants at their ordinary repasts, to walk on foot in the mire on a rainy morning, from Somerset-house to St. James’s ; her confessor, meanwhile, like Lucifer himself, riding by her in his coach ; but which is worst of all, to make a progress to Tyburn, there to present her devotions for the departed souls of the Papists, who had been executed at that place, on account of the gunpowder-treason, and other enormous crimes. A most impious piaculary, whereof the king said acutely, that the action can have no greater invective than the relation. The other sex were accused of crimes of another nature, whereof Madam St. George was, as in dignity of office, so in guilt, the principal : culpable she was in many particulars, but her most notorious and unpardonable fault was, her being an accursed instrument of some unkindness between the king and queen. These incendiaries once cashiered, the queen, who formerly shewed so much waspish protervity, soon fell into a mode of loving compliance : but, though this *renvoy* of her majesty’s servants imported domestick peace, yet was it attended with an ill aspect from France, though our king, studying to preserve fair correspondence with his brother, sent the Lord Charleton, with instructions to represent a true account of the action, with all the motives to it ; but his reception was very coarse, being never admitted to audience. Lewis dispatched monsieur the marshal de Bassompierre, as extraordinary

* See Rushworth’s Collections, Vol. II. p. 52.

† Charles and James.

‡ Charles I.

§ Charles II.

§ See Le Vassor Histoire de Louis XIII.

** Popish.

†† James II.

†† H. L’Estrange in his reign of King Charles disposed into Annals.

‘ ambassador to our king, to demand the restitution of the queen’s domesticks; which he at last obtained for most of them.’

‘ It * was this match, adds Dr. Kennet, that began to corrupt our nation with French modes and vanities; (which gave occasion to Mr. Prynne, to write that severe invective, called *Histrion-Mastix*, against the stage-plays) to betray our counsels to the French court; to weaken the poor Protestants in France, by rendering ineffectual the relief of Rochelle; nay, and to lessen our own trade and navigation. These ill effects, beyond the king’s intention, raised such a jealousy, and spread such a damp upon the English subjects, that it was unhappily turned into one of the unjust occasions of the civil war; which indeed began more out of hatred to that party, than out of any disaffection to the king. The people thought themselves too much under French counsels, and a French ministry, or else, they could never have been drawn aside into that great rebellion. This interest, when suspected to prevail, brought the king into urgent difficulties; and in the midst of them the aid and assistance, which that interest offered him, did but the more effectually weaken him. On this side the water, the French services betrayed him; and on the other side, the French policies were at work to destroy him.’

And indeed, as Queen Henrietta had a mighty, if not a supreme influence over King Charles’s counsels, so did her mother, Mary de Medicis, who came over by her invitation, administer great cause of jealousy to this nation. ‘ The people (says the same † historian I mentioned before) were generally male-content at her coming, and wished her farther off. For they did not like her train and followers, which had often been observed to be the sword or pestilence, so that she was beheld as some meteor of ill signification. Nor was one of these calamities thought more the effect of her fortune than inclination; for her restless and unconstant spirit was prone to embroil all wheresoever she came. And besides, as Queen Henrietta was extraordinary active in raising money, among the Roman Catholics of this kingdom, to enable King Charles to make war against his subjects of Scotland, so was she extreme busy in fomenting the unhappy differences between his majesty and his English parliament.’

‘ The French, says the earl of Clarendon ‡, according to their nature, were much more active and more intent upon blowing the fire. The former commotions in Scotland had been raised by the special encouragement, if not contrivance of the Cardinal Richelieu; and by his activity all these distempers were carried on till his death, and by his rules and principles afterwards. Since the beginning of this parliament (in 1640) the French ambassador, monsieur la Ferté, dissembled not to have notable

‘ familiarity with those who governed most in the two houses, discovered to them whatsoever he knew, or could reasonably devise, to the prejudice of the king’s counsels and resolutions; and took all opportunities to lessen and undervalue the king’s regal power, by applying himself on publick occasions of state, and in his majesty’s name, and to improve his interest to the two houses of parliament, which had in no age before been ever known.—Besides these indirect artifices in the French ambassador, very many of the Hugonots in France were declared enemies to the king: and, as this animosity proved of unspeakable inconvenience and damage to the king, so the occasion, from whence these disaffections grew, was very imprudently administered by the state here. Not to speak of the business of Rochelle, which, though it stuck deep in all, yet most imputed the counsels of that time to men that were dead, and not to a fixed design of the court: they had a great quarrel, which made them believe, that their very religion was persecuted by the church of England. Queen Elisabeth, finding and well-knowing what notable uses might be made of the French, Dutch, and Walloons, who, in the time of King Edward the Sixth, transplanted themselves into England, enlarged their privileges by new concessions; drawing by this means great numbers over, and suffering them to enjoy the exercise of the reformed religion after their own manner: and so they had churches in Norwich, Canterbury, and other places, as well as in London; whereby the wealth of those places marvellously increased. The same charters of liberty were continued to them, during the peaceable reign of King James, and in the beginning of this king’s reign. Some few years before these troubles, when the power of church-men grew more transcendent, and indeed the faculties and understandings of lay-counsellors more dull, lazy, and unactive, upon pretence that the French, Dutch, and Walloons exceeded the liberties which were granted to them, and that, under the notion of foreigners, many English separated from the church, the council-board connived at, whilst the bishops did some acts of restraint, with which these congregations grew generally discontented, and thought the liberty of their consciences to be taken from them; which caused in London much complaining of this kind, but much more in the diocese of Norwich, where Dr. Wren, the bishop there, passionately and warmly proceeded against them; so that many left the kingdom, to the lessening the wealthy manufacture there of kerseys and narrow cloths.—And, whereas in all former times, the ambassadors, and all foreign ministers of state, employed from England, into any parts where the reformed religion was exercised, frequented their churches, gave all possible countenance to their profession, and particularly the am-

* Dr. Kennet’s Sermon, page 9 and 10.

† H. L’Estrange’s Annals of King Charles, page 158.

‡ History of the Rebellion, Vol. II. page 71, 72, 73, 74.

‘bassador Lieger at Paris, had diligently and constantly frequented the church at Charenton, and held a fair intercourse with those of that religion throughout the kingdom, by which they had still received advantage. The contrary to this was now with great industry practised, and some advertisements, if not instructions, given to the ambassador there, to forbear any extraordinary commerce with the men of that profession. And the Lord Scudamore, who was the last ordinary ambassador there, before the beginning of this parliament, not only declined going to Charenton, but furnished his own chapel with such ornaments as gave great offence and umbrage to those of the reformation there, who had not seen the like: besides that, he was careful to publish upon all occasions, that the church of England looked not on the Hugonots as a part of their communion: which was likewise too much and too industriously discoursed at home.—They of the church of England, who committed the greatest errors this way, had undoubtedly not the least thoughts of making alterations in it, towards the countenancing of popery, as has been uncharitably conceived; but unskilfully believed, that the total declining the interest of that party, where it exceeded the necessary bounds of reformation, would make this church of England looked upon with more reverence. And so the church of England, not giving the same countenance to those of the religion in foreign parts, which it had formerly done, no sooner was discerned to be under a cloud at home, but those of the religion abroad were glad of the occasion, to publish their malice against her, and to enter into the same conspiracy, against the crown, without which they could have done little hurt to the church.

‘Many tender lovers of their faith and country, says Dr. Kennet*, might well deplore the unhappiness of that alliance with France, which gave no small occasion to the calamity and the curse of this day: for it was from thence, that did arise the apprehensions and fears of popery. Popery that irreconcilable enemy, not only to our reformed faith and worship, but to our civil rights, liberties and properties, to our established laws, and to our settled constitution. It was for this wise and good reason, that our first reformers would never bear with any express toleration of popery, nor with any long connivance at it. That excellent young Josiah, King Edward VI, would not dispense with his own sister, to have publick mass in her own family. Queen Elisabeth indulged them no longer than while there were some hopes to reclaim them. Her next successor, King James, was a champion against popery, and strenuously opposed it, both as a wise governor, and a learned writer; and this gave peace and happiness to the greatest part of his administration: but, when toward the decline of it, he fell into a treaty for a match with Spain, and during

‘that treaty, did in a manner suspend the laws against the Papists, and gave his subjects an occasion to believe, that one article of that match was to be a toleration of popery. This gave such universal jealousy and discontent to his people, and the parliaments of them, that it threatened apparent danger; and if that treaty had not broke off, and thereby eased the minds of people, we know not what might have been in the end thereof. For certainly his royal son, the martyr of this day, might justly impute many of his troubles to these fears and jealousies of popery: and they really began with the French alliance, where one article was to have a publick chapel, and priests and mass for the queen and her household. This gave an opportunity of open resort to all Papists, foreigners and natives; this gave shelter and protection to swarms of Jesuits and other emissaries from Rome; this gained an interest at court for pardons and for patents of profit and preferment to the leading Roman Catholics; this brought over one or two Nuncios from the pope, to attend upon the queen. In short, this did give countenance to popery; and therefore did cast a damp and dread upon many sincere Protestants; and did put them into such terrible apprehensions of the Romans coming to take away their place and nation, that this strength of fear too much began the civil war, and helped to carry it forward to the innocent and sacred blood shed upon this day.’

In all these, Dr. Kennet speaks with the most authentick and faithful historians: ‘The Jesuits, Seminary Priests, and other Recusants, says † H. L’Estrange, presuming protection, by reason of the late match, contracted so much insolence, that at Winchester, and many other places, they frequently passed through the churches in time of divine service, shouting and ho-ling, not only to the disturbance of that duty, but scorn of our religion; yea, and one popish lord, when the king was at chapel, was heard to prate on purpose louder, in a gallery adjoining, than the chaplain prayed, whereat the king was so moved, that he sent this message to him: Either let him come and do as we do, or else I will make him prate farther off.’

In the year 1627, a notable discovery was made of a college of Jesuits at Clerkenwell, of which the same ‡ author gives us this account. ‘The first information was given by one Crosse, a messenger to Secretary Coke, whereupon he sent the sheriff to attack them; who coming with a formidable power, found all the holy foxes retired, and sneaked away; but after long search, their place of security was found out, it being a lobby behind a new brick-wall wainscotted over; which being demolished, they were presently unkenelled, to the number of ten. They found also divers letters from the pope to them, empowering them to erect this college, under the name of *Domus Probationis* (but it proved *Reprobationis*)

* Dr. Kennet's Sermon, p. 11, 12, 13, 14.

† Annals of King Charles's Reign, in the year 1625, p. 19.

‡ Page 75.

' *Sancti Ignatii*; and their books of accounts, where-
' by it appeared they had five hundred pounds *per*
' *annum* contribution from their benefactors, and had
' purchased four hundred and fifty pounds *per annum*.'

Among their papers, says * Mr. Rushworth, was found a copy of a letter written to their father rector at Brussels, discovering their designs upon this state; of which I shall transcribe these remarkable passages:
' Let not the damp of astonishment seize upon your
' ardent and zealous souls, in the apprehending the
' sudden calling of a parliament: we have not oppos-
' ed, but rather furthered it. You must know, the
' council is engaged to assist the king by way of pre-
' rogative, in case the parliamentary way should fail.
' You shall see this parliament will resemble the peli-
' can, which takes a pleasure to dig out with her beak
' her own bowels. The election of knights and bur-
' gesses has been in such confusion of apparent faction,
' as that which we were wont to procure heretofore,
' with much art and industry (when the Spanish match
' was in treaty) now breaks out naturally, as a botch
' or boil, and spits and spews out its own rancour and
' venom. That great statesman, the count of Gundo-
' mar, had but one principal means to further his
' great and good designs, which was to set on King
' James, that none but the Puritan faction, which
' plotted nothing but anarchy and his confusion, were
' averse to this most happy alliance and union. We
' steered on the same course, and have made great use
' of this anarchical election, and have prejudicated
' and anticipated the great one, that none but the
' king's enemies and his, are chosen of this parliament.
' We have now many strings to our bow, and have
' strongly fortified our faction, and have added two
' bulwarks more. Now we have planted that sove-
' reign drug Arminianism, which we hope will purge
' the Protestants from their heresy. The materials,
' which build up our bulwark, are the projectors and
' beggars of all ranks and qualities: howsoever, both
' these factions co-operate to destroy the parliament,
' and to introduce a new species and form of govern-
' ment, which is oligarchy. These serve as direct
' mediums and instruments to our end, which is the
' universal catholick monarchy. Our foundation must
' be mutation, and mutation will cause a relaxation,
' which will serve as so many violent diseases, to the
' speedy destruction of our perpetual and insufferable
' anguish of body. The Arminians and projectors
' affect mutation: this we second, and inforce by pro-
' bable arguments. In the first place, we take into
' consideration the king's honour, and present neces-
' sity; and we shew how the king may free himself of
' his ward, as Lewis the Eleventh did. And for his
' great splendor and lustre he may raise a vast revenue,
' and not be beholden to his subjects, which is by
' way of imposition of excise. Then our church Ca-
' tholicks proceed to shew the means how to settle

' this excise, which must be by a mercenary army of
' horse and foot. For the horse we have made that
' sure; they shall be foreigners and Germans, who
' will eat up the king's revenues, and spoil the coun-
' try, though they should be well paid. In forming
' the excise, the country is most likely to rise; if the
' mercenary army subjugate the country, then the sol-
' diers and projectors shall be paid out of the confis-
' cations; if the country be too hard for the soldiers,
' then they must consequently mutiny, which is equally
' advantageous to us; our superlative design is, to
' work the Protestants as well as the Roman Catho-
' licks to welcome in a conqueror.'

All this is confirmed by the testimony of the earl of Clarendon: ' The Papists †, says that illustrious his-
' torian, who had for many years enjoyed a great calm,
' grew unthrifty managers of their prosperity: they
' appeared more publickly; entertained and forced
' conference more avowedly, than had been known
' before. They were known not only secret authors,
' but open promoters of the most grievous projects.
' The priests had forgotten their former modesty and
' fear, and were as willing to be known, as listened to:
' infomuch as a Jesuit at Paris, designing for England,
' had the impudence to visit the ambassador there, and
' offering his service, acquainted him with his intend-
' ed journey, as if there had been no laws for his re-
' ception. And, shamefully to countenance the whole
' party, an agent from Rome resided at London in
' great state. They had publickly collected money to
' a considerable sum, to be by the queen presented, as
' a free gift from his Catholick subjects to the king,
' towards carrying on the war against the Scots, which
' drew upon them the rage of that nation: in a word,
' they behaved themselves so, as if they had been su-
' borned by the Scots, to destroy their own religion.'

Let us now listen to a foreign ‡ historian, who has published his revolutions of England, with the parti-
cular approbation of the late King James, and who,
being a Jesuit, cannot be suspected of partiality to the
Protestants. ' The Scots, says he, finding themselves so
' strongly supported, had no sooner received an answer
' from the court, than there arose a thousand confused
' voices, crying out that all was lost; that the king,
' not contented with having taken away from the two
' nations both their liberties and goods, designed to
' lay a yoke on their consciences, and make an absolute
' change in religion. These complaints had not moved
' the generality of people, nor rendered the govern-
' ment sufficiently odious, according to the wishes of
' the discontented, had it not been insinuated besides,
' that the king made great advances to popery,
' and resolved to make his subjects embrace it. No-
' thing was more false than this report. Charles was
' a Protestant by inclination, and never loved the Ro-
' man Catholicks; but that very report, though false,
' had such appearances of truth, as made it easily be-

* Rushworth's Collections, part I. page 474.

† History of the Rebellion, part I. book II.

‡ Father D'Orleans, his Revolution of England. Vol. III.
page 29.

' lieved.

lieved. We must do the queen the justice to say, that she had, during all her life, a true zeal for the restoration of the Catholick faith in England, and for the honour of the king her husband: but it cannot be denied, that sometimes she practised that zeal with somewhat more imperiousness, than the time allowed. Acted by that spirit, which results from the blood of those absolute monarchs, of whom their subjects require no other reason for their commands, than their will, she did not sufficiently consider, that she reigned in a country, where the most solid reasons are not always able to make the people follow the opinion of those who governed them. So limited an authority, and which must be managed with art, was looked on by the queen as a slavery, from which she used all her endeavours to free the king her husband and herself. Therefore, without much regarding the nicety of the nation, she had constantly near her a nuncio from the pope, of whose character and functions none at court were ignorant. She entertained an open correspondence with the popish lords; she loudly, and sometimes roughly, made herself a party in any thing wherein the Romish church was concerned; and having with her a great number of ecclesiasticks, who had been restored to her by the peace, and who, some of them, had more piety than prudence, she had frequent disputes with the most zealous Protestants, wherein the king, who loved her tenderly, indulged her humour, and even took her part, when she desired it of him. This conduct of Charles, in relation to his queen, had already made him suspected of not being too good a Protestant, whatever he did to appear such, when the zeal he shewed for the undertaking of Archbishop Laud, viz. the introducing the English liturgy in Scotland, increasing that suspicion, gave occasion to his enemies to publish, that he was a Roman Catholick, and that, in concert with that prelate, he made it his business to reconcile England to the see of Rome. The conduct of Laud was such as made these suspicions probable: for though every body agrees now, that like the king his master, he was a zealous stickler for the Protestant sect, yet there was then reason not to think so of him, by the fondness that prelate had for ceremonies; by the advice he gave to young students, to read the fathers, rather than the Protestant divines; by his denial to admit the decisions of the synod of Dort; and much more than all this, by the conduct of the earl of Strafford, lord lieutenant of Ireland, his intimate friend, and confident of all his designs.—That prelate had procured him the government of Ireland, in hopes he should second his projects; and that lord, wisely foreseeing that Laud would raise all the Presbyterians against the king, raised an army in that island to maintain the royal authority; and though he was a Protestant, as well as his master and friend, he had done the Roman Catholicks the honour to believe them better affected

to their prince, than the rest: and therefore had composed his army of them.

What the Jesuit advances concerning Archbishop Laud, may be further illustrated by what Dr. Welwood says* of that prelate, 'That scarce any age has produced a man, whose actions and conduct have been more obnoxious to obloquy, or given greater occasion for it. There was, adds the doctor, one thread that run through his whole accusation, and upon which most of the articles of his impeachment turned: and that was, his inclination to popery, and his design to introduce the Romish religion: of which his immortal book against Fisher, and his declaration at his death, do sufficiently acquit him. And yet not Protestants only, but even Roman Catholicks themselves were led into this mistake; otherwise they would not have dared to offer one in his post a cardinal's cap, as he confesses in his diary they did twice. The introduction of a great many pompous ceremonies into the church: the licensing some books that spoke favourably of the church of Rome, and the refusing to license others that were writ against it, were the principal causes of his being thus misrepresented: and, indeed, his behaviour in some of these matters, as likewise in the star-chamber, and high-commission-court, can hardly be accounted for, and particularly his theatrical manner of consecrating Catherine Creed Church in London; which is related at length by Mr. Rushworth, in the second part of his Historical Collections, vol. I. p. 72.'

By all these it plainly appears, that the doubts and fears of popery were not groundless, and according to Dr. Kennet's assertion, 'That they lost an orthodox and most regular prince the hearts of too many of his people; and almost robbed him of the next valuable blessing, his good name. For upon his tender compliance with his intirely beloved royal consort, his enemies took advantage to misrepresent him for a Papist; though this was a calumny false and malicious.'

In the third place, † Dr. Kennet mentions the jealousies, the thoughts and dread of oppression and illegal power, among the leading causes of the king's murder: for, as he wisely remarks, 'Tyranny and oppression seem in their nature made to hate, and yet to help forward one another. And former princes did rarely infringe the charter of publick liberties, without hurting themselves, and leaving a wound upon monarchy itself. For the least attempts towards slavery and exorbitant power raised up the appearance of a yoke, that our forefathers were not able to bear, and we are their offspring. Doctor Kennet is far from thinking, that King Charles ever proposed to injure the birth-right of his subjects: but, adds he, how happy had it been for the peace of that reign, if even doubts and suspicions had been wanting, if the body of a good natured English peo-

* Welwood's Memoirs, page 61.

† See his Sermon, page 15, & seq.

ple had but thought themselves secure in their legal rights and tenures, for then they could never have been seduced into that unnatural rebellion. They must of necessity first believe, that their liberties and estates were in some danger, and under that prospect and persuasion, they must have been drawn in, for the meaning, at least, of self-preservation. How happy, if no tonnage or customs had been exacted, without a bill to be easily obtained for them! If no awing into loans and benevolence, if no projecting extraordinary supplies, without the readier aid of parliament; and especially if no levying of ship-money to the surprise and burthen of the people, who never had a notion of taxes, but as of money given by their own consent! These hardships (to call them by that name only) did serve to exasperate the minds of the people, and did prepare them by degrees to be led out first in riots and tumults, and then in troops and armies, against their lawful sovereign. And though it is certain, that the king himself did not hastily contrive or command any of those hard measures, but he had his ministers to propose them, and his very judges to approve them; yet, good prince, he answered for the account, and at the foot of it, with invincible patience paid down his royalty and his life.

In all this the reverend divine speaks with the most faithful and impartial historians. In this perplexed difficulty, says * one of these: 'At length his council agreed to set that great engine his prerogative on work: many projects were hammered on that forge, but that which the council stuck closest to, was the issuing of a commission, dated the thirteenth of October, 1626, for raising of almost two hundred thousand pounds by way of loan; and the more to expedite this levy, the commissioners were instructed to represent to the subjects the deplorable estate of Rochelle. These were plausible insinuations: but all would not smooth the asperity of this illegal tax; Rochelle and all other foreign considerations must stand by, when inbred liberty is disputed; so that the almost moiety of the kingdom opposed it to durance. Upon this account of refusal, prisoners, some of the nobility, and most of the prime gentry, were daily brought in by scores; I might almost say by counties, so that the council-table had almost as much work to provide prisons, as to supply the king's necessities.' "The assessment of the general loan, says † Mr. Rushworth, did not pass currently with the people; for some persons absolutely refused to subscribe their names, or to say, they were willing to lend, if able. Whereupon the council directed their warrant to the commissioners of the navy, to impress those men to serve in the ships ready to go out in his majesty's service.——The non-subscribers of high rank and right, in all the counties were bound over by recognisance, to render their

appearance at the council-table, and performed the same accordingly, and divers of them were committed to prison; but the common sort to appear in the military yard near St. Martin's in the Fields; before the lieutenant of the Tower of London, by him to be there enrolled among the companies of soldiers; that they who refused to assist with their purses, should serve in their persons." "Among the rest ‡, Sir Peter Hayman, refusing to part with loan-money, was called before the lords of the council, and commanded to go into his majesty's service into the Palatinate.

Among other means of raising money, says Dr. Welwood §, that of loan was fallen upon; which met with great difficulties, and was generally taken to be illegal. One Sibthorp, an obscure person, in a sermon preached at the assizes at Northampton, would make his court by asserting not only the lawfulness of this way of imposing money by loan, but that it was the indispensable duty of the subject to comply with it. At the same time Dr. Manwaring, another divine, preached two sermons before the king at Whitehall, in which he advanced these doctrines, viz. "That the king is not bound to observe the laws of the realm, concerning the subjects rights and liberties; but that his royal word and command, in imposing loans and taxes without consent of parliament, does oblige the subject's conscience, upon pain of eternal damnation. That those who refused to pay this loan, did offend against the law of God, and became guilty of impiety, disloyalty, and rebellion. And that the authority of parliaments is not necessary for raising of aids and subsidies."

Every body knew that Abbot was averse to such doctrines: and to seek an advantage against him, Sibthorp's sermon, with a dedication to the king, was sent him by order of his majesty to license. Abbot refused, and gave his reasons in writing; which Bishop Laud answered, and with his own hand licensed both Sibthorp's and Manwaring's sermons. Upon this Archbishop Abbot was confined to his country house, and suspended from his function; the administration of which was committed to Bishop Laud, and some others of his recommendation.

How happy had it been for King Charles, if, in his time, instead of such divines as Sibthorp and Manwaring, none had ascended the pulpits, but men of the principles of Dr. Kennet, who has a right notion of our English constitution; which, if carefully preserved, holds out in the most regular health and safety; but if once put out of order, it is hard to set right again!

Let us now attend how the earl of Clarendon relates § the grievances and oppression of this reign: The proclamation, says he, issued out at the dissolu-

* H. L'Estrange's Reign of King Charles, p. 63, 64.

† Historical Collections, p. 1. Vol. I. p. 422.

‡ Id. p. 431.

§ Welwood's Memoirs, p. 44.

§ History of the Rebellion, part I. book I.

tion of the second parliament, afflicted many good men so far, that it laid their ears open to the insinuations of those who made it their business to infuse an ill opinion into men, that by it the king declared, he really intended we should have no more parliaments; and the danger of such an inquisition being by this notion removed, ill men were not only encouraged to all license, but even those who had no propensity to ill, imagining themselves above the reach of ordinary justice, learned by degrees to look on that as no fault, which was like to find no punishment. Provisional acts of state were formed to supply defect of laws; so tonnage and poundage, which had absolutely been refused to be settled by parliament, were collected upon merchandise by order of the council-board; antiquated laws were revived, and with rigour executed;—the law of knighthood which, though founded in right, was in the method of its execution very grievous; the laws of the forest, by virtue of which, not only great fines were imposed, but yearly rents designed, and like to have been settled by contract; and lastly, for an everlasting supply upon all occasions, a writ directed in form of law to, the sheriff of every county in England, to send a ship amply provided for the king's service; and with an instruction, that instead of a ship, such a sum of money should be levied upon each county; with directions, how those that were refractory should be proceeded against, from whence that tax was called *ship-money*, were not the only *unjust, scandalous, and ridiculous projects* at that time set on foot. —And here the use the judges were put to in this, and like acts of power, redound much to the mischief and damage of the crown and state, in whose integrity and innocence the dignity of the laws mainly resided; the mysteries of which, when they had measured by the standard of what they called *general reason*, and explained by the wisdom of state, they justly deserved that irreverence and scorn, with which the house of peers afterward used them.

Though the nation in general bore no ill-will to the church, either in the point of doctrine or discipline, yet were they jealous that popery was not sufficiently discouraged, and were easily persuaded to believe any thing they had not been used to, and which they called *innovation*, was admitted purely to please the Papists. The archbishop* had all his life-time vigorously opposed Calvin's doctrine, and thereupon his enemies called him a Papist.—He retained, when he came into authority, too sharp a memory of those by whom he had been persecuted; and was but too guilty himself of the same passion he complained of in his adversaries; that as they accused him of popery, for maintaining some doctrinal points they disliked, so he looked on some persons as enemies to the discipline of the church, because they agreed with Calvin in some points of doctrine. He was a man of great courage and resolution, and

resolved to make the discipline of the church felt, as well as spoken of, applying it without any respect of persons, as much to the greatest, as meanest offenders. There were three persons, Prynne, Burton, and Bastewick, most notorious for their avowed malice to the government of the church, which in their several writings they had published: one of them was a divine, the other a common lawyer, and the third a doctor of physick; and though neither of them had any interest or esteem with the worthy part of their several professions, yet when they were all sentenced and exposed like common rogues upon scaffolds, to have their ears cut off, and their faces and foreheads branded with red-hot irons, men began no longer to consider their manners, but the men, and each profession imagined their education, degree and quality, had raised them above the reach of such infamous judgments, and treasured up wrath for the time to come.

The convocation, says the same author in another place†, was, after the dissolution of the last parliament, continued by a new writ, and sat under the proper name of a synod; made canons, which men thought it might do, and gave subsidies, and enjoined oaths, which without doubt, it could not do; in a word, did several things, which in the best of times, might have been questioned, and were therefore certain to be condemned in the worst; and drew the same prejudice upon the whole body, to which only some particular clergymen were before exposed.

The high-commission-court was erected in the first year of Queen Elisabeth, and was of great use for the maintaining the peace and dignity of the church, whilst it was exercised with moderation. But of late, the great power of some bishops at court had made it overflow its banks, and thereupon gained it many enemies.—The star-chamber-court was of late grown so exorbitant, that there were few persons who had not suffered by it. For they had enlarged their jurisdiction, from the cognizance of riot, perjury, and the most notorious misdemeanors, to the vindicating all proclamations and orders of state, to the maintaining illegal commissions and grants of monopolies, so that no man was free from the lash of it, any longer than he resolved to submit to those, and such like extraordinary courses.

Fourthly, Among the causes that conspired in the murder of King Charles the First Dr. Kennet‡, mentions the growth of immorality and profaneness, which were unhappily objected to the reign of this prince, though he was himself a very devout and conscientious prince. And really, adds that reverend divine, it was no wonder, if, under the covert of popery, a spirit of prophaneness did more sensibly obtain. It is not want of charity to say, what we see with our eyes, that the principles of popery are adapted to a looseness in morals; and that therefore the general practice of the members of that church

* Laud.

† History of the Rebellion, book II.

‡ See his Sermon, p. 22, 23.

‘ is strict in nothing but little outward observations. We are not to believe all the complaints that serious persons made of the dissoluteness of the king’s army at that time. It was a juster objection *, that the prophaneness of the English stage began then to be more scandalous, than it had been in former times. So very scandalous, that, in pure indignation, a learned tract was written against this growing evil, or, as in his own title, against the intolerable mischiefs and abuses of common plays and play-houses. But this reproof of impiety did so offend the French party, and made them so incense the queen, that the author, Mr. Prynne, was prosecuted and stigmatised for it, with a severity that was thought to be cruel.’

All this is confirmed by the testimonies of historians : In the year 1618, says H. L’Estrange (in his *Annals* † of King Charles’s reign) King James published a declaration, tolerating sports on the Lord’s day, called Sunday. This declaration then caused so many impetuous clamours against it, as it was soon after called in : and was, this October (1633) revived and ratified by King Charles. The express design of this was, to restore the feasts and dedications of churches, commonly called wakes, to their ancient solemnity, and to allow the use of lawful pastimes in the lower row upon that day. It was also argued in favour of it, that there was in the kingdom a potent tendency in many to Judaism, occasioned by the dangerous doctrine of several Puritans, especially of one Theophilus Brabourn, an obscure and ignorant school-master, asserting the perpetual and indispensable morality of the Sabbath of the fourth commandment. Again, in others no small inclination to Popery, occasioned by the rigour and strictness of Sabbatharian ministers, in denying people recreations on the Sunday. But all these plausible insinuations operated little to a welcome entertainment : nor was there any one royal edict, during all King Charles’s reign, resented with equal regret. The fault was least his majesty’s, and not only ill counsel, but ill custom was to blame : for, too true it is, the divinity of the Lord’s day was then new divinity at court, where the publick assemblies once over, the indulgence of secular employment and recreations was thought so little disservice to God, as not only civil affairs were usually debated at the council-table, but also representations of masques were rarely on no other than Sabbath nights : and all this fomented by both doctrine and practice of men very eminent in the church ; which seemed the greater prodigy, that men, who so eagerly cried up their own orders, and revenues, for divine, should so much decry the Lord’s day for being such, when they had no other existence, than in relation to this.

* Hist. Massix, 1623.

† p. 128, 129.

‘ Prophaneness,’ says ‡ another author, ‘ too much abounded every where : luxury in diet, and excess, both in meat and drink, was crept into the kingdom in an high degree, not only in the quantity, but in the wanton curiosity. And, in the abuse of those good creatures which God had bestowed upon this plentiful land, they mixed the vices of divers nations, catching at every thing that was new and foreign. As much pride and excess was in apparel, almost among all degrees of people, in new fangled and various fashioned attire ; they not only imitated, but excelled, their foreign patterns, and, in fantastical gestures and behaviours, the petulances of most nations in Europe.’

‘ The clergy,’ says § the same writer, ‘ were wholly taken up in admiration of the king’s happy government, which they never concealed from himself, as the pulpit gave them access to his ear ; and not only there, but at all meetings, they discoursed with joy upon that theme ; affirming confidently, that no prince in Europe was so great a friend to the church as King Charles ; that religion flourished no where but in England ; and no reformed church retained the face and dignity of a church but that : many of them used to deliver their opinion, that God had therefore severely punished the Palatinate, because their sacrilege had been so great in taking away the endowments of bishopricks. Queen Elisabeth herself, who had reformed religion, was but coldly praised, and all her virtues forgotten, when they remembered how she cut short the bishoprick of Ely. Henry the Eighth was much condemned by them, for seizing upon the abbies, and taking so much out of the several bishopricks. To maintain therefore that splendor of a church, which so much pleased them, was become their highest endeavour, especially after they had gotten, in the year 1633, an archbishop after their own heart, Dr. Laud. Not only the pomp of ceremonies was daily increased, and innovations of great scandal brought into the church ; but, in point of doctrine, many fair approaches were made towards Rome ; as he, that pleases to search, may find in the books of Bishop Laud, Montague, Heylyn, Pocklington, and the rest. And, as their friendship to Rome increased, so did their scorn to the reformed churches beyond the seas ; whom, instead of sending that relief and succour to them, which God had enabled this rich island to do, they failed in their greatest extremities, and, instead of harbours, became rocks to split them. Archbishop Laud, who was now grown into great favour with the king, made use of it especially to advance the pomp and temporal honours of the clergy, procuring the lord treasurer’s place for Doctor Juxon, bishop of London ; and endeavouring, as the general report went, to fix the greatest temporal preferments upon others of that

‡ May’s History of the Parliament of England, Book I. p. 19.
§ Book I. p. 22, 23, 24.

coat: infomuch as the people merrily, when they saw that treasurer, with the other bishops riding to Westminster, called it the *Church Triumphant*. Doctors, and parsons of parishes, were made every where justices of peace, to the great grievance of the country in civil affairs, and depriving them of their spiritual edification. The archbishop, by the same means which he used to preserve his clergy from contempt, exposed them to envy; and, as the wisest could then prophesy, to a more than probability of losing all: as we read of some men, who, being foredoomed by an oracle to a bad fortune, have run into it by the same means they used to prevent it. The like unhappy course did the clergy then take to depress Puritanism, which was to set up irreligion itself against it, the worst weapon which they could have chosen to beat it down; which appeared especially in point of keeping the Lord's day; when not only books were written to shake the morality of it, as that of *Sunday no Sabbath*, but sports and pastimes of jollity and lightness permitted to the country people, upon that day, by publick authority, and the warrant commanded to be read in churches; which, instead of producing the intended effect, may credibly be thought to have been one motive to a stricter observance of that day; and many men, who had before been loose and careless, began, upon that occasion, to enter into a more serious consideration of it, and were ashamed to be invited, by the authority of churchmen, to that which themselves, at the best, could but have pardoned in themselves, as a thing of infirmity. The example of the court, where plays were usually presented on Sunday, did not so much draw the country to imitation, as reflect, with disadvantage, upon the court itself; and sowed those other court-pastimes, and jollities, which would have relished better without that, in the eyes of all the people, as things ever allowed to the delights of great princes. The countenancing of looseness and irreligion was, no doubt, a great preparative to the introducing of another religion: and, the power of godliness being beaten down, popery might more easily by degrees enter: and though it were questionable, whether the bishops and great clergy of England aimed at popery, it is too apparent, such was the design of Romish agents; and the English clergy, if they did not their own work, did theirs. A stranger of that religion, a Venetian gentleman, out of his own observations in England, will tell you, how far they were going in this kind; his words are: "The universities, bishops, and divines of England do daily embrace Catholick opinions, though they profess it not with open mouth, for fear of the Puritans: for example, they hold that the church of Rome is a true church; that the pope is superior to all bishops; that to

him it appertains to call general councils, that it is lawful to pray for souls departed; that altars ought to be erected: in fine, they believe all that is taught by the church, but not by the court of Rome."

By all these it is very * evident, that the liberty, and the delight, then taken in plays and operas, did help sadly to corrupt the minds and manners of our people, and to let in that looseness and irreligion, which served to suggest the wickedness and villainies, soon after acted in the civil war.

Fifthly, and lastly, Dr. Kennet justly † reckons hypocrisy as another lamentable cause of King Charles's murder: for, no doubt, many sincere Christians came in with a good meaning to one side of the unhappy quarrel, as well as to the other. But the prime engines, and the workers of them, on the prevailing side were most of them men of craft, and dreadful dissemblers with God and heaven. What artificial fasts! What procuring prayers! What deluding speeches! What abuse of holy scripture! What a noise of *curfing Meroz, of fighting the Lord's battle, of binding kings in chains, &c!* Nay, and how, at last, was the fatal blow given, by an utmost stretch in hypocrisy, by one ‡ commander putting off || another, more tender and loyal, with a sham pretence of seeking God in prayer, while, in the mean time, the royal blood was shed, and the other's plea, to spare it, was then to no purpose.

All parties allow, that Cromwell was the chief promoter of the king's murder; and that hypocrisy was his characteristical quality, is also acknowledged by all. 'His whole army,' says Sir Philip Warwick, in his § memoirs, 'was of men who had all either naturally the fanatick humour, or soon imbibed it. A herd of this sort of men, being by him drawn together, he himself, like Mahomet, having transports of fancy, and withal a crafty understanding, knowing, that natural principles, though not morally good, will conduce to the attainment of natural and politick ends, made use of the zeal and credulity of these persons, teaching them that they engaged for God, when he led them against the king. And these men habited more to spiritual pride, than carnal riot, or intemperance, so, consequently, having been industrious and active in their former professions, where natural courage wanted, zeal supplied its place; and, at first, they chose rather to die than fly; and custom removed fear of danger; and afterwards finding the sweet of good pay, and of opulent plunder, and of preferment, the lucrative part made gain seem to them a natural member of godliness.

'The bloody Independents,' says the same ** author, drew the curtain, and shew how tragical their design had been from the beginning. There are no words

* Dr. Kennet's sermons, p. 23.

† See his sermon, p. 23, 24, 25.

‡ Cromwell.

|| Lord Fairfax.

§ p. 252.

** p. 309.

‘ in the army, but that the king had been a man of blood, and therefore must be presented to blood.

‘ If the Puritans,’ says the * French historian I quoted before, ‘ adventured on this blow, it was only in expectation of an occasion to attempt a more decisive one, by extinguishing the royal authority, with which episcopacy should fall. I say the royal authority, not the king’s person and dignity: for we must do the Puritans the justice to own, that they never intended to carry their crime so far; and that they only prepared the victim, which a more bloody sect sacrificed.—It is hard † to determine when this inhuman design was formed by the sect of the Independents, for so they were called, because they pretended to carry the evangelical liberty further than the Puritans. These new sectaries were at first no otherwise distinguished from the Presbyterians, than, (as in all religious societies, the zealous and fervent are distinguished from the lukewarm, and the strict from the remiss) by a greater averfeness to pompous ceremonies and pre-eminences in church and state; by a greater zeal to reduce the practice of the gospel to its pristine purity; by prayers, conversations, and discourses, which seemed to be the result of enthusiasm and inspiration. Their opinions about Independency (for they rejected not only bishops, but even synods) procured them a peculiar appellation, and rendered them suspected to the Presbyterians, with whom they had some disputes. But, notwithstanding this opposition, the Independents, adding artifice, flattery, promises, and good offices to their affected air of sanctity, made such a progress, that they formed a numerous sect of those that had been imposed upon

‘ by their hypocrisy; and a formidable faction of ambitious and mercenary men, whom they gained in all the other sects, by their address and policy.. It was one among the latter, who afterwards became the chief of the whole cabal, and who was so already, without being taken notice of. A man born without any natural propensity to evil, or any inclination to virtue; having an equal facility to practise all virtues, and to commit all crimes, according as either suited his with designs. By this stroke Oliver Cromwell will easily be known. His excellent talent for war, already so fatal to the king’s party, having added much lustre to his qualification for business, gained him such ascendant over all those of his faction, that he was become the very soul of it. Modesty and devotion, which, of all the virtues he wanted, were those he could best *dissemble*, had the more solidly established that superiority, as it gave the least offence to the Independency professed by that sect, in a man who seemed not to affect it, but rather to have nothing in view, besides the good of religion and the publick.’

Thus it appears, from all the irrefragable testimonies already cited, That, with plainness of truth, the Reverend Dr. Kennet has enquired into, and marked the most visible causes of the civil war, which ended in the murder of King Charles.

Since, by laying before us the true causes of that unnatural civil war, which terminated in the destruction of the monarchy, and the martyrdom of the monarch, he wisely cautions both those who govern, and those who are governed, carefully to avoid any thing that might tend to break, or hurt, our present happy constitution, which God preserve.

* Father D’Orleans’s *Revolutions of England*, Vol. III. p. 42.

† p. 112, 113.

The King’s Cabinet opened: or certain Pacquets of secret Letters and Papers. Written with the King’s own Hand, and taken in his Cabinet at Nasby Field, June 14, 1645, by victorious Sir Thomas Fairfax; wherein are many Mysteries of State, tending to the Justification of that Cause, for which Sir Thomas Fairfax joined Battle that memorable Day, clearly laid open; together with some Annotations thereupon. Published by special Order of the Parliament.

It were a great sin against the mercies of God, to conceal those evidences of truth, which he so graciously, and almost miraculously, by surprisal of these papers, hath put into our hands; nor dare we smother this light under a bushel, but freely hold it out to our seduced brethren; for so,

So, in the spirit of meekness, labouring to reclaim them, we still speak, that they may see their errors, and return into the right way: for those that wilfully deviate, and make it their profession to oppose the truth, we think it below us, to revile them with opprobrious language, remembering the apostle St. Jude, and that example which he gives us in his epistle. They may see here in his private letters, what affection the king bears to his people, what language and titles he bestows upon his great council; which we return not again, but consider with sorrow that it comes from a prince seduced out of his proper sphere; one that has left that seat, in which he ought, and hath bound himself to sit, to sit (as the psalmist speaks) in the chair of the scornful; and to the ruin, almost, of three kingdoms, hath walked in the counsels of the ungodly; and though in our tenets we annex no infallibility to the seat of a king in parliament, as the Romanists do to the papal, since all men are subject to error, yet we dare boldly say, that no English king did ever, from that place, speak destruction to his people, but safety and honour; nor any that abhorred that seat and council, but did the contrary. Therefore, reader, to come now to the present business of these letters; thou art either a friend or enemy to our cause: if thou art well affected to that cause of liberty and religion, which the two parliaments of England and Scotland now maintain against a combination of all the papists in Europe almost, especially the bloody tygers of Ireland, and some of the prelatical and court faction in England; thou wilt be abundantly satisfied with these letters, here printed, and take notice therefrom, how the court has been cajoled, that is the new authentick word now amongst our cabalistical adversaries, by the papists, and we, the more believing sort of protestants, by the court. If thou art an enemy to parliaments, and reformation, and made wilful in thy enmity, beyond the help of miracles, or such revelations as these are, then it is to be expected that thou wilt either deny these papers to have been written by the king's own hand, or else that we make just constructions and inferences out of them: or, lastly, thou wilt deny, though they be the king's own, and bear such a sense as we understand them in, yet that they are blameable, or unjustifiable against such rebels as we are. As to the first, know that the parliament was never yet guilty of such forgery; the king yet in all the letters of his, which have been hitherto intercepted, never objected any such thing, and we dare appeal to his own conscience now, knowing that he cannot disavow either his own hand-writing, or the matters themselves here written. All the cyphers, letters, all circumstances of time, and fact, and the very hand by which they are signed, so generally known, and now exposed to the view of all, will aver for us, that no such forgery could be possible. As to our comments and annotations, if there be not perspicuity and modesty in them, there is no common justice nor place for credit left amongst mankind; but indeed, most of the main circumstances want no illustration at all to the most vulgar capacities; and therefore we affirm nothing necessary to be believed, but what the printed papers will themselves utter in their own language; and yet, for that which is not so clearly warranted here, we have other papers for their warrant, were they not too numerous, and vast, and too much intermixed with other matter of no pertinence, for publication at this time. Touching the last objection, if thou art a perfect malignant, and dost not stick to deny, that there is any thing in these letters unbecoming a prince, who professes himself a defender of the true faith, a tender father of his country, and has been so sanctimoniously engaged with frequent, special vows of affection, candour, sincerity, and constancy, to his particular protestant subjects of England and Scotland: then know, that thou art scarce worthy of any reply, or any satisfaction in this point. Our cause is now the same as it was when the king first took up arms, and as it was when the king made most of these oaths and professions. Our three propositions concerning the abolition of episcopacy, the settling the militia of the three kingdoms in good hands, by advice of parliament, the vindication of the Irish rebels, being all our main demands at the treaty in February last, and no other than the propositions sent in June 1642. before any stroke struck, will bear us witness, that we have rather straitened, than enlarged our complaints. But were our cause altered, as it is not; or were we worse rebels, than formerly, as none can affirm which take notice of our late sufferings, and our strange patience now after the discovery of these papers, and our late extraordinary

success

success in the field; yet still this clandestine proceeding against us here, and condemning all that are in any degree protestants at Oxford, as also granting a toleration of idolatry to papists, and indemnity to the murderous Irish, in a close trading way, for mere particular advantage, cannot be defended by any, but by the falsest of men, papists; or the falsest of papists, jesuits. Hitherto the English have had commission to chastise the Irish, the Irish have had the like to chastise the English, both have spilt each others blood, by the king's warrant; yet as both have been in part owned, so both have been in part disowned, and the king himself has not appeared with an open face in the business; but now by God's good providence the traverse curtain is drawn, and the king writing to Ormond, and the queen, what they must not disclose, is presented upon the stage. God grant the drawing of this curtain may be as fatal to popery, and all anticristian heresy here now, as rending of the vail was to the Jewish ceremonies in Judea, at the expiration of our Saviour.

15.

Oxford, Jan. 9.

Dear Heart,

SINCE my last, which was by Talbot, the Scots commissioners have sent to desire me to send a commission to the general assembly in Edinburgh, which I am resolved not to do; but, to the end of making some use of this occasion, by sending an honest man to London, and that I may have the more time for the making a handsome negative, I have demanded a passport for Philip Warwick, by whom to return my answer. I forgot in my former to tell thee, that Lenthall the speaker brags, That Cardinal Mazarine keeps a strict intelligence with him; though I will not swear that Lenthall says true, I am sure it is fit for thee to know. As for Sabran, I am confident, that either he, or his instructions, are not right for him who is eternally thine.

Even now I am advertised from London, that there are three or four lords, and eight commons, besides four Scotch commissioners, appointed to treat, and they have named Uxbridge for the place, though not yet the particular persons. I am likewise newly advertised, that General Goring prospers well where he is, and since Monday last hath taken eighty of the rebels horse; and, upon his advance, they have quitted Peterfield and Coudry.

P. S. The settling of religion, and the militia, are the first to be treated on; and be confident, that I will neither quit episcopacy, nor that sword which God hath given into my hands.

29.

15.

Copy to my wife, Jan. 9, 1644, by P. A.

This is a true copy, examined by Edmund Prideaux.

31.

Oxford, Sunday, March 30.

Dear Heart,

SINCE my last, which was but three days ago, there are no alterations happened of moment, preparations, rather than actions, being yet our chiefest business, in which we hope, that we proceed faster than the rebels, whose levies both of men and money, for

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certain, go on very slowly; and I believe they are much weaker than is thought, even here at Oxford. For instance: a very honest servant of mine, and no fool, shewed me a proposition from one of the most considerable London rebels, who will not let his name be known until he hath hope, that his proposition will take effect: it is this: That, since the treaty is so broken off, that neither the rebels nor I can resume it, without, at least, a seeming total yielding to the other, the treaty shall be renewed upon thy motion, with a pre-assurance, that the rebels will submit to reason. The answer, that I permitted my servant to give, was, That thou art the much fittest person to be the means of so happy and glorious a work, as is the peace of this kingdom; but that upon no terms thy name was to be profaned; therefore he was to be satisfied of the rebels willingness to yield to reason, before he would consent that any such intimation should be made to thee, and particularly, concerning religion and the militia, that nothing must be insisted upon but according to my former offers. This, I believe, will come to nothing, yet I cannot but advertise thee of any thing that comes to my knowledge of this consequence.

I must again tell thee, that most assuredly France will be the best way for transportation of the duke of Lorraine's army, there being divers fit and safe places of landing for them upon the western coasts, besides the ports under my obedience, as Shelfey near Chichester, and others, of which I will advertise thee when the time comes.

By my next, I think to tell thee when I shall march into the field, for which money is now his greatest want, I need say no more, who is eternally thine.

18.

31.

To my wife, March 30, 1645, by Petit.

This is a true copy, examined by Edmund Prideaux.

30.

Oxford, Thursday, March 27.

Dear Heart,

I Wrote to thee yesterday by Shakefield, the subject of it was only kindness to thee; which, I assure thee, shall ever be visible in all my actions: and now
I come

I come to Jermin's account, given me by thy command, which is very clear, hopeful in most particulars, and absolutely satisfactory as concerning thy care and industry. As for the main impediment in the duke of Lorrain's business, which is his passage, Why may thou not procure him passage through France? If that of Holland be stuck at, it will much secure and facilitate the sea-transportation in respect of landing on the western coast, which, I believe, will be found the best, there being not so many places to chuse on, any where else. But this an opinion, not a direction.

The general face of my affairs, methinks, begins to mend, the dissensions at London rather increasing than ceasing, Montrose daily prospering, my western business mending apace, and hopeful in all the rest. So that, if I had reasonable supplies of money and powder, not to exclude any other, I am confident to be in a better condition this year, than I have been since this rebellion began, and, possibly, I may put fair for the whole, and so enjoy thy company again, without which, nothing can be a contentment unto me. And so, farewell, dear heart.

I intend, if thou like it, to bestow Percy's place on the marquis of Newcastle, to whom, yet, I am no ways engaged, nor will before I have thy answer. As for Jack Barclay, I do not remember that I gave thee any hope of making of him master of the wards; for Cottington had it long before thou went hence, and I intended it to Secretary Nich, if he then would have received it; and I am deceived if I did not tell thee of it.

I desire thee to command Lord Jer. to read to thee the duke's letter, which goes herewith, and in it to mark well that part concerning the transportation of the duke of Lorrain's army.

23.

30.

To my wife, March 27, 1645, by P. A.

This is a true copy, examined by Miles Corbet.

39.

Oxford, Sunday, May 4.

Dear Heart,

THE rebels new brutish general hath refused to meddle with foreign passes, so as yet I cannot dispatch Adrian May to thee, by the way of London, which, if I cannot very shortly, I will send him by the west. And now, if I could be assured of thy recovery, I would have but few melancholy thoughts, for, I thank God, my affairs begin to smile upon me again, Wales being swept of the rebels, Farrington having relieved itself; and now being secured by Goring's coming, my nephews likewise having brought me a strong party of horse and foot, these quarters are so free, that I hope to be marching within three or four days, and am still confident to have the start of the rebels this year: I am likewise very hopeful, that my son will shortly be at the head of a good army; for this I have the cheerful assurance of Culpeper and Hyde. Of late, I have been much pressed

to make Southampton master of my horse, not more for goodwill to him, as out of fear, that Hamilton might return to a capacity of re-censuring me; wherein, if I had done nothing, both jealousy and discontents were like to arise; wherefore I thought fit to put my nephew Rupert in that place, which will both save me charge, and stop other men's grumblings. I have now no more to say, but praying for, and impatiently expecting of good news from thee, I rest eternally thine.

39.

To my wife, May 4, 1645, by Malin St. Ravy.

This is a true copy, examined by Edmund Prideaux.

13.

Oxford, Jan. 2.

Dear Heart,

HAVING decyphered thine, which I received yesterday, I was much surprised to find thee blame me for neglecting to write to thee, for, indeed, I have often complained for want, never missed any occasion of sending to thee; and, I assure thee, never any dispatch went from any of my secretaries, without one from me, when I knew of it.

As for my calling those at London a *parliament*, I shall refer thee to Digby for particular satisfaction; this in general: if there had been but two, besides myself, of my opinion, I had not done it; and the argument that prevailed with me was, that the calling did no ways acknowledge them to be a parliament; upon which condition and construction I did it, and no otherways, and accordingly it is registered in the council-books, with the council's unanimous approbation; but thou wilt find, that it was by misfortune, not neglect, that thou hast been no sooner advertised of it.

As for the conclusion of thy letter, it would much trouble me, if thou didst not know, thy desire granted before it was asked; yet I wonder not at it, since that, which may bear a bad construction, hath been presented to thee in the ugliest form, not having received the true reason and meaning of it. The fear of some such mischance made me the more careful, to give thee a full account by Tom Elliot, of the reasons of the duke of R. and earl of S. journey to London, which, if it come soon enough, I am confident will free thee from much trouble; but, if thou hast not the patience to forbear judging harshly of my actions, before thou hearest the reasons of them, from me, thou may be often subject to be doubly vexed; first with slanders, then with having given too much ear unto them. To conclude, esteem me as thou findest me constant to those grounds thou left me withal; and so, farewell, dear heart.

21.

13.

Copy to my wife, Jan. 2, 1645, by P. A.

4

This is a true copy, examined by Edmund Prideaux.

Dear

21.

Oxford, Feb. 19. O. S.

Dear Heart,

I Cannot yet send thee any certain word concerning the issue of our treaty, only, the unreasonable stubbornness of the rebels gives daily less and less hopes of any accommodation this way; wherefore I hope no rumours shall hinder thee from hastening, all thou may, all possible assistance to me, and particularly, that of the duke of Lorrain's; concerning which I received yesterday good news from Dr. Goffe, that the prince of Orange will furnish shipping for his transportation, and the rest of his negotiation goes hopefully on, by which, and many other ways, I find thy affection so accompanied with dexterity, as I know not whether, in their several kinds, to esteem most: but I will say no more of this, lest thou may think that I pretend to do, this way, what is but possible to be done by the continued actions of my life; though I leave news to others, yet I cannot but tell thee, that even now I have received certain intelligence of a great defeat given to Argyle by Montrose; who, upon surprise, totally routed those rebels, and killed fifteen hundred upon the place. Yesterday I received thine of the twenty-seventh of January, by the Portuguese agent, the only way (but expressed) I am confident on, either to receive letters from thee, or to send them to thee; indeed, Sabran sent me word yesterday, besides some compliments of the embassy of the rebels ships in France (which I likewise put upon the score of kindness) but is well enough content, that the Portuguese should be charged with thy dispatches. As for trusting the rebels either by going to London, or disbanding my army before a peace, do no ways fear my hazarding so cheaply or foolishly; for I esteem the interest thou hast in me, at a far dearer rate, and pretend to have a little more wit (at least by the sympathy that is betwixt us) than to put myself into the reverence of perfidious rebels. So, impatiently expecting the express thou hast promised me, I rest eternally thine.

I can assure thee, that Hertogen, the Irish agent, is an arrant knave, which shall be made manifest to thee by the first opportunity of sending pacquets.

11.

21.

To my wife, Feb. 19, 1645, by P. A.

4

This is a true copy, examined by Edmund Prideaux.

20.

Dear Heart,

THE expectation of an express from thee, as I find by thine of the fourth of February, is very good news to me, as likewise that thou art now well satisfied with my diligence in writing. As for our treaty, there is every day less hopes than other, that it will produce a peace. But I will absolutely promise

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thee, that, if we have one, it shall be such as shall invite thy return. For I avow, that, without thy company, I can neither have peace nor comfort within myself. The limited days for treating are now almost expired without the least agreement upon any one article. Wherefore I have sent for enlargement of days, that the whole treaty may be laid open to the world. And, I assure thee, that thou needest not doubt the issue of this treaty; for my commissioners are so well chosen, though I say it, that they will neither be threatened nor disputed from the grounds I have given them; which, upon my word, is according to the little note thou so well remembers. And, in this, not only their obedience, but their judgments concur. I confess, in some respects, thou hast reason to bid me beware of going too soon to London; for, indeed, some amongst us had a greater mind, that way, than was fit; of which persuasion, Percy is one of the chief, who is, shortly, like to see thee; of whom having said this, it is enough to shew thee how he is to be trusted, or believed by thee concerning our proceedings here. In short, there is little or no appearance, but that this summer will be the hottest for war of any that hath been yet; and be confident, that, in making peace, I shall ever shew my constancy in adhering to bishops, and all our friends, and not forget to put a short period to this perpetual parliament. But, as thou loves me, let none persuade thee to slacken thine assistance for him who is eternally thine,

C. R.

15.

4

Oxford, Feb. 25, 1645.

To my wife, Feb. 15, 1645, by P. A.

This is a true copy, examined by Edmund Prideaux.

22.

Dear Heart,

NOW is come to pass what I foresaw, the fruitless end (as to a present peace) of this treaty, but I am still confident, that I shall find very good effects of it; for, besides that my commissioners have offered, to say no more, full measured reason, and the rebels have stuck rigidly to their demands, which, I dare say, had been too much, though they had taken me prisoner; so that, assuredly, the breach will light foully upon them. We have likewise, at this time, discovered, and shall make it evidently appear to the world, that the English rebels (whether basely or ignorantly, will be no very great difference) have, as much as in them lies, transmitted the command of Ireland from the crown of England to the Scots, which, besides the reflection it will have upon these rebels, will clearly shew, that reformation of the church is not the chief, much less the only end of the Scottish rebellion; but, it being presumption, and no piety, so to trust to a good cause, as not to use all lawful means to maintain it, I have thought of one means more to furnish thee for my assistance, than hitherto thou hast had: it is, that

that I give thee power to promise, in my name, to whom thou thinkest most fit, that I will take away all the penal laws against the Roman Catholicks in England, as soon as God shall enable me to do it; so as, by their means, or in their favours, I may have so powerful assistance, as may deserve so great a favour, and enable me to do it. But, if thou ask what I call that assistance, I answer, that, when thou knowest what may be done for it, it will be easily seen, if it deserve to be so esteemed. I need not tell thee what secrecy this business requires, yet this I will say, that this is the greatest point of confidence I can express to thee; for it is no thanks to me to trust thee in any thing else, but in this, which is the only thing of difference in opinion betwixt us; and yet I know, thou wilt make as good a bargain for me, even in this. I trusting thee, though it concern religion, as if thou wert a protestant, the visible good of my affairs so much depending on it, I have so fully intrusted this bearer, Pooley, that I will not say more to thee now, but that herewith I send thee a new cypher, assuring thee, that none hath, or shall have, any copy of it but myself, to the end thou mayest use it, when thou shalt find fit to write any thing, which thou wilt judge worthy of thy pains to put in cypher, and to be decyphered by none but me, and so likewise from him to thee, who is eternally thine.

20.

23.

To my wife, March 5, 1645, by Pooley.

This is a true copy, examined by Edmund Prideaux.

33.

The little, that is here in cypher, is in that which I sent to thee by Pooley.

Oxford, Wednesday, April 9, 1645.

Dear Heart,

THOUGH it be an uncomfortable thing to write by a slow messenger, yet all occasions of this, which is now the only way of conversing with thee, are so welcome to me, as I shall be loth to lose any; but expect neither news or publick business from me, by this way of conveyance; yet, judging thee by myself, even these nothings will not be unwelcome to thee, though I should chide thee, which, if I could, I would do, for thy too sudden taking alarms; I pray thee consider, since I love thee above all earthly things, and that my contentment is inseparably conjoined with thine, Must not all my actions tend to serve and please thee? If thou knew what a life I lead (I speak not in respect of the common distractions) even in point of conversation, which, in my mind, is the chief joy or vexation of one's life, I dare say that thou would pity me; for some are too wise, others too foolish, some too busy, others too reserved, many fantastick. In a word, when I know none better (I speak not now in relation to business) than 359. 8. 270. 55. 5. 7. 67. 18. 294. 35. 69. 16. 54. 6. 38. 1. 67. 68. 9. 66. thou may easily judge how my conversation

pleaseth me. I confess, thy company hath, perhaps, made me in this hard to be pleased, but not less to be pitied by thee, who art the only cure for this disease. The end of all is this, to desire thee to comfort me, as often as thou can, with thy letters; and dost not thou think, that, to know particulars of thy health, and how thou spendest the time, are pleasing subjects unto me. though thou hast no other business to write of? Believe me, sweet heart, thy kindness is as necessary to comfort my heart, as thy assistance is for my affairs.

To my wife, 9 April, 1645, by Binion.

This is a true copy, examined by Miles Corbet.

X.

Oxford, Thursday, March 20.

Dear Heart,

UPON Saturday last I wrote to thee by Sabran, but this I believe may come as soon to thee, and I have received thine, of the seventh, upon Monday last, which gave me great contentment, both in present and expectation, the quick passage being likewise a welcome circumstance; and yet I cannot but find a fault of omission in most of thy later dispatches, there being nothing in them concerning thy health. For though I confess, that, in this, no news is good news, yet I am not so satisfied, without a more perfect assurance, and I hope thou wilt, by satisfying me, confess the justness of this my exception. I am now full fraught with expectation, I pray God send me a good unloading, for I look daily for some blow of importance to be given about Taunton, or Shrewsbury; and I am confidently assured of a considerable and sudden supply of men from Ireland. Likewise the refractory horse, as the London rebels calls them, may be reckoned in, for yet it is not known what fomenters they have, or whether they have none; if the latter, there is the more hope of gaining them to me; howsoever, I doubt not, but, if they stand out, as it is probable, good use may be made of them. Of this I believe to give thee a perfecter account next week, having sent to try their pulses; Petit came yesterday, but he, having at London thrust his dispatches into the states ambassador's packets, I have not yet received them, and I would not stay to lengthen this in answer of them, nor give thee half-hopes of good western news, knowing of an opportunity for writing to thee within these three or four days; only I congratulate with thee for the safe arrival of thy tin-adventure at Calais, and so farewell, dear heart.

Thine of the tenth I have newly received, whereby I find that thou much mistakes me concerning Ireland, for I desire nothing more than a peace there, and never forbid thy commerce there; only I gave thee warning of some Irish in France, whom I then thought, and now know to be knaves.

To my wife, March the 20th, 1644-5, by P. A.

This is a true copy, examined by Edmund Prideaux.

Y y

Dear

XI.

*Droitwich, Wednesday, May 14.**Dear Heart,*

MARCHING takes away the conveniency of sending my letters so safe and quick to thee, as when I was at Oxford, however, I shall not fail to do what I can to send often to thee; there is so little news for the present, as I will leave that subject for others, only, upon Saturday last, I received a dispatch from Montrose, which assures me his condition to be so good, that he bids me be confident, that his countrymen shall do me no great harm this year, and, if I could lend him but five hundred horse, he would undertake to bring me twenty thousand men before the end of this summer. For the general state of my affairs, we all here think to be very hopeful, this army being of a good strength, well ordered, and increasing; my son's such, that Fairfax will not be refused to be fought with, of which I hope thou wilt receive good satisfaction from himself. It is true that I cannot brag for store of money, but a sharp sword always hinders starving at least, and I believe the rebels coffers are not very full (and certainly we shall make as good a shift with empty purses as they) or they must have some greater defect, else their levies could not be so backward as they are, for, I assure thee, that I have at this instant many more men in the field than they. I am not very confident what their northern forces are, but expect they are much stronger than I am made believe. I may likewise include them.

Now I must make a complaint to thee of my son Charles, which troubles me the more, that thou mayest suspect I seek, by equivocating, to hide the breach of my word, which I hate above all things, especially to thee: it is this, he hath sent to desire me, that Sir John Greenfield may be sworn gentleman of his bed-chamber, but already so publickly engaged in it, that the refusal would be a great disgrace, both to my son and the young gentleman, to whom it is not fit to give a just dislike, especially now, considering his father's merits, his own hopefulness, besides the great power that family has in the west: yet I have refused the admitting of him, until I shall hear from thee. Wherefore, I desire thee first to chide my son, for engaging himself without one of our consents; then, not to refuse thy own consent; and, lastly, to believe, that directly or indirectly I never knew of this while yesterday, at the delivery of my son's letter; so farewell, sweet-heart, and God send me good news from thee.

To my wife, May 14, 1645.

This is a true copy, examined by Miles Corbet.

XII.

Dear Heart,

I Know thy affection to me so truly grounded, that thou wilt be in as much, if not more, trouble to find my reputation, as my life in danger; therefore,

lest the false sound of my offering a treaty to the rebels upon base and unsafe terms should disturb thy thoughts, I have thought it necessary, to assure thy mind from such rumours, to tell thee the ways I have used to come to a treaty, and upon what grounds. I shall first shew thee my grounds, to the end thou may the better understand and approve of my ways; then know, as a certain truth, that all, even my party, are strangely impatient for peace, which obliged me so much the more, at all occasions, to shew my real intentions to peace; and likewise I am put in very good hope, some hold it a certainty, that, if I could come to a fair treaty, the ring-leading rebels could not hinder me from a good peace; first, because their own party are most weary of the war, and likewise for the great distractions, which, at this time, most assuredly are amongst themselves, as Presbyterians against Independents in religion, and general against general, in point of command: upon these grounds a treaty being most desirable, not without hope of good success, the most probable means to procure it was to be used, which might stand with honour and safety; amongst the rest, for I will omit all those which are unquestionably counselable, the sound of my return to London was thought to have so much force of popular rhetoric in it, that, upon it, a treaty would be had, or, if refused, it would bring much prejudice to them, and advantage to me; yet, lest foolish or malicious people should interpret this as to proceed from fear or folly, I have joined conditions with the proposition (without which this sound will signify nothing) which thou wilt find to be most of the chief ingredients of an honourable and safe peace. Then observe, if a treaty at London with commissioners for both sides may be had without it, it is not to be used; nor, in case they will treat with no body but myself, so that the condition save any aspersion of dishonour, and the treating at London, the malignity which our factious spirits here may infuse into this treaty upon this subject. This, I hope, will secure thee from the trouble, which otherwise may be caused by false malicious rumours: and though I judge myself secure in thy thoughts, from suspecting me guilty of any baseness, yet I held this account necessary, to the end thou may make others know, as well as thyself, this certain truth, That no danger of death or misery, which I think much worse, shall make me do any thing unworthy of thy love. For the state of my present affairs, I refer thee to 92, concluding, as I did in my last to thee, by conjuring thee, as thou lovest me, that no appearance of peace, and now I add, nor hopeful condition of mine, make thee neglect to haste succour for him who is eternally thine.

Copy to my wife, December, 1644, by Thomas Elliot.

This is a true copy, examined by Edmund Prideaux.

Dear

XIII.

*Oxford, March 13, O. S.**Dear Heart,*

WHAT I told thee the last week, concerning a good parting with our lords and commons here, was on Monday last handsomely performed, and now if I do any thing unhandsome, or disadvantageous to myself or friends, in order to a treaty, it will be merely my own fault; for, I confess, when I wrote last, I was in fear to have been pressed to make some mean overtures, to renew the treaty, knowing that there was a great labouring to that purpose: but now I promise thee, if it be renewed (which I believe will not, without some eminent good success on my side) it shall be to my honour and advantage, I being now as well freed from the place of base and mutinous motions, that is to say, our mongrel parliament here, as of the chief causers, for whom I may justly expect to be chidden by thee, for having suffered thee to be vexed by them, Wilmot being already there, Percy on his way, and Suffex, within few days, taking his journey to thee, but that I know, thou carest not for a little trouble to free me from great inconveniences; yet I must tell thee, that, if I knew not the perfect steadiness of thy love to me, I might reasonably apprehend, that their repair to thee would rather prove a change, than an end of their villainies; and I cannot deny, but my confidence in thee was some cause of this permissive trouble to thee.

I have received thine of the third of March, by which thou puts me in hope of assistance of men and money, and it is no little expression of thy love to me, that, because of my business, festivals are troublesome to thee; but I see that assemblies in no countries are very agreeable to thee, and it may be done a purpose to make thee weary of their companies; and excuse me to tell thee in earnest, that it is no wonder, that mere statesmen should desire to be rid of thee; therefore I desire thee to think, whether it would not advantage thee much to make a personal friendship with the queen regent, without shewing any distrust of her ministers, though not wholly trusting to them; and to shew her, that, when her regency comes out, and possibly before, she may have need of her friends, so that she shall but serve herself by helping of thee; and to say no more, but certainly, if this rebellion had not begun to oppress me when it did, a late great queen had ended more glorious than she did. In the last place, I desire thee to give me a weekly account of thy health, for I fear, left in that alone thou takest not care enough to express thy kindness to him, who is eternally thine.

The northern news is rather better, than what we first heard, for what, by Sir Marmaduke Langdale's, and Montrose's victories, Carlisle and the rest of our northern garrisons are relieved, and we hope for this year secured; and, besides all this, the northern

horse are already returned, and joined with my nephew Rupert.

To my wife, March 13, 1644-5, by P. A.

This is a true copy, examined by Edmund Prideaux.

XIV.

*Daintry, Sunday, June 8.**Dear Heart,*

OXFORD being free, I hope this will come sooner to thee, than otherwise I could have expected; which makes me believe, that my good news will not be very stale; which, in short, is this: Since the taking of Leicester, my marching down hither to relieve Oxford made the rebels raise their siege, before I could come near them, having had their quarters once or twice beaten up by that garrison, and lost four hundred men at an assault before Bostoll-House. At first I thought they would have fought with me, being marched as far as Brackley, but are since gone aside to Brickhill, so as I believe they are weaker than they are thought to be; whether by their distractions, which are certainly very great (Fairfax and Brown having been at cudgels, and his men and Cromwell's likewise at blows together, where a captain was slain) or wasting their men, I will not say: besides, Goring hath given a great defeat to the western rebels, but I do not yet know the particulars; wherefore I may, without being too much sanguine, affirm, that, since this rebellion, my affairs were never in so fair and hopeful a way; though among ourselves we want not our own follies, which it is needless and, I am sure, tedious to tell thee, but such as, I am confident, shall do no harm, nor much trouble me: yet I must tell thee, that it is thy letter by Fitzwilliams, assuring me of thy perfect recovery with thy wonted kindness, which makes me capable of taking contentment in these good successes; for, as divers men propose several recompences to themselves, for their pains and hazard in this rebellion, so thy company is the only reward I expect and wish for.

To my wife, June 9, 1645.

This is a true copy, examined by Miles Corbet.

XV.

Dear Heart,

SUNDAY last, I received three letters from thee; one a duplicate of the thirtieth of December, another of the sixth of January, and the last of the fourteenth of January; and even now one Petit is come with a duplicate of the last; wherein, as I infinitely joy in the expressions of thy confident love of me, so I must extremely wonder, that any, who pretends to be a friend to our cause (for I believe thou wouldest not mention any information from the other side) can invent such lies, That thou hast had ill offices done

to me by any; or that thy care for my assistance hath been the least suspected; it being so far from truth, that the just contrary is true. For I protest to God, I never heard thee spoken of, but with the greatest expressions of estimation for thy love to me, and particularly for thy diligent care for my assistance: but I am confident, that it is a branch of that root of knavery which I am now digging at; and of this I have more than a bare suspicion. And, indeed, if I were to find fault with thee, it should be for not taking so much care of thine own health as of my assistance; at least, not giving me so often account of it as I desire, these three last making no mention of thyself. Now, as for the treaty (which begins this day) I desire thee to be confident, that I shall never make a peace by abandoning my friends, nor such an one as will not stand with my honour and safety; of which I will say no more, because, knowing thy love, I am sure thou must believe me, and make others likewise confident of me.

I fend thee herewith my directions to my commissioners, but how I came to make them myself, without any others, Digby will tell thee, with all the news, as well concerning military as cabalistical matters: at this time I will say no more, but that I shall in all things (only not answering for words) truly shew myself to be eternally thine.

The Portuguese agent hath made me two propositions: first, concerning the release of his master's brother, for which I shall have fifty thousand pounds, if I can procure his liberty from the king of Spain: the other is for a marriage betwixt my son Charles and his master's eldest daughter: for the first, I have freely undertaken to do what I can; and, for the other, I will give such an answer as shall signify nothing.

I desire thee not to give too much credit to Sabran's relations, nor much countenance to the Irish agents in Paris; the particular reasons thou shalt have by Pooley, whom I intend for my next messenger. In the last place, I recommend to thee the care of Jersey and Guernsey, it being impossible for us here to do much, though we were rich, being weak at sea.

To my wife, Jan. 30, 1644-5. By Legge.

This is a true copy, examined by Edmund Prideaux.

XVI.

Ormond,

THE impossibility of preserving my Protestant subjects in Ireland, by a continuation of the war, having moved me to give you those powers and directions which I have formerly done, for the concluding of a peace there; and, the same growing daily much more evident, that alone were reason enough for me to enlarge your powers, and to make my commands in the point more positive. But, besides these considerations, it being now manifest that the English rebels have, as far as in them lies, given the command of Ireland to the Scots; that their aim is at a total subversion of religion and regal power; and that no-

thing less will content them, or purchase peace here, I think myself bound in conscience not to let slip the means of settling that kingdom, if it may be, fully under my obedience; nor to lose that assistance, which I may hope from my Irish subjects, for such scruples as, in a less pressing condition, might reasonably be stuck at by me: for their satisfaction, I do therefore command you to conclude a peace with the Irish, whatever it cost, so that my Protestant subjects there may be secured, and my regal authority preserved; but for all this, you are to make me the best bargain you can, and not discover your enlargement of power till you needs must. And though I leave the managing of this great and necessary work intirely to you, yet I cannot but tell you, that if the suspension of Poyning's act, for such bills as shall be agreed upon between you there, and the present taking away of the penal laws against Papists by a law, will do it, I shall not think it a hard bargain, so that freely and vigorously they engage themselves in my assistance, against my rebels of England and Scotland; for which no conditions can be too hard, not being against conscience or honour.

Copy to Ormond, Feb. 27, 1644-5.

A true copy.

Zouch Tate.

To Ormond.

Oxford, Feb. 16, 1644.

Ormond,

I SHOULD wrong my own service, and this gentleman, Sir Timothy Fetherston, if I did not recommend him and his business to you; for the particulars of which I refer you to Digby: and now again I cannot but mention to you the necessity of the hastening of the Irish peace, for which I hope you are already furnished by me with materials sufficient; but in case, against all expectation and reason, peace cannot be had upon those terms, you must not by any means fall to a new rupture with them, but continue the cessation, according to a postscript in a letter by Jack Barry, a copy of which dispatch I herewith send you. So I rest.

P. S. In case, upon particular men's fancies, the Irish peace should not be procured, upon powers I have already given you, I have thought good to give you this further order, which I hope will prove needless, to seek to renew the cessation for a year, for which you shall promise the Irish, if you can have it no cheaper, to join with them against the Scots and Inchequin; for I hope, by that time, my condition may be such, as the Irish may be glad to accept less, or I be able to grant more.

A true copy.

Zouch Tate.

To Ormond.

Oxford, Jan. 7, 1744-5.

Ormond,

UPON the great rumours and expectations, which are now of peace, I think it necessary to tell you
tho

the true state of it, lest mistaken reports from hence might trouble my affairs there :

' The rebels here have agreed to treat, and, most assuredly, one of the first and chief articles they will insist on, will be, to continue the Irish war, which is a point not popular for me to break on ; of which you are to make a double use : first, to hasten, with all possible diligence, the peace there ; the timely conclusion of which will take off that inconvenience, which otherways I may be subject to, by the refusal of that article, upon any other reason. Secondly, by dextrous conveying to the Irish the danger there may be of their total and perpetual exclusion from those favours I intend them, in case the rebels here clap up a peace with me upon reasonable terms, and only exclude them ; which, possibly, were not counselable for me to refuse, if the Irish peace should be the only difference betwixt us, before it were perfected there : these, I hope, are sufficient grounds for you to persuade the Irish diligently, to dispatch a peace upon reasonable terms, assuring them, that you having once fully engaged to them my word, in the conclusion of a peace, all the earth shall not make me break it.

' But not doubting of a peace, I must again remember you to press the Irish for their speedy assistance to me here, and their friends in Scotland : my intention being to draw from thence into Wales, the peace once concluded, as many as I can of my armed Protestant subjects, and desire that the Irish would send as great a body as they can to land about Cumberland, which will put those northern counties in a brave condition ; wherefore you must take speedy order to provide all the shipping you may, as well Dunkirk as Irish bottoms ; and remember that, after March, it will be most difficult to transport men from Ireland to England, the rebels being masters of the seas : so expecting a diligent and particular account, in answer to this letter. I rest

' Your most assured constant friend,

CHARLES R.

A true copy.

Zouch Tate.

To Ormond.

December 15, 1644.

Ormond,

I AM sorry to find by Colonel Barry the sad condition of your particular fortune, for which I cannot find so good and speedy remedy as the peace of Ireland, it being likewise to redress most necessary affairs here ; wherefore I command you to dispatch it out of hand, for the doing of which, I hope my publick dispatch will give you sufficient instruction and power ; yet I have thought it necessary, for your more encouragement in this necessary work, to make this addition with my own hand. As for Poyning's act, I refer you to my other letter ; and for matter

of religion, though I have not found it fit to take publick notice of the paper which Brown gave you, yet I must command you to give him my Lord Muskery and Plunket particular thanks for it, assuring them that without it there could have been no peace ; and that sticking to it, their nation in general, and they in particular, shall have comfort in what they have done ; and to shew that this is more than words, I do hereby promise them, and command you to see it done, That the penal statutes against Roman Catholics shall not be put in execution, the peace being made, and they remaining in their due obedience ; and further, that when the Irish give me that assistance which they have promised, for the suppression of this rebellion, and I shall be restored to my rights, then I will consent to the repeal of them by a law ; but all those against appeals to Rome and *præmunire* must stand. All this in cypher you must impart to none but those three already named, and that with injunction of strictest secrecy : so again, recommending to your care the speedy dispatch of the peace of Ireland, and my necessary supply from thence, as I wrote to you in my last private letter. I rest.

A true copy.

Zouch Tate.

The earl of Glamorgan's instructions to me, to be presented to your majesty.

THAT, God willing, by the end of May, or beginning of June, he will land with six thousand Irish.

That the gentlemen of the several counties of Monmouth, Glamorgan, Brecknock, and Caermarthen, will very speedily for your majesty's service, in securing these parts, raise and arm four thousand men.

That with the ships which shall bring over the Irish, his lordship designs to block up Milford-haven, at which time he doubts not to draw these Welch forces into Pembroke-shire.

That, to advance these his undertakings, he hath thirty thousand pounds ready, ten thousand muskets, two thousand case of pistols, eight hundred barrels of powder, besides his own artillery, and is ascertained of thirty thousand pounds more, which will be ready upon his return.

That he hath intelligence from his ships, that divers Hollanders and Dunkirkers come in daily to him.

In order to this service, he commanded me humbly to put your majesty in mind of his commission, and that he may in fitting time have such command in these counties, as may be suitable to his employment, and conducing to the service in hand : these being counties in which, if other designs of landing fail, he can land in : and that your majesty will seriously consider the services he hath done you, in composing the distractions of the county of Monmouth ; and that you will be pleased to countenance Sir Thomas Lundsford, and graciously relieve the country in such things, as without prejudicing your service, may ease them.

Concerning

Concerning the county of Monmouth only.

That, by his lordship's means, who hath now raised two regiments himself, Sir Thomas Lundsford's forces will be one thousand eight hundred foot, and seven hundred horse, which horse is intended to be quartered in the forest of Dean, in places of secure quartering, as Langot attempted to have been taken by Sir John Winter, a place of great concernment, both for the reducing the forest, and securing Monmouthshire.

That, by his lordship's intervention and endeavours, your majesty really sees he hath much qualified the sense of the grievances of the county, and moderated their complaints, by subducting the intended petition, and therefore hopes your majesty will so specially commend their humble suit to Prince Rupert, as it may be successful.

That though the prayer of their petition is to reduce the contribution to the proportion set by the parliament at Oxford, yet his lordship hath so wrought, as these petitioners have under their hands obliged themselves to continue the double payment for two months more, and doubts not, but in relation to the exigence of your majesty's service, to prevail for further time.

His humble suit is, That I may carry with me into the country your majesty's order, that the forces of Sir Thomas Lundsford may not be removed, but upon urgent occasion, until his return: and that only upon your majesty's or Prince Rupert's special order, otherwise it will be a great obstruction and discouragement in raising or continuing the number proposed.

That your majesty will be pleased, in their favour, to write your letter to Prince Rupert, and that the country may have the honour to present it; to the end they may be eased of free quarter, exactions above their contribution, and unnecessary garrisons, that Chepstow and Monmouth may be the better strengthened.

That Sir Thomas Lundsford may be qualified with authority, to protect them according to such order as the prince shall make.

These presented by your
loyal subject,

March 21, 1644.

Edward Bosdon.

This is a true copy.

Zouch Tate.

Colonel Fitz-Williams humbly prays and propounds as followeth:

THAT your sacred majesty will vouchsafe to prevail with his majesty, to condescend to the just demands of his Irish subjects, the confederate catholicks in his majesty's kingdom of Ireland, at least in private.

That, upon the consideration thereof, Colonel Fitz-Williams humbly propounds and undergoeth, with the approbation of Mr. Hardegan, now employed agent for the said confederate catholicks in France, to bring an army of ten thousand men, and more of his ma-

jefty's subjects in his kingdom of Ireland, for his majesty's service, into England.

That Colonel Fitz-Williams undertakes, for the sum of ten thousand pounds sterling, to levy, ship, and arm the said ten thousand men, and so proportionably, for more or less; and that the said money may be put into such hands as may be safe for his majesty, as well as ready for the colonel, when it shall appear, the said army shall be in a readiness to be transported into England.

That, upon the landing the said men, there shall be advanced to the colonel one month's pay for all the army, according to the muster, for the present support of the army.

That Colonel Fitz-Williams may be commander in chief thereof, and dispose of all the officers, and only be commanded by his majesty, his highness the prince of Wales, and prince Rupert, and qualified with such commissions as have been formerly granted to his majesty's generals, that have commanded bodies apart from his majesty's own army, as the marquis of Newcastle, the earl of Kingston, and others, hereby the better to enable him in the levies, as well as in the general conduct of the business; and that in respect the parliament gives no quarter to his majesty's Irish subjects, therefore, that the said forces shall not, by any order whatsoever, be divided.

That the colonel may be supplied with a body of horse, of at least two thousand, to be ready at the place of landing.

That the colonel may be provided with ammunition and artillery, or with money requisite for himself, to provide necessary proportions for to bring with him.

That the army shall be paid, as other armies of his majesty.

Having taken these propositions into consideration, we have thought fit to testify our approbation and agreement thereunto, under our sign manual, assuring what hath been desired of us therein shall be forthwith effectually endeavoured, and not doubting, to the satisfaction of the confederate catholicks of his majesty's kingdom of Ireland, and to the said Colonel Fitz-Williams, so that we may justly expect an agreeable compliance and performance accordingly, from all parties, in these several concernments.

This is a true copy of the original, sent by her majesty to the king, May 16, 1645.—

A. Lowly, secretary to the right honourable the Lord Jermin.

A true copy. *Zouch Tate.*

To my wife, by Choquen, Jan. 14, 1644-5.

Dear Heart,

POOPLY came the $\frac{12}{22}$ Jan. to whose great dispatch, though for some days I cannot give a full answer, I cannot but at this opportunity reply to something in thy letter, not without relating to something of his discourse.

As

As I confess it a misfortune (but deny it a fault) thy not hearing oftener from me, so excuse me to deny that it can be of so ill consequence as thou mentions, if their affections were so real, as they make shew of to thee; for the difficulty of sending is known to all, and the numbers of each letter will shew my diligence, and certainly there goes no great wit to find out ways of sending; wherefore, if any be neglected more, then our wits are faulty: but to imagine it can enter into the thought of any flesh living, that any body here should hide from thee what is desired that every man should know (excuse me to say it) is such a folly, that I shall not believe that any can think it, though he say it: and, for my affection to thee, it will not be the miscarrying of a letter or two that will call it in question; but take heed that these discourses be not rather the effect of their weariness of thy company, than the true image of their thoughts; and of this is not the proposal of thy journey to Ireland a pretty instance? For, seriously of itself, I hold it one of the most extravagant propositions that I have heard, thy giving ear to it being most assuredly only to express thy love to me, and not thy judgment in my affairs: as for the business itself (I mean the peace of Ireland) to shew thee the care I have had of it, and the fruits I hope to receive from it, I have sent thee the last dispatches I have sent concerning it, earnestly desiring thee to keep them to thyself; only thou mayest, in general, let the queen regent and ministers there understand, that I have offered my Irish subjects so good satisfaction, that a peace will shortly ensue, which I really believe. But, for God's sake, let none know the particulars of my dispatches. I cannot but tell thee, that I am much beholden to the Portuguese agent (and little to the French) it being by his means that I have sent thee all my letters, besides expresses, since I came hither, though I expected most from Sabran.

I will not trouble thee with repetitions of news, Digby's dispatch, which I have seen, being so full, that I can add nothing; yet I cannot but paraphrase a little upon that which he calls his superstitious observation: it is this, Nothing can be more evident, than that Strafford's innocent blood hath been one of the great causes of God's just judgments upon this nation, by a furious civil war, both sides hitherto being almost equally punished, as being in a manner equally guilty; but now, this last crying blood being totally theirs, I believe it is no presumption hereafter to hope, that his hand of justice must be heavier upon them, and lighter upon us, looking now upon our cause, having passed by our faults.

This is a true copy, examined by *Edmund Prideaux*.

Copy to the Duke of Richmond.

RICHMOND, I thank you for the account you sent me by this bearer, and have nothing of new to direct you in, but only to remember you that my

going to Westmorland is not to be mentioned, but upon probable hopes of procuring a treaty with commissioners there or thereabouts, and that you mention the security I ask with my coming to Westmorland. And I hope I need not remember you to cajole well the Independents and Scots: this bearer will tell you how well our western and northern associations go on, to whom I refer you for other things. I rest.

This is a true copy.

Zouch Tate.

Oxford, Feb. 1644.

Memorials for Secretary Nicholas, concerning the treaty at Uxbridge.

FIRST, for religion and church government, I will not go one jot further than what is offered by you already.

2. And so for the militia, more than what ye have allowed by me; but even in that you must observe, that I must have free nomination of the full half; as if the total number, Scots and all, be thirty, I will name fifteen: yet if they (I mean the English rebels) will be so base as to admit of ten Scots to twenty English, I am contented to name five Scots and ten English, and so proportionably to any number that shall be agreed upon.

3. As for gaining of particular persons, besides security, I give you power to promise them rewards for performed services, not sparing to engage for places; so they be not of great trust, nor be taken away from honest men in possession, but as much profit as you will: with this last you are only to acquaint Richmond, Southampton, Culpeper, and Hyde.

This is a true copy.

Zouch Tate.

Direction for my Uxbridge commissioners.

First concerning religion.

IN this the government of the church (as I suppose) will be the chief question, wherein two things are to be considered, conscience and policy. For the first, I must declare unto you, that I cannot yield to the change of the government by bishops; not only as I fully concur with the most general opinion of Christians in all ages, as being the best, but likewise I hold myself particularly bound by the oath I took at my coronation, not to alter the government of this church from what I found it. And as for the church's patrimony, I cannot suffer any diminution or alienation of it, it being, without peradventure, sacrilege, and likewise contrary to my coronation oath; but whatsoever shall be offered for rectifying of abuses, if any hath crept in, or yet for the ease of tender consciences (so that it endamage not the foundation) I am content to hear, and will be ready to give a gracious answer thereunto. For the second, As the king's duty is to protect the church, so it is the church's to assist the king in the maintenance of his just authority;

rity; wherefore my predecessors have been always careful (and especially since the reformation) to keep the dependency of the clergy intirely upon the crown, without which it will scarcely fit fast upon the king's head; therefore you must do nothing to change or lessen this necessary dependency.

Next concerning the militia.

After conscience, this is certainly the fittest subject, for a king's quarrel; for, without it, the kingly power is but a shadow; and therefore upon no means to be quitted, but to be maintained according to the ancient known laws of the land; yet because, to attain to this so much wished peace, by all good men, it is in a manner necessary, that sufficient and real security be given for the performance of what shall be agreed upon: I permit you either by leaving strong towns, or other military force, in the rebels possession, until articles be performed, to give such assurance for performance of conditions, as you shall judge necessary for to conclude a peace: provided always, that ye take, at least, as great care, by sufficient security, that conditions be performed to me: and to make sure that, the peace once settled, all things shall return into their ancient channels.

Thirdly, for Ireland.

I confess, they have very specious popular arguments to press this point, the gaining of no article more conducing to their ends than this: and I have as much reason, both in honour and policy, to take care how to answer this as any; all the world knows the eminent inevitable necessity, which caused me to make the Irish cessation, and there remain yet as strong reasons for the concluding of that peace; wherefore ye must consent to nothing to hinder me therein, until a clear way be shewn me, how my Protestant subjects there may probably, at least, defend themselves; and that I shall have no more need to defend my conscience and crown from the injuries of this rebellion.

A true copy.

Zouch Tate.

At Uxbridge, on Wednesday the twenty-ninth of January, 1644, the Protestation under-written was unanimously consented unto, and taken by all his majesty's commissioners appointed to treat there, touching a well-grounded peace.

XXV.

I A. B. being one of the commissioners, assigned by his majesty, for this present treaty at Uxbridge, do protest and promise, in the sight of Almighty God, that I will not disclose nor reveal unto any person or persons whatsoever, who is not a commissioner, any matter or thing that shall be spoken of, during the treaty, by any one or more of his majesty's commissioners, in any private debate amongst ourselves concerning the said treaty; so as to name or describe, directly or indirectly, the person or persons that shall

speake any such matter or thing, unless it be by the consent of all the said commissioners that shall be then living.

Memorandum, That it is by all the said commissioners agreed, That this shall not bind, where any ten of the commissioners shall agree to certify his majesty the number of assenters or dissenters, upon any particular result, in this treaty, not naming or describing the persons.

This is a true copy, examined by *Zouch Tate.*

The queen to the king, from York.

March 30, 1644; also April.

My Dear Heart,

I NEED not tell you from whence this bearer comes; only I will tell you, That the propositions which he brings you are good, but 260. and I believe that it is not yet time to put them into execution; therefore find some means to send them back, which may not discontent them, and do not tell who gave you this advice. Sir Hugh Cholmley is come with a troop of horse to kiss my hands; the rest of his people he left at Scarborough, with a ship laden with arms, which the ships of the parliament had taken and brought thither, so she is ours; the rebels have quitted Tadcaster, upon our sending forces to Wetherby, but they are returned with twelve hundred men; we send more forces to drive them out, though those we have already at Wetherby are sufficient, but we fear lest they have all their forces thereabouts, and lest they have some design; for they have quitted Selby and Cawood, the last of which they have burnt: between this and to-morrow night we shall know the issue of this business, and I will send you an express; I am more careful to advertise you of what we do, that you and we may find means to have passports to send; and I wonder, that upon the cessation, you have not demanded that you might send in safety; this shews my love: I understand to-day, from London, that they will have no cessation, and that they treat, at the beginning of the two first articles, which is of the forts, ships, and ammunition, and afterwards of the disbanding of the army. Certainly, I wish a peace more than any, and that with greater reason: but I would have the disbanding of the perpetual parliament first; and, certainly, the rest will be easily afterwards: I do not say this of my own head alone, for generally, both those who are for you, and against you, in this country, wish an end of it; and I am certain, that if you do demand it at the first, in case it be not granted, Hull is ours, and all Yorkshire, which is a thing to consider of; and for my particular, if you make a peace and disband your army, before there is an end to this perpetual parliament, I am absolutely resolved to go into France, not being willing to fall again into the hands of those people, being well assured, that if the power remain with them, it will not be well for me in England; remember what I have written to you

In three precedent letters, and be more careful of me than you have been, or at the least dissemble it, to the end, that no notice be taken of it. Adieu, the man hastens me, so that I can say no more.

York, this thirtieth of March.

THIS letter should have gone by a man of Master Denesdale, who is gone, and all the beginning of this letter was upon this subject; and therefore by this man it signifies nothing; but the end was so pleasing, that I do not forbear to send it to you: you now know, by Elliot, the issue of the business of Tadcaster, since we had almost lost Scarborough, whilst Cholmley was here. Brown Bushell would have rendered it up to the parliament; but Cholmley, having had notice of it, is gone with our forces, and hath retaken it; and hath desired to have a lieutenant and forces of ours to put within it, for which we should take his; he hath also taken two pinnaces from Hotham, which brought forty-four men to put within Scarborough, ten pieces of cannon, four barrels of powder, and four of bullet. This is all our news; our army marches to-morrow, to put an end to Fairfax's excellency. And I will make an end of this letter this third of April. I have had no news of you since Parsons.

March 30, April 3.

A true copy. P. W.

The queen to the king from Bath.

April 21, 1644.

My Dear Heart,

FREDERICK Cornwallis will have told you all our voyage as far as Adbury, and the state of my health; since my coming hither I find myself so ill, as well in the ill rest that I have, as in the increase of my rheum.

I hope that this day's rest will do me good; I go to-morrow to Bristol, to send you back the carts, many of them are already returned: my Lord Dillon told me, not directly from you, though he says you approve it, that it was fit I should write a letter to the commissioners of Ireland to this effect: That they ought to desist from those things for the present, which they had put in their paper, and to assure them, that when you shall be in another condition than you are now, you will give them contentment.

I thought it to be a matter of so great engagement, that I dare not do it without your command; therefore if it please you that I should do so, send me what you would have me write, that I may not do more than what you appoint: and also that it being your command, you may hold to that which I promise; for I should be very much grieved to write any thing which I would not hold to, and when you have promised it me I will be confident. I believe also, that to write to my Lord Muskerry without the rest will be enough; for the letter which I shall write to him shall be with my own hand; and if it be to all your com-

missioners, it shall be by the secretary. Farewell, my dear heart; I cannot write any more, but that I am absolutely

Yours,

A true copy.

Zouch Tate.

XXIX.

The queen to the king.

Paris, January 1644-5.

I HAVE received one of your letters, dated from Marlborough, of an old date, having received many others more fresh, to which I have made answer: I will say nothing concerning this, but only concerning the affair of (Gor.) If it be not done, it is time, being very seasonable at this time, which I did not believe before. I understand, that the commissioners are arrived at London; I have nothing to say, but that you have a care of your honour, and that if you have a peace it may be such as may hold; and if it fall out otherwise, that you do not abandon those who have served you, for fear they do forsake you in your need. Also I do not see how you can be in safety, without a regiment of guards: for myself, I think I cannot be, seeing the malice which they have against me, and my religion, of which I hope you will have a care of both; but in my opinion religion should be the last thing upon which you should treat: for if you do agree upon strictness against the Catholics, it would discourage them to serve you, and if afterwards there should be no peace, you could never expect succours, either from Ireland or any other catholick prince, for they would believe you would abandon them, after you have served yourself. I have dispatched an express into Scotland, to Montrose, to know the condition he is in, and what there is to be done. This week I send to Mr. of Lorrain, and into Holland, I lose no time; if I had more of your news, all would go better. Adieu, my dear heart.

My wife, $\frac{16}{27}$ December, January 1644-5.

A true copy.

Zouch Tate.

XXX.

The queen to the king. Paris, Jan. 27, 1644-5; also March 13.

My Dear Heart,

Paris, Jan. $\frac{16}{27}$.

TOM ELLIOT, two days since, hath brought me much joy and sorrow; the first, to know the good estate in which you are in; the other, the fear I have that you go to London. I cannot conceive where the wit was of those who gave you this counsel, unless it be to hazard your person to save theirs: but, thanks be to God, to-day I received one of yours, by the ambassador of Portugal, dated in January, which comforted me much to see that the treaty shall be at Uxbridge. For the honour of God, trust not yourself in the hands of these people; and if you ever go

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to London, before the parliament be ended, or without a good army, you are lost. I understand, that the propositions for the peace must begin by disbanding the army; if you consent to this you shall be lost, they having the whole power of the militia; they have done, and will do whatsoever you will. I received yesterday letters from the duke of Lorraine, who sends me word, if his service be agreeable to you, he will bring you ten thousand men. Dr. Goffe, whom I have sent into Holland, shall treat with him in his passage upon this business; and I hope very speedily to send good news of this, as also of the money. Assure yourself I will be wanting in nothing you shall desire, and that I will hazard my life, that is, to die by famine rather than not send to you; send me word always by whom you receive my letters, for I write both by the ambassador of Portugal, and the resident of France. Above all, have a care not to abandon those who have served you, as well the bishops as the poor catholick. Adieu. You will pardon me, if I make use of another to write, not being able to do it; yet myself in cyphers shew to my nephew Rupert, that I intreat you to impart all that I write to you, to the end that he may know the reason why I write not to him; I know not how to send great packets.

My wife, *17 Jan. 1644-5.*

A true copy.

Zouch Tate.

Dear Heart,

Paris, March 13.

SINCE my last, I have received one of your letters, marked 16, by which you signify the receipt of my letters by Pooley, which hath a little surprized me, it seeming to me that you write, as if I had in my letter something which had displeased you: if that hath been, I am very innocent in my intention. I only did believe, that it was necessary you should know all: there is one other thing in your letter which troubles me much; where you would have me keep to myself your dispatches, as if you believe that I should be capable to shew them to any, only to Lord Jermyn to uncypher them, my head not suffering me to do it myself; but, if it please you, I will do it, and none in the world shall see them. Be kind to me, or you kill me. I have already affliction enough to fear, which without you I could not do, but your service surmounts all. Farewell, my dear heart. Behold the mark, which you desire to have to know when I desire any thing in earnest +; and I pray, begin to remember what I spoke to you concerning Jack Barclay for master of the wards. I am not engaged, nor will not be, for the places of Lord Per. and others; do you accordingly.

Newark, June 27.

My Dear Heart,

I RECEIVED just now your letter by my Lord Saville, who found me ready to go away, staying but for one thing, for which you will well pardon two days stop; it is, to have Hull and Lincoln. Young

Hotham, having been put in prison by order of parliament, is escaped, and hath sent to 260, that he would cast himself into his arms, and that Hull and Lincoln should be rendered: he is gone to his father, and 260, writes for your answer; so that I think I shall go hence Friday or Saturday, and shall go lie at Werton; and from thence to Ashby, where we will resolve what way to take; and I will stay there a day, because that the march of the day before will have been somewhat great, and also to know how the enemy marches, all their forces at Nottingham at present being gone to Leicester and Derby, which makes us believe that it is to intercept our passage. As soon as we have resolved, I will send you word. At this present, I think it fit to let you know the state in which we march, and what I leave behind me for the safety of Lincolnshire and Nottinghamshire: I leave two thousand foot, and wherewithal to arm five hundred more, and twenty companies of horse; all this to be under Charles Cavendish, whom the gentlemen of the county have desired me not to carry with me against his will, for he desired extremely to go. The enemies have left within Nottingham one thousand. I carry with me three thousand foot, thirty companies of horse and dragoons, six pieces of cannon, and two mortars. Harry Jermyn commands the forces which go with me, as colonel of my guard, and Sir Alexander Lesley the foot under him, and Gerard the horse, and Robin Legge the artillery, and her Majesty generalissima, and extremely diligent, with an hundred and fifty waggons of baggage to govern, in case of battle. Have a care that no troop of Essex's army incommode us, for I hope that for the rest we shall be strong enough, for at Nottingham we have had the experience, one of our troops having beaten six of their's, and made them fly. I have received your proclamation, or declaration, which I wish had not been made, being extremely disadvantageous for you; for you shew too much fear, and do not what you had resolved upon. Farewell, my dear heart.

The queen to the king, June 27, 1643.

CHARLES Rex.

IT is not unknown, both to the French king and his mother, what unkindnesses and distastes have fallen between my wife and me; which hitherto I have borne with great patience, as all the world knows, ever expecting and hoping an amendment, knowing her to be but young, and perceiving it to be the ill crafty counsels of her servants, for advancing of their own ends, rather than her own inclination: for, at my first meeting of her at Dover, I could not expect more testimonies of respect and love than she shewed; as, to give one instance: her first suit was, That she, being young, and coming to a strange country, both by her years, and ignorance of the customs of the place, might commit many errors, therefore that I would not be angry with her for her faults of ignorance, before I had with my instructions learned her

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to eschew them; and desired me, in these cases, to use no third person, but to tell her myself, when I found she did any thing amiss. I both granted her request, and thanked her for it, but desired that she would use me as she had desired me to use her; which she willingly promised me: which promise she never kept; for a little after this, Madam St. George taking a distaste, because I would not let her ride with us in the coach, when there were women of better quality to fill her room, claiming it as her due, (which in England we think a strange thing) set my wife in such an humour of distaste against me, as, from that very hour to this, no man can say that ever she used me, two days together, with so much respect as I deserved of her, but, on the contrary, has put so many disrespectts on me, that it were too long to set down all. Some I will relate: As I take it, it was at her first coming to Hampton-court, I sent some of my council to her, with those orders that were kept in the queen my mother's house, desiring she would command the count of Tilliers, that the same might be kept in her's. Her answer was, she hoped that I would give her leave to order her house as she list herself. Now if she had said, that she would speak with me, not doubting to give me satisfaction in it, I could have found no fault with her, whatsoever she would have said of this to myself, for I could only impute it to ignorance; but I could not imagine that she affronted me so, as to refuse me in such a thing publicly. After I heard this answer, I took a time when I thought we had both best leisure to dispute it, to tell her calmly both her fault in the publick denial, and her mistaking of the business itself. She, instead of acknowledging her fault and mistaking, gave me so ill an answer, that I omit, not to be tedious, the relation of that discourse, having too much of that nature hereafter to relate. Many little neglects I will not take the pains to set down: as, her eschewing to be in my company; when I have any thing to speak to her, I must means her servant first, else I am sure to be denied; her neglect of the English tongue, and of the nation in general. I will also omit the affront she did me before my going to this last unhappy assembly of parliament, because there has been talk enough of that already, &c. the author of it is before you in France. To be short, omitting all other passages, coming only to that which is most recent in memory: I having made a commission to make my wife's jointure, &c. to assign her those lands she is to live on, and it being brought to such a ripeness, that it wanted but my consent to the particulars they had chosen, she, taking notice that it was now time to name the officers for her revenue, one night, when I was in bed, put a paper into my hand, telling me it was a list of those that she desired to be of her revenue. I took it, and said I would read it next morning, but withal told her, that, by agreement in France, I had the naming of them. She said there were both English and French in the note. I replied, that those English I thought fit to serve her, I would confirm, but for the French,

it was impossible for them to serve her in that nature. Then she said, all those in the paper had breviate from her mother and herself, and that she could admit no other. Then I said, it was neither in her mother's power, nor her's, to admit any without my leave; and that, if she stood upon that, whomsoever she recommended should not come in. Then she bade me plainly take my lands to myself; for, if she had no power to put in whom she would in those places, she would have neither lands nor houses of me, but bade me give her what I thought fit in pension. I bade her then remember to whom she spoke; and told her, that she ought not to use me so. Then she fell into a passionate discourse, how miserable she was in having no power to place servants, and that businesses succeeded the worse for her recommendation; which when I offered to answer, she would not so much as hear me. Then she went on, saying, she was not of that base quality to be used so ill. Then I made her both hear me, and end that discourse. Thus having had so long patience with the disturbance of that, that should be one of my greatest contentments, I can no longer suffer those, that I know to be the cause and fomenters of these humours, to be about my wife any longer; which I must do, if it were but for one action they made my wife do, which is, to make her go to Tyburn in devotion to pray: which action can have no greater invective made against it, than the relation. Therefore you shall tell my brother the French king, as likewise his mother, that this being an action of so much necessity, I doubt not but he will be satisfied with it, especially since he hath done the like himself, not staying while he had so much reason: and, being an action that some may interpret to be of harshness to his nation, I thought good to give him an account of it, because that, in all things, I would preserve the good correspondency and brotherly affection that is between us.

His majesty's instructions, given me at *Wanstead*,
July 12, 1626. Signed 24.

A true copy.

Zouch Tate.

Dear Heart,

Oxford, Jan. 1, 1644-5.

I RECEIVE it as a good augure thus to begin this new year, having newly received thine of the thirtieth of December, which I cannot stay to decypher, for not losing this opportunity, it likewise being a just excuse for this short account. This day I have dispatched Digby's secretary, fully relating the state of our affairs; therefore, I shall only now tell thee, that the rebels are engaged into an equal treat, without any of those disadvantages which might have been apprehended when Thomas Elliot went hence, and that the distractions of London were never so great, or so likely to bring good effect as now; lastly, that assistance was never more needful, never so likely as now to do good to him, who is eternally thine.

Copy to my wife, Jan. 1, 1644, by P. A.

This is a true copy, examined by *Miles Corbet.*

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Harry,

Harry,

Oxford, Thursday, April 24.

LEST my wife should not yet be fit for any business, I write this to you; not to excuse my pains, but ease her's, and that she may know, but not be troubled with my kindness, I refer to your discretion, how to impart my letter to her, or any other business, that so her health in the first place be cared for, then my affairs. And now I must tell you, that undoubtedly, if you had not trusted to Digby's sanguine complexion, not to be rebated from sending good news, you would not have found fault with him, for sending mistaken intelligence, for if he should strictly tie himself to certain truths in this kind, you must have nothing from him, but my proclamations or ordinances from the pretended houses; but tell me, Can you not distinguish between what we send you unto certainty, and what upon uncertain reports, without making an oath the mark of distinction, and are you obliged to publish all the news we send you? Seriously I think news may be sometimes too good to be told in the French court; and certainly, there is as much dexterity in publishing of news, as in matters which at first sight, may seem of greater difficulty; for as I would not have them think that all assistance bestowed upon me were in vain, so I would not have them believe, that I needed no help, lest they should underhand assist any rebels, to keep the balance of dissension amongst us equal.

For matter of news and present state of my affairs, I refer you to Digby; only this in general, that if it shall please God to assist us this year, but half so miraculously as he did the last, my present state compared with what it was this time twelve-month, I am very hopeful to see a joyful harvest before next winter; nor do I think this, in any human probability, possible, except my wife can procure me considerable assistance, both of men and money; of which I conceive little reason to despair, your last giving me good hope, concerning Lorrain, and though I say not that, for the other, I have so good an author as 196, yet I hope you will not much blame my confidence, when 194, in her's, the tenth of March, says, *Jay une affaire assuree que vous donnerez 40000 pistols, que je vous eusse envoye si j'eusse lu mon navire revenu avec l'estain.*

In the last place I will impose that upon you, that is not reasonable to expect from my wife, which is, to give me a continual account, what letters she receives from me, and what miscarries or comes slowly; to which end take notice, that all my letters to her are numerarily marked on the top, as this with 37, and likewise I now begin the same with you; so farewell.

In your next, let me know particularly how my wife is, which though it be not as I would have it, yet the perfect knowledge will hinder me to imagine her worse than she is; if well, then every word will please me. I have commanded Digby to write to you freely, concerning William Murry, which I hold to be as necessary concerning Montrose's business.

To the Lord Jermyn, April 24, 1645, concerning France.

A true copy.

Zouch Tate.

Dear Heart,

SINCE my last by Choquen, I have had no means of writing, and as little new matter; that which is now, is the progress of the treaty, of which these inclosed papers will give thee a full account; but if thou have them sooner from London than me, thou hast no reason to wonder, considering the length and uncertainty of the way I am forced to send by, in respect of the other; for the business itself, I believe thou wilt approve of my choice of treaters, and for my propositions, they differ nothing in substance, very little in words, from those which were last, wherefore I need to say nothing of them; and for my instructions, they are not yet made, but by the next I hope to send them: now upon the whole matter, I desire thee to shew the queen and ministers there the improbability that this present treaty should produce a peace, considering the great strange difference, if not contrariety, of grounds that are betwixt the rebels propositions and mine, and that I cannot alter mine, nor will they ever theirs, until they be out of hope to prevail by force, which a little assistance, by thy means, will soon make them so; for I am confident, if ever I could put them to a defensive, which a reasonable sum of money would do, they would be easily brought to reason. Concerning our intrigues here at Oxford, I desire thee to suspend thy judgment, for I believe few but partial relations will come to thee, until I shall send some, whom I may trust by word of mouth; it being too much trouble to us both, to set them down in paper.

Copy to my wife, Jan. 22, 1644.

This is a true copy, examined by

Miles Corbet.

Dear Heart,

I NEVER till now knew the good of ignorance, for I did not know the danger that thou wert in by the storm, before I had certain assurance of thy happy escape; we having had a pleasing false report, of thy safe landing at Newcastle, which thine of the 19th of Jan. so confirmed us in, that we at least were not undeceived of that hope, till we knew certainly how great a danger thou hast passed, of which I shall not be out of apprehension, until I may have the happiness of thy company, for indeed I think it not the least of my misfortunes, that for my sake thou hast run so much hazard; in which thou hast expressed so much love to me, that I confess it is impossible to repay, by any thing I can do, much less by words; but my heart being full of affection for thee, admiration of thee, and impatient passion of gratitude to thee, I could not but say something, leaving the rest to be read by thee, out of thine own noble heart. The intercepting of mine to thee, of the second of February, has bred great discourse in several persons, and of several kinds; as my saying, I was persecuted for places, is applied to all and only those that I there name to be suitors, whereas the truth is: I meant thereby the importunity of others, whom at that time I had not time to name.

as well as some there mentioned, for I confess 174, and 133. are not guilty of that fault; some find fault of too much kindness to thee, thou may easily vote from what constellation that comes, but I assure such that I want expression, not will, to do it ten times more to thee on all occasions; others press me, as being brought upon the stage; but I answer, that having professed to have thy advice, it were a wrong to thee, to do any thing before I had it. As for our treaty, leaving the particulars to this inclosed, I am confident thou wilt be content with it, as concerning my part in it, for all the soldiers are well pleased with what I have done, but expect no cessation of arms; for the lower house will have none without a disbanding, and I will not disband, till all be agreed. Lastly, for our military affairs I thank God, that here and in the west, they prosper well; as for the north, I refer thee to 226. 140. information. So daily expecting and praying for good news from thee, &c.

Copy to my wife, Feb. 13, 1643.

Oxford, Feb. 13, 1643.

A true copy.

Zouch Tate.

Instructions to Colonel Cockran, to be pursued in his negotiation to the king of Denmark.

YOU are to inform the king of Denmark, that by his majesty's command, as to the nearest ally of his crown, his uncle, and whom he believes will not be unconcerned in his affairs, as well in interest as affection, you are sent to give a particular account of the state of his majesty's affairs, to renew the ancient league and amity that hath been between the two kingdoms, and families royal, and to reduce it to more exact particulars, such as might be useful to the present affairs of England, and all occurrences in the future of those of Denmark.

That the present affair of your negotiation is to demand an assistance from his majesty, such a one as the present state of affairs in England requires, against a dangerous combination of his majesty's subjects, who have not only invaded his majesty in his particular rites, but have laid a design to dissolve the monarchy and frame of government, under pretences of liberty and religion, becoming a dangerous precedent to all the monarchies of Christendom, to be looked upon with success in their design.

That the nature of their proceedings hath been such, as hath not admitted any foreign treaty to be interested in suppressing their design, without giving them advantage of scandalizing his majesty's intentions, and drawing away universally the hearts of his people, whom they had insinuated, under pretence of reformation of particular abuses of government, and ministers of state, to concur generally with approbation of their proceedings, and in which (though the dangerous consequence and design were visible to his majesty) a present compliance was necessary, lest any publick opposition on his majesty's part, that might seem to defeat

the great expectations which they had raised in the commons in those plausible particulars, might have occasioned a general revolt throughout the kingdoms, great jealousies being dispersed and fomented amongst them of his majesty's foreign treaties and force, to be used to oppose and suppress those their desires, and the movers therein.

Upon the credit they had herewith built on the people's opinions, they proceeded under pretence of reformation of religion, to dissolve the government of the church, according to its constitution in England, a chief column and support to that monarchy and crown.

They lastly invaded his majesty in all the prerogatives of his crown, and under pretence of ill ministers and counsellors of state, whom they pretended to remove, endeavoured to invest in themselves, in all times for the future, the dominion of all ministers of state, and his majesty's family; withdrew all his revenues into their own hands, and to confirm themselves in an absolute power of disposing his estate, entered upon possessing themselves of the militia of the kingdom, his navy, and magazines; in which his majesty being forced to appear in opposition, dangerous tumults were raised against him, so that he was forced to forsake London, for preservation of his person, his queen, and children.

That since, for the safety of the queen, he had been forced to send her into Holland, to retire himself to the best affected party of his subjects, from whence, by declarations, setting forth the sinister proceedings of that faction, discovering their designs of innovating the government, and falsifying the scandals they had imputed to him, he hath had the advantage generally to undeceive his people, to draw to him universally the nobility and gentry of the kingdom. But the other faction, still keeping up some interest and credit with the commons, in the desperate estate they find themselves, begin to make head against him, have appointed a general, and are levying forces to maintain their party, committing divers acts of hostility, violence, and rebellion.

That his majesty having great encouragements given him, by the exceeding numbers of gentry and noblemen that resort to him, is already advanced near them with six thousand horse, and ten thousand foot.

That the states of Holland have condescended to give her majesty, the queen, a convoy of the greatest part of their fleet now at sea, for her return into England.

That divers forts and countries, upon his majesty's personal appearance, have declared for him; so that his affairs at home grow daily into a better estate, as he likewise expects and hopes, that all his neighbour princes and allies will not look upon so dangerous a precedent to their own crowns and monarchies, without contributing to suppress this so pernicious a design, began within his kingdom.

That to give his majesty the juster ground to reflect upon the dangerous consequences, in relation to his own interest, of their success: it hath been by them publicly

publickly moved in the commons house long since, to interpose in the accommodation of the Dutch, and to set out a fleet, to take away his customs of the sound.

That they have since imputed to his majesty, as a ground to scandal him with his people, that he did negotiate the introducing, by his uncle the king of Denmark, a foreign power to settle his affairs, and under that pretext, have given large commission, and particular instructions to the fleet, to visit, search, and intercept all such Danish ships as they could meet, and to fight with, sink, or destroy, all such as should resist them, not permitting the same, or to take and detain them, having any arms or ammunition on board; according to which, they have searched, visited, and detained divers, to the great prejudice and interruption of the Norway trade driven commonly in this kingdom, in their own bottoms: and that they did prepare force against others, whom they permitted not to water, nor any other accommodation, being bound for the West-Indies, and put in by stress of weather in the west of England.

That in pursuance of their great design of extirpating the royal blood, and monarchy of England, they have endeavoured likewise to lay a great blemish upon his royal family, endeavouring to illegitimate all derived from his sister, at once to cut off the interest and pretensions of the whole race; which their most detestable and scandalous design they have pursued, examining witnesses, and conferring circumstances and times, to colour their pretensions in so great a fault: and which, as his sacred majesty of England, in the true sense of honour to his mother, doth abhor, and will punish, so he expects his concurrence, in vindicating a sister of so happy memory, and by whom so near an union, and continued league of amity, hath been produced between the families and kingdoms.

That the particulars, in which his majesty doth desire his assistance, are, in the loan, and raising of men, money, arms, and ships, all, or such of them, as may consist best with the convenience of his own affairs: and of such, in the first place, as may be most requisite and wanting to his majesty.

That to set his levies on foot, and put him in a posture to protect his subjects in all places that adhere to him, and receive their contribution, one hundred thousand pounds will be necessary for him, which his majesty desires may be by way of loan. And for the restitution of it, besides his kingly word, and solemn engagement upon this treaty, he is contented of such his crown jewels, as are in his disposure, to leave his royal pledge; if it shall be desired.

The particulars of arms that he desires are six thousand musquets, one thousand five hundred horse-arms, and twenty pieces of field-artillery mounted.

Assistance of men he desires only in horsemen, and to know in what time they may be ready, and how many.

That the Holy Island, or New-Castle, are designed for the landing of the said horse, and magazine of the said provisions; for reception likewise, and protection

of such his ships as he shall think fit to employ, for the countenance and security of those his subjects that shall trade upon these coasts, and for ascertaining the correspondence and intelligence between the two kingdoms; in which the number is left to be proportioned, as may best sort and agree with his own affairs. And for which the Holy Island is conceived one of the aptest harbours in his majesty's dominions, being capable of any ships whatsoever, in a very great proportion, an excellent road at the entrance, a ready outlet, and a strong fort, under his majesty's command.

That in lieu of this assistance, contributed by the king of Denmark, his majesty will oblige himself, and ratify in express articles, to restore into the magazines of Denmark a like proportion of arms and ammunition, to repay and defray the charges of money lent, and levies of horse; and so soon as his affairs shall be settled, and himself in a condition to do it, upon all occasions to contribute to the assistance of his fleet, in maintaining his right and title to the customs of the Sound, against all persons whatsoever; and to ratify the treaty that was made last by Sir Thomas Roe, to enter into a league offensive and defensive, against intestine rebellions. In pursuance of which treaty, while the negotiations and articles may be severally perfected, his majesty doth expect this first supply of money, and arms, his present affairs not admitting a delay in the same.

That in case the king of Denmark will lend money upon jewels, there is in Holland a great collar of rubies, and another of rubies and pearl, that may be sent to him, or delivered to his agent here; who may have order to pay the money here; or any other jewels.

That there have been in discourses several propositions of accommodation made by them to the king, to which the king hath at all times made more advances on his part, than in reason could have been expected from him, and the difficulties have still risen on theirs.

And that, whereas his majesty doth understand, that a person is addressed to the king of Denmark from his parliament, to insinuate misunderstandings abroad with his majesty's allies, as they have done at home among his people, his majesty expects that he be neither received, nor permitted to remain within his dominions, to become an intelligencer and spy upon the treaty and negotiations between their majesties, but that he be dismissed and sent away, so soon as ever he shall arrive.

N. B. This paper, concerning Cockran, was not intercepted among the king's letters, but is otherwise attested.

ANNOTATIONS.

Much use may now be made of these precedent papers, and many things therein will appear very worthy of notice: For,

1. It is plain here, first, that the king's counsels are wholly governed by the queen; though she be of the weaker sex, born an alien, bred up in a contrary religion, yet nothing, great or small, is transacted with-

without her privity and consent. See pap. 28. If the prince makes suit to bestow a place in his own bed-chamber upon a gentleman of extraordinary merit, the king cannot grant it, to save his son's reputation, already engaged by promise, till he hath sent into France and begged the queen's grant. See pap. 11.

2. The queen's counsels are as powerful as commands. The king professes to prefer her health before the exigence and importance of his own publick affairs. See pap. 14, &c. He avows constancy to her grounds and documents. See pap. 5, &c.

3. The queen appears to have been as harsh and imperious towards the king, pap. 34, as she is implacable to our religion, nation, and government. She doth the offices of a resident in France, to procure embargoes of our ships, to raise foreign forces against us; and in this she is restless, to the neglect of her own health: she vows to die by famine, rather than to fail the king in such-like negotiations. See pap. 30. She confines not her agency to France, but solicits Lorraine for men, and the prince of Orange for shipping: she sends arms for Scotland to Montrose, speeds Col. Fitz-Williams's commission for Ireland, pap. 20, 21. The counsels also in England, which she gives the king, are of very pernicious consequence: thereby the parliament must be disbanded, pap. 27. Treaties must be suspected; great care must be had in them of her and her religion, pap. 30. Bishops and Catholics must be specially provided for, pap. 31. The king must be forwarned, that he cannot be safe longer than he defends all that have served him, pap. 31. That peace cannot be safe to him without a regiment for his guard *A la mode du France*, pap. 30. She interposes so in the business of Ireland, that the king is not seen therein, nor obliged to any thing immediately, pap. 29.

4. The king doth yet in many things surpass the queen for acts of hostility, and covering them over with deeper and darker secrecy. He employs Col. Cockran to solicit the king of Denmark, making not only Papists our enemies for religion sake, but all princes, though Protestants, for monarchy's sake; rather than fail of aid from thence, he stirs rumours about his mother's chastity; he promises to disoblige the Hollander in the business of the Sound: he pawns the jewels of the crown, pap. 39. He presses the queen beyond her own fiery propension, urges her to make personal friendship with the queen regent, furnishes her with dextrous policies and arguments, to work upon the ministers of state in France. Of his own accord, without intreaty, he proposes to the queen the taking away all penal statutes against recusants in England. It is true, he doth all by way of bargain, for his own particular advantage: but the Papists conditions are better than ours, in regard that the queen herself is trusted with that merchandise, pap. 8. He prostitutes his pardon and grace to the Irish rebels, importuning Ormond to use importunity to them, that they will accept of indemnity, and free use of popery, and desire nothing in lieu thereof, but that they will

transport six thousand men into England, and some other supplies into Scotland: for this purpose he sends posts after posts, and hastens the business, the rather because, being in treaty with the two parliaments of England and Scotland, about prosecution of the Irish, he may be prevented therein, and pre-engaged not to consent. See pap. 16, 17, 18, 19. He only excepts against appeals to Rome, and premunires; all other things he thinks cheap enough for the Irish: he must not now stand upon scruples (it is his own word) all things, not disagreeable to conscience and honour, are to be admitted; and so to grant free exercise of idolatry, though adjured formerly to the most odious, flagitious murderers in the world, is but a scruple not disagreeable either to conscience or honour. To bargain away our acts of parliament by such clandestine engagements, as pass only by papers, and dare not look upon the light, especially such acts as concern our greatest interest, even those of religion, supposes us to be slaves of the basest alloy: and it is strange, that the Irish and Papists should at all rest upon the strength of such assurances, when they see records and parliament rolls are of no virtue at all, either to the English or Protestants. See pap. 16, 17, 18, 19. He calls us a parliament publicly, yet acknowledges us not a parliament secretly: he suppresses still his not acknowledgment, only he enters it in the council-book at Oxford; and so, though it be smothered to us, whom it most concerns, yet it is registered for our enemies use, upon all occasions of advantage. This favour we found from the council at Oxford, that the name, though not the thing should be imparted to us: but even this was not willingly and freely allowed by the king; had but two of his advisers sided with him, all the rest should have balanced nothing at all in this case. This is a sign they sit there to great purpose; for, though they are more worthy to be consulted with than parliaments, yet their votes are but indifferent things, mere formalities, especially if there be any dissent at all amongst them. See pap. 5. He in shew seeks treaties, and wins upon the people by that shew, yet chuseth such commissioners, and binds them up with such instructions, that all accommodation is impossible. His aim is to win upon our commissioners, and for this purpose gives authority to propose rewards, and other allurements, pap. 24, gives advices to cajole the Scots and independents: as to the duke of Richmond, pap. 23, presses for foreign auxiliaries the more eagerly, pap. 12, 35. hopes to cast the odium of the breaking off the treaty upon our side, pap. 1. 7. 12. 15. 25. 37. He seems more zealous for bishops and papists (called his and the queen's friends) than the queen herself; and therefore assures her of his resolution therein, without any request of her's, pap. 7. He doth not think fit to treat with the rebels only by the interposition of the queen, or Ormond, but he sends particular thanks to Brown, Muskery, Plunket, pap. 19. He pretends sometimes to have the hearts of the major and better part of his Protestant subjects firm to him in this cause, yet trusts none but Papists, and therefore is advised

vised by the queen, pap. 31. by no means to disband for this reason, because all the militia is generally in the parliament's hands. We see what opinion the king hath of Wilmot, Percy, Suffex: we see what opinion he hath of lords and commons at Oxford, who have deserted their trust here, out of confidence in him; the 13th paper here tells us plainly what use the king makes of them.

The king will declare nothing in favour of his parliament, so long as he can find a party to maintain him in this opposition; nor perform any thing which he hath declared, so long as he can find a sufficient party to excuse him from it.

And indeed, it is a sad consideration, to think what unhappy use the king hath ever made of the obedience, and patient loyalty of this nation; finding always that he might, without any opposition, or danger at least, deny their just liberties, laws, and the very use of parliaments; or if some urgency, or his own necessities, or advantages, had caused him to call a parliament, he might afterwards, with as little opposition, deny whatsoever he granted under his own hand; as the petition of right, obtained with some difficulty, and broken immediately after without any scruple, may sufficiently testify. The pacification with Scotland was not assented to, until the English people shewed some averfeness to that wicked war, and were loth any longer to fight for their own slavery; nor was that pacification any longer kept, than till a party strong enough was found to maintain the breach of it. But without other instances, this parliament had been happy, the king glorious, and his people flourishing, if the king had found none to side with him against all these; and it is strange, that so long experience had not taught them more wisdom. But they are now justly rewarded, and if they will but view the king's letter, dated March 13, 1644, where it will be apparent to them, he calls those, who have deserted their trust in parliament, and given up their fortunes and consciences to a compliance with his will, by the name of a base, mutinous, and mungrel parliament, and despises them for retaining some little conscience to religion, and this parliament. Lords and gentlemen, make the right use of this, and if you be not wicked enough to serve that purpose fully, to which you are designed, endeavour to repent, and learn so much goodness, as may bring you back to the right side. There will shortly be no medium left you; whatsoever you thought in the beginning, as our charity may think you were deceived, you will find at last, that unless you think and act the same things, which those inhuman Irish rebels, or the worst foreign enemies to our religion and state, could wish to see done, you are no fit instruments for that cause, which you have unhappily chosen; unless you return to the right way, you must go as far in the wrong one, as that will lead you. The chronicles tell us, that Henry, duke of Buckingham, was dear to Richard the Third, whilst he had so much wickedness, as to further the deposing or disinheriting of his two nephews; but when he was not

bad enough to consent to the murder of those princes, he was rejected by that king, and afterwards beheaded; if you cannot learn how to go through with wickedness, learn a better lesson, to return to goodness, or else, perhaps, the wrong which you have done your country, in betraying her trust, and by consequence shedding so much innocent blood, may be at last revenged upon you by them, for whom you did it. The king, who despiseth you by the name of mungrels, as not altogether firm enough to his own design, in another late letter to the earl of Ormond, gives thanks to Muskery, Plunket, and Brown, the chief actors in that horrid massacre of Ireland; which may teach the world what kind of men he confides truly in, and who they are that must reap the benefit of his conquest, if God, for the sins of our English Protestants, should permit it; if Muskery had been at Oxford, the king had had one man more of his own opinion, in not acknowledging the parliament of England; for want of such he is forced to complain. And you may plainly see, what a dishonourable use is made of your persons there, as men merely *operis secundi*, a number only that serve to give countenance and credit to the design of a dearer party, and to persuade your country, not for your own behoofs; what is said to you, may be said to all, that are led by you, to all those thousands which have followed the king as your train; for the same opinions, which render you now contemptible to the king, render you acceptable to the major part of Protestants, which sides with you, and did at first make the king's power so considerable, as it is: if there be any thing of Protestants, of Englishmen, of men remaining in you, resume that, whatsoever it be; either acknowledge yourselves such, as the king calls you, under the rose, when he opens his breast to the only partaker of his thoughts, or declare yourselves such patriots, such true sons of the church, as the king pretends you to be, when he spreads his oratory before the people. If we be rebels at London, because we are not so servile as you are, and you are mutineers at Oxford, because you are not so servile as the king would have you: let us know by what definition either you or we are measured, and how we are distinguished, and let us see that other third remaining party, which the king owns as his loyal faithful party indeed. It concerns you to look both forward and backward; and having now taken the dimension of the king's mind, by his secret letters, turn about awhile, and look upon the same in his publick declarations: see if you can reconcile his former promises to his present designs; for, as you have had some representation of the latter in the former part, you shall now be made spectators and judges of the former in this latter part. The king, according to Digby's superstitious observation, in his letter of January the fourteenth last, takes it as evident, that Strafford's innocent blood has brought the judgment of this civil war equally upon both sides, both being equally guilty thereof. The king's meaning is, That he, and his side, was as guilty in permitting, as the parliament was in prosecuting; but now for Canterbury's

bury's blood, that being totally put upon the parliament's score, he doubts not, but the hand of justice will from henceforth totally lay the weight of this guilt upon the parliament's side. The truth is, Strafford and Canterbury were the chief firebrands of this war, the two ill counsellors, that chiefly incensed the king against the Scots, and endeavoured to subject all these three kingdoms to a new arbitrary government, and were justly executed for attempting that subversion of law, which the king has perfected since. The king and Digby both adjudged Strafford worthy of death, yet not for treason, as it was charged; but not being able to save his life, without using force, and finding force very dangerous, they left him to the block against conscience, as is now alledged. Canterbury remains in the same case, and now remorse of conscience, or rather the old project of altering law, suggests to the king, that if no resistance be used, Strafford's precedent will cast Canterbury, and Canterbury's all the rest of the conspirators, and so the people will make good their ancient freedom still. Hereupon discontents break out; the king withdraws into Scotland; during his abode there, the rebellion in Ireland, some attempts against Marquis Hamilton, and others in Scotland, and some other dangerous machinations in England, put us into strange terrors and apprehensions. The king at his return, December the 2d, 1641, complains of these jealousies, frights, and alarms, with this profession: 'I am so far from repenting of any act done this session, for the good of my people, that, if it were to do again, I would do it, and will yet grant what else can be justly desired.' He concludes with a recommendation of the business of Ireland, and, finding the preparations for the same slow, again, on the fourteenth of December, he is pathetic in quickening thereunto. All this notwithstanding, the parliament finds the old faction at court to grow strong, and daily to attain to more prevailance with the king; which, besides other causes of jealousy, makes them lay open the indisposition of the whole state, in a plain and sharp remonstrance, December the fifteenth, with the remedies thereof proposed. The king, as to the business of religion, answers: 'For preserving of the peace and safety of the kingdom, from the designs of a popish party, we have, and will concur with all just desires of our people in a parliamentary way. For Ireland, we thank you for your care, and chearful engagement for the speedy suppression of that rebellion, the glory of God in the Protestant profession, the safety of the British there, our honour, and this nation's, so much depending thereupon, &c. Your promise to apply yourselves to such courses, as may support our royal estate with honour and plenty at home, and with power and reputation abroad, is that which we have ever promised ourselves, both from your loyalties and affections.' Here are words that sound nothing but grace, and here is a clear testimony from the king's own mouth, concerning the merit of this nation to this day; but, notwithstanding these promises and testimonies, the king discovers daily

more and more regret for Strafford's execution, sticks closer to the counsels of the same faction, and, instead of hearkening to this parliament, he commands a charge of treason to be framed against six members, the most eminent and active in both houses. Also, upon the fourth of January, the king comes in person, with a great train armed into the house, and missing the five members there, tells the rest, that he must have them where-soever he found them. Here was the fatal commencement of the war; for the next day, the house declares, that they cannot sit in safety any longer at Westminster, and therefore they adjourn for some days, and retire into the city. December the thirty-first, they petition for a guard out of the city, under command of the king's lord chamberlain, the earl of Essex; which is denied, yet with these expressions: 'We are ignorant of the grounds of your apprehensions, but protest before Almighty God, had we any knowledge, or belief of the least design, in any, of violence, either formerly, or at this time against you, we would pursue them to condign punishment, with the same severity and detestation, as we would the greatest attempt upon our crown; and we do engage solemnly the word of a king, that the security of every one of you from violence is, and shall be ever as much our care, as the preservation of us and our children.' These words were sweetly tempered, but won no belief, nor could overpower contrary actions; wherefore, the mayor, aldermen, and common-council of London, seeing nothing but symptoms of war in the court, framed a petition, praying the king, that the Tower of London may be put into the hands of persons of trust; that by removal of doubtful and unknown persons from about Whitehall and Westminster, a known and approved guard may be appointed for the safety of the parliament; and that the accused members may not be restrained, or proceeded against, otherwise than according to the privileges of parliament. The king grants nothing, but answers, 'That his reception of such an unusual request is a sufficient instance of the singular estimation he hath of the good affections of the city, which he believes, in gratitude, will never be wanting to his just commands and service.' Hitherto the king speaks nothing, but in justification both of the city's, parliament's, and people's loyalty. The tumults about Whitehall, &c. amounted to no war, are imputed by the king to the rabble, and by us to the king's party; the parliament is acquitted, except six members, and the prosecution of them also is after declined by the king, yet the king departs from the city, as unsafe, seeing plainly it could not be averted from the parliament. Upon the twentieth of January, the king sends a message to the parliament, to state the differences on both sides, promising, that when they are digested into a body, fit to be judged of, it shall appear what he will do. In answer hereunto, the commons house (the lords refusing to join) only petition for the raising up unto them, and the state, a sure ground of safety and confidence, that the Tower of London, and the militia of the kingdom, may be put

into such persons hands as they shall recommend. The king replies, That the militia by law is subject to no command but his own, which he will reserve to himself, as a principal and inseparable flower of his crown; professes to take care of peace, and the rights of the subjects, equally with his life, or the lives of his dearest children. He further also conjures them, by all acts of duty and favour received, by hopes of future mutual happiness, by their love of religion, the peace both of this kingdom and Ireland, not to be transported with fears and jealousies. The parliament could not believe themselves secured by these professions, or asseverations, and the king would not understand, that the settling the militia at this time, in confiding hands, to prevent a civil war, was any other than the taking the crown from his head, *hinc ille lachrymæ*; the king, nevertheless, persists to declare his abhorrence of the Irish rebellion, frequently inciting the parliament to send succours. He also strangely abjures any privy to plots, or designs against the laws, &c. and further, makes strict proclamation, March the sixteenth, for putting laws in execution against the Papists. The parliament, seeing cause to suspect that the king and queen did still favour Digby, and others, flying from the justice of parliament, and appearing to be incendiaries by letters intercepted; knowing also that the queen was going into Holland to pawn the jewels of the crown for arms; and having divers other grounds of further apprehensions, again petition concerning the settling of the militia, and the king's return, but are denied in both. Thoughts of peace are now laid aside, and Hull being a strong town, and a magazine of arms, as also Newcastle being the publick magazine of fuel, and a rich place, are looked upon with solicitous eyes; but, as the parliament prevents the king in Hull, the king prevents the parliament in Newcastle: yet, the war being so far advanced, is scarcely avowed on either side, nor is it agreed which part was put to the defensive; and therefore, on the second of June, 1642, before any bloodshed, another essay is made for peace, and the parliament's cause stated fully in nineteen propositions, is dispatched to the king; the main things desired were reformation in church-government, that power military and civil might be put into confiding hands, that justice of parliament might pass upon delinquents: but the answer returned is, That if these things were granted, the king should remain but the outside, but the picture, but the sign of a king. This, though it was the trumpet of war, and the sound of defiance in effect, yet was not so owned, for still the king says, He intends not to fix any disloyal design upon both, or either house of parliament; he is rather most confident of the loyalty, good affections, and integrity of that great body's good intentions; but the malignity of the design, he says, hath proceeded from the subtle informations, mischievous practices, and evil counsels of ambitious turbulent spirits, not without a strong influence upon the very actions of both houses. This was the utmost charge of treason that could be then brought against the parliament, and the pro-

positions of the parliament treated lately at Uxbridge, in February, 1644, being no other in effect, than those of June, 1642, this inference may be truly made, That the king hath no cause to look upon us now, otherwise than as he did then; and if he have varied since from those vows and asseverations which he made then, the blame will not remain on this side, but on his; so that the very calling to mind what hath been said by the king, will be now sufficient for our purpose:

1. Wherefore, as to the taking up of arms at all against the parliament, June the third, 1642, the king, in his declaration to the freeholders of Yorkshire, renounces any intention of war; his words are, To the end this present posture, wherein we meet, should not affright you with the distempers of the times, we wish you to look into the composition and constitution of our guard, and you will find it so far from the face or fear of war, that it serves to secure you, as well as us, from it, &c. Also June the sixteenth, in his declaration at York, he useth these words: we again, in the presence of Almighty God, our Maker and Redeemer, assure the world, we have no more thought of making war against our parliament, than against our own children. To the same purpose, he made all his lords sign a testimonial with their own hands, in affirmance of his profession. It is true, afterwards, when he took the field with his increased guard, and became the assailant at Hull, having possessed himself of Newcastle, he was driven to save himself by distinctions, for he had not disclaimed all war in general, but all invasive war; and if the siege of Hull had some shew of invasion, yet, indeed, it was but in order to his defence, and this was a subtlety that all the subscribing lords, and others, it is thought, had not foreseen till now.

2. As to the waging war against the parliament, June the sixteenth, the king disclaims all thoughts of war against his parliament; and in July, after the date of the earl of Essex's commission, he abhors the like, desiring no longer the protection and blessing of Almighty God upon himself and his posterity, than he and they shall solemnly observe the laws in defence of parliaments. Also, on August the twelfth after, he acknowledges, that the king and parliament are like the twins of Hippocrates, which must laugh and cry, live and die together. So this guides us to more distinctions, that the king may defend himself against a parliament, yet not fight against it; or, he may assail a malignant party in parliament, yet not touch the parliament itself: these distinctions hold good on this side, not on that: but, by what distinction will the king put a short period to this perpetual parliament without violence? Or, how can he deny it the name of a parliament without hostility? Examine the letters further about this.

3. As to the waging of war by Papists: the king, August the fourth, when the earl of Essex's army was in forming, in his speech to the gentry of Yorkshire, avers, That he had taken order, that the power of the sword

word should not come into the hands of Papists. And, August the tenth, he makes strict proclamation, That all Papists, presuming to list themselves under him as officers or soldiers, should be punished, and a way, by oath, was prescribed for discrimination of them. Also, August the twenty-ninth, the king gives instructions to his commissioners for arrays to disarm all Papists. So, October the twenty-seventh, after the battle at Edgehill, the king thinks it worth his excuse, that he had some few popish commanders in his army, taken in of great necessity; he concludes thus: We shall never forget our several oaths in our several declarations; we are too much a Christian to believe that we can break those promises, and avoid the justice of heaven. It is true, afterwards, a new distinction came to light, for, upon a petition from the Lancashire Papists, the king did avow, the Papists were by law, prohibited arms in time of peace, not in time of war; and therefore, he did not only authorise, but require them to arm themselves, servants, tenants, and use the same arms, &c. This distinction bore date long after the war begun, but that was want of invention only.

4. As to managing the war by Irish Papists, he had never before named them but with a bleeding heart. His words once were: We hope the lamentable condition of Ireland will invite us to a fair intelligence and unity, that we may, with one heart, intend the relieving and recovering of that unhappy kingdom, where those barbarous rebels practise such inhuman and unheard-of cruelties upon our miserable people, that no Christian ear can hear without horror, nor story parallel. At another time, thus: We conjure all our subjects, by all the bonds of love, duty, or obedience, that are precious to good men, to join with us for recovery of that kingdom. In July, at the siege of Hull, he conjures both houses, as they will answer the contrary to Almighty God, to unite their force for the recovery of Ireland. In October, from Ayno, in his proclamation, he excuses the taking of clothes and draught-horses sent for Ireland, as done of necessity, and against his will. In December, the king answers some Irish Protestants thus: Since the beginning of that monstrous rebellion, I have had no greater sorrow than for the bleeding condition of that kingdom. Nay, since the treaty at Uxbridge, the king in publick, washes his hands of all countenance given to the rebels, and turns the blame upon the parliament, though in private he had been, as it were, a suitor to them for peace, and

some assistance from them by private letters to Ormond. Query, how this may be reconcileable, &c.

5. As to the granting of a toleration, the king, March the ninth, 1641, in answer to the parliament's declaration, uses these words: Our faithful and zealous affection to the true Protestant profession, and our resolution is to concur with our parliament in any possible course for the propagation of it, and suppression of popery. In April, 1642, he calls God to witness, with this assurance, That he will never consent, upon whatsoever pretence, to a toleration of the popish profession, or abolition of laws now in force against recusants. Also, April the twenty-fifth, he has no other end but to defend the true Protestant profession, &c. God so deal with us, as we continue in these professions. So, in his speech at the head of his army, September the nineteenth. So, in his proclamation of pardon to London, October the twenty-ninth, all the professions we have made in our several declarations for suppression of popery and maintenance of religion, the laws, &c. shall be as inviolably observed by us, as we expect a blessing from Almighty God, and obedience from our subjects. Query, then, how this may be consistent with taking away statutes in England and Ireland, made for suppression of popery, and that by the arms of Papists.

6. As to the bringing in of foreign force, the king, March the ninth, 1641, in his declaration from Newmarket, saith, Whatsoever you are advertised from Rome, Venice, and Paris, of the pope's nuncio's soliciting Spain, France, &c. for foreign aids, we are confident no sober honest man can believe us so desperate or senseless to entertain such designs, as would not only bury this our kingdom in sudden destruction and ruin, but our name and posterity in perpetual scorn and infamy. Also, March the twenty-sixth, 1642, about solicitation suspected of the king of Denmark, his words are, We have neither so ill opinion of our own merits, or the affections of our subjects, as to think ourself in need of foreign force. Also, August the fourth, the king, in his speech to the gentry of Yorkshire, acknowledges, he is wholly cast upon the affections of his people, having no hope but in God, his just cause, and the love of his subjects. What distinction can now satisfy us, that neither Irish, French, Lorrainers, Dutch, nor Danes, are foreigners? The concealing of this, by sealing up the lips of the queen and Ormond, and Cockran, must supply all distinctions.

The History of the Life and Death of OLIVER CROMWELL, the late Usurper, and pretended Protector of England, &c. truly collected and published, for a Warning to all Tyrants and Usurpers. By J. H. Gent.

CHAP. I.

Shewing the birth and parentage, and place of nativity of the said Oliver Cromwell.

THE unparalleled actions of this man have made people more curious, than otherwise they would be, to know his rise and birth, which otherwise might better, to the advantage of his memory, have been yet obscured and concealed; for it will neither add praise nor commendation, either to his country or relations; both which have publicly protested their shame and their abhorrence of him. So that, without prejudice to his family, who have cleared themselves of any participation of his facts, and did, and do, detest both him and them: you may understand, he was the son of Henry Cromwell, alias Williams, the younger son of Sir Henry Cromwell, of Hinchbrook, in the county of Huntingdon, knight, who so magnificently treated King James in that place, at his coming into England; who so loyally and affectionately loved King Charles the martyr; and, who lastly, so hated and abominated this Oliver, his nephew, god-son, and name-fake.

He was born at Huntingdon, in the year 1599, where his father, being a cadet, or younger brother, as we have said, having no large estate, had intermarried with a Brewer's widow, by whom he had some addition of fortune, and from her sprung that story of Oliver's being a brewer in Huntingdon. He was, from his infancy, a lusty, active child, and of a sturdy rough temper; which, to remedy in his young years, his father prudently took this course:

CHAP. II.

How Oliver was educated and brought up in the university of Cambridge, and afterwards in Lincoln's-Inn, in the study of the law.

ABOUT the age, therefore, of thirteen or fourteen years, his father sent him to the university of Cambridge, to have him tempered and managed, by the severe tuition and discipline of the university; but his tutor quickly perceived the boisterous and untractable spirit of his pupil, who was more for action than speculation, and loved cudgels, foot-ball-playing, or any game and exercise, better than his book; so that there was no hopes of making him a scholar, or a learned man; and much ado there was to keep him so in compass, that he became not an open and publick disho-

nour to his friends; (here he was made an actor in the play of the five senses, where he ominously stumbled at a crown, which he had also dreamed he should once wear) whereupon he was presently removed, his tutor weary, and afraid of disgrace by him, to Lincoln's-Inn, where he might with less imputation and observance, if his bent were so given, roister it out, and yet, without much trouble, attain some knowledge in the laws, to qualify him for a country gentleman, and that little competency his father could leave him. But no such rudiments would sink into him; he was for rougher arguments and pleas, club-law; and, indeed, what occasion had he to know and be versed in the law, whose designs, and wicked practices afterwards, were directly opposite to all laws, both divine and human? So that he continued not long there, but was called home, his father dying soon after, and leaving him to his swing.

CHAP. III.

Of his manner of life and conversation in the country.

OLIVER, being come down into the country, and growing sturdy, and of man's stature, frequented all manner of wild company; who but he at any match or game whatsoever, where he would drink and roar with the rudest of his companions. And when his money, which he had sparingly from his mother, who yet kept the purse, failed him, he would make the victuallers trust him, to such a ruin of his credit and reputation, he being as famous for his ranting and his scores, as after for his prayers and victories, that the ale-wives of Huntingdon, if they saw him coming, would set up a cry, Here comes young Cromwell, shut up the doors, and so keep him out. But he had better success in the war, for then there was no shutting of him out, no garrison or castle, or strength whatsoever, was sufficient to debar him. But that may be imputable to the luck of his former achievements, fortune being tied at his girdle, and keeping a constant tenor with him; for, at this age, he would make nothing of beating of tinkers, and such mastey fellows at quarter-staff, or any such weapon they would chuse; so that he was dreaded by all the ale-drinkers, as well as ale-wives of the country.

CHAP. IV.

How Oliver was reclaimed from these lewd courses, and how he joined himself to the preciser sort, and became an hypocritical convert.

BY

BY these debauched courses of life, and regardless thoughts how the world went, as long as drink and company could be had, no matter how nor where; he had so endangered his small estate and patrimony, and was so far in debt, that he was forced to retire himself, and get out of the way, and live privately, for fear of private arrests and judgments, which were brought against him. In this solitary condition, he had time to bethink himself of his condition; and having nothing else to do, having played a part at Cambridge, to personate another at home, seeming very pensive and melancholy, and much reserved in his talk and discourse; which, from vain, and frivolous, and wild speeches, was now altered into serious, and modest, and grave language, and sober expression; which, accommodated and set forth with a more staid and solemn aspect and gesture, made him appear to be another kind of person, having run from the one extreme to the other, from stark naught, to too good; and it will be a question whether, by the first he were more destructive to himself, or by the latter, more pernicious to his country.

This humour soured him at last into a precise Puritanism, with whom his zealous design was to ingratiate himself; who increasing every day, and being grown to a headstrong faction, he doubted not, but if time should serve, which his daring spirit (if he had not a familiar) told him was a coming, to be principal person among them, and howsoever, to make up his decays on his fortunes, by the kind-hearted supplies and loans of the brotherhood, who were very proud of such a profelyte.

In a short time after, he had learned to pray, and attained a very ready faculty therein, which he made no nicety to manifest upon all occasions, both in their publick and private meetings; so that he was looked upon by those of his godly party, as their chiefest ornament, and by the rest of the world, as a strange wonder. This artificial devotion did not only then advantage him, but served him thereafter through the whole course of his life, and was the main ingredient of all his policies and successes. A friar was an ass to him for saying of prayers, he was able to give him two for one with his beads and by rote, and out-strip him *extempore*.

CHAP. V.

How Oliver, being noted for his pretended sanctity, was chosen a burges of Cambridge for the long-parliament; and the war breaking out, was made a captain of horse.

BY this sanctimonious vizor, and manifested zeal for reformation, which was then in every man's mouth, he was looked upon as the fittest instrument to promote it in the parliament, which the king had called in 1640, to redress the grievances of the state and church, and to supply his necessities; and, therefore, the Puritan faction, and his relation by marriage, as Mr. Goodwin, and also Hambden of Buckingham, la-

boured, in election of burgeses for the town of Cambridge, to have him chosen. The town was generally infected with the same disease, and therefore it was no hard matter to effect it. Sitting in parliament, as a matter, he quickly saw, which way the stream went, and therefore resolved to run one of the first with it; and therefore helped out the noise and cry for privilege, proving a great stickler against the prerogative, and to that end, endeavouring to widen the breach; and made way, by male-pertness of tumults, against the king's person and court; insomuch that he became conspicuous and noted for his aversion to the government. The flame of those inward burnings now breaking out, and because of his influence in his country, and his bold, confident spirit, he was courted with a commission (which he accepted) under the earl of Essex, the parliament's general, and was made a captain of a troop of horse.

CHAP. VI.

Of the exploits Cromwell did, in the beginning of the war.

HAVING raised his troop, he marched not presently with the gross and main body of the army, but was ordered to continue about his own country, that so his own enterprises might be the better observed, and he taken notice of; so that he was a rising man from the very first beginning of our civil confusions. The first service that he appeared in, was the seizure of Sir Henry Conibby, the sheriff of Hertfordshire, when, in a gallant contempt of the parliament, he was proclaiming the commission of array at St. Alban's, and sending him, and other gentlemen, his assistance, to London; which sudden and meritorious exploit of his was well resented, and highly commended by the parliament. His next piece of diligence was the like seizure of Sir John Pettus, and forty gentlemen more, of the county of Suffolk, who were forming a party for the king, and securing them; by which means, he broke the neck of any future design in that, or the next county of Norfolk, for the royal interest; so that he had brought all the eastern part of England to the parliament's subjection, by a bloodless and easy conquest: but his other victories, which we principally ascribed to him, though they were joined with him, were very sanguineous, and fatally cruel.

At his last home employment, he was ordered to purge and to inspect the university, wherein he proceeded with so much rigour against that place of his own nurture, &c. it was conceived he would at last as mercilessly use his mother, then bleeding England: which work being over, and unhappily effected, Cromwell was the only man; his prudence, fortune, and valour every where applauded and extolled, and he reputed for one of the most eminent and able commanders in the parliament's army.

It was time, therefore, now to shew him abroad, having so armed, disciplined, and paid his men so carefully,

fully, that there was no doubt of their prevailing upon any equal enemy, and under the conduct of so vigilant and wary a leader, whose only aim it was to keep up his reputation to greater undertakings. Therefore, in order to a conjunction and assistance of the Scots, who were entered England, he was made lieutenant-general to the earl of Manchester, who had raised his army out of the associated counties as Cambridge, Huntingdon, Bedford, Suffolk, &c. Those armies being joined, and mastering the field (the marquis of Newcastle, who opposed them, retreating into York) they resolved to besiege that city: to the relief whereof, Prince Rupert came, and forcing them to draw off from their league, he gave them battle on Marston-Moor, July 2, 1644. In the beginning of the fight, Prince Rupert had utterly discomfited the right wing of the army, where Sir Thomas Fairfax and the Scots horse stood, and disordered the main body of the foot, so that the day was given for lost, the Scots running and throwing down their arms; when Cromwell, with his curassiers, and the rest of my Lord Manchester's horse, who were placed in the right wing, fell with such force and fury upon the Lord Goring's brigades on the right, that they presently broke them in pieces, and following their success, before the prince returned, obtained a compleat victory, killing no less than five thousand men, gaining their camp, bag and baggage: and, as the price of all, the city of York: hence he acquired that terrible name of Ironsides, his troops being reported invulnerable and unconquerable. By this defeat, he lifted up himself to those great titles and places he went through afterwards.

CHAP. VII.

A continuance of his successes against his sovereign and his forces; his treacherous and disloyal dealing with his majesty.

THE next field we find him in, was that of the second Newberry, October 27, 1644, where, with the same felicity and valour, he had the better, on that part of the field, where he fought, and contributed mainly to that piece of a victory the parliament forces had there; when, to cloud and damp this rising martialist, he was articted against by his superior officers, for some miscarriages and practices in the army, to the hinderance of the service, which was indeed his ambitious insinuation into the affection of the soldiery; but this was never prosecuted, his friends, the grandees of the independent party, interposing and justifying him, for a godly, expert, and valiant commander.

This independent faction was now grown too crafty, and had supplanted their brother of presbytery, by new modelling the army, turning out most of Essex's officers, and dismissing all members of parliament from their several commands therein; among which number, Cromwell should have been included, but his

partisans wrought so, that he was continued for forty days, and those expired longer and longer, even till the war ended. By this said model Sir Thomas Fairfax was made lord general, and Cromwell, after some time, lieutenant general, being the only man looked upon able to carry on the independent interest. The first action he engaged in, in this quality, was his routing the queen's regiment and some other troops (come from Worcester to fetch the king from Oxford, then designed to be besieged in the beginning of the year 1645) at Islip Bridge; then his immediate summoning and taking Blechindon House, April 24, where after, as he was designing a stratagem upon Faringdon House, he was set upon by as vigilant a commander as himself, the Lord Goring, and received a smart brush, and the only one throughout the war; which now hastening to an end, at the fatal Naseby, he was called from out of the Isle of Ely (whither he had been lately sent to secure it, it being thought the king would have turned his now successful arms thitherward) to assist the general, who, by his letters to the parliament, had desired it. That unfortunate day, the 14th of June, 1646, owes its dismalness to the fortune of this rebel, whose troops alone could glory in that achievement; for the left wing of that army, where Ireton, his son-in-law, commanded, was absolutely routed, and the main body sorely distressed; so that Cromwell alone assured that victory.

So ended the first war, with the praises and triumphs of this man of war, adored and worshipped by his party, who stuck not to blaspheme God and his scriptures, attributing all those Hosanna's, and psalms, and songs of deliverance and victory to this their champion, in effect, making a mere idol of him; which phanatick religious veneration he missed not to improve, though, for the present, he covered his ambition with modesty and humility, ascribing all things, in a canting way of expression, to the goodness and omnipotence of God, which he frequently and impiously abused, intituling it to all his wicked and villainous designs and actions.

The war thus ended, and the king having escaped their swords, and so the main rub yet lay in the way to his projected sovereignty; he resolved by treachery to ruin him: to this purpose, that he might render the king indisposed to the terms and propositions of the parliament, which were hard and unreasonable enough besides, he pretended to the king, that the army should take his part, and declare for him; as on the other side (in the parliament house, and privately in the army, telling them that the king's design of peace and agreement was only to get them disbanded, and then hang them for their rebellion) he exasperated them against the king, adding that God had hardened his heart against any composure, and had rejected him; and when all this would not do, but that the people every day more and more were undeceived, and he conceived a fear, they might rescue the king from Hampton-Court, and bring him to London, which the king and all good men desired; he contrived ano-

ther wicked device to the king's final overthrow, by scaring him with the adjutators (such were two selected, out of each company and troop) conspiracy to assassinate him, and so making him fly to the Isle of Wight, a distant and sure prison, from whence he never came but to his death. The king a while before was not ignorant of these treacherous arts of Cromwell, seeing nothing performed, as to substance, of whatever he promised, and, therefore, did roundly tax him with his faithlessness: who, at the upshot, told the king, that he did misconstrue his words, or else he remembered no such matter; and that, if it were so, yet it were no time to perform them, till the discipline of the army was recovered, and those adjutators in a capacity to be questioned, who were now most outrageously and uncontrollably violent against his person and government, with many more such flims and delays, and traitorous fallacies.

The king being in prison at Carew Castle in the said isle, by the juggling of Cromwell with Hammond the governor (brother to one of the king's most affected chaplains) an ungrateful fellow, who owed himself to the king's bounty, several fresh attempts were made for his restitution; that, which particularly concerned this Oliver, was the Welch insurrection at Pembroke, which town, in July, after a brave defence, was surrendered to him; and the Scots invasion under Duke Hamilton, whose army, to which were joined some three thousand English under Sir Marmaduke Langdale, he totally defeated at Preston in Lancashire, on the 17th of August (and not long after the General Fairfax took in Colchester, which had stood out three months in expectation of relief from this army, upon the same account) and pursued his victory as far as Scotland, marching to Edinburgh, and there making sure of a party, dealing with bribes, and other forceable persuasions, and making them disarm themselves to give him no disturbances or interruption, in the accomplishing his most execrable regicide, for which he was now ready, the expected advantages and opportunities being now in his hand.

CHAP. VIII.

Cromwell turns out the parliament, murders the king, and sets up a commonwealth, who, invading Scotland and Ireland, make him their general.

CROMWELL posting to London, he and his son Ireton put the council of officers to demand justice upon the king, as the capital offender, and author of all the troubles and bloodshed; which he so eagerly prosecuted, that though the parliament had nearly concluded with the king in the Isle of Wight, after a full treaty, he by Col. Pride, one that would venture upon any thing he was commanded by him, secludes twice the major part of the members, and then packs up a *juncto* of army blades, of some fifty, who constitute a *high court of justice*, by which the martyr king was

traiterously and barbarously condemned and beheaded, Jan. 30. By the same *juncto* and *rump* of a parliament the kingship and government by a single person was voted useless and dangerous, to which Cromwell freely assented, as purposing to time his ambition, now the great obstacle was removed.

But, though the king and his interest were defunct in England, yet they were not in Ireland or Scotland; whereupon, Cromwell is made general for the Irish expedition, and though he was the only dissuader of the soldiery from that service, during the quarrel, betwixt the Independents and the Presbyterians, and while he had accomplished his mischievous ends upon the king; yet now he is severely bent to transport such as the lot should appoint: which the levelling party, the adjutators, whelps of his own litter, refusing and mutinying, them likewise under pretence of a treaty, and giving and receiving satisfaction (their usual expressions) he betrays and surprises at Burford (not daring to venture a fight with them, for fear of a total defection of his own party) and had the ring-leaders shot to death.

Having surmounted this difficulty, he wafts his army over into Ireland, and presently storms Tredagh, and understanding it was the flower of the king's army, set there to give him a repulse, having twice been beaten off, he led his men himself the third time, and entered, and put all to the sword (having amused the defendants who maintained the breach, but having then lost their colonel, were in some confusion, through offer of quarter, and by that device got admittance) with a like baseness, treachery, and cruelty.

After that, followed the rendition of most of that kingdom, the lord-lieutenant thereof, the marquis of Ormond, being in no condition to resist him: whereupon the Scotch war then newly beginning, Cromwell was sent for over, and the Presbyterian ministers, set on, no doubt, by some of his agents, having inveigled Fairfax with the unlawfulness of his engaging against their good brethren, he laid down his commission, which was readily conferred on, and taken up by Cromwell.

CHAP. IX.

Of Cromwell's march into Scotland, his victories at Dunbar and Worcester, and the reduction of that kingdom.

GLADLY did Oliver undertake this war, for now he was sure to make the army his own, by placing and displacing of officers; long it was, and many delays were used by the Scots, before they would be brought to fight, intending to starve the English army, which was near done to their hands, and Oliver sneaking away home, when the precipitate *blue cap*, greedy of spoil and victory, would needs fall upon them at Dunbar, Sept. 3, 1650, and were there, by the prowess and desperate valour of their enemies, totally overcome. Cromwell, therefore, now marches back again to

to Edinburgh, and buys that impregnable castle, of the traitor Dundas, and advances against King Charles the Second, who lay encamped by Stirling; but he not stirring out of his fortified camp, and there being no other or further passage into Scotland, but over the Frith, an arm of the sea: Cromwell wafts over most part of his army, and defeats a Scots party, while the king gives Cromwell the go-by, being two days march before him, and after a tedious march, came to Worcester, August 22; whither, not long after, came Cromwell in great doubt and perplexity by the way (having left General Monk, to carry on the war in Scotland, who, shortly after, reduced the whole kingdom) and beset the town, being recruited, and made up with his old army, to above forty thousand men; what shall I say, of that unfortunate day? The king was worsted, and most miraculously escaped, and so Cromwell might have leave to play.

But no such matter, the time was come, he had long expected, to act his own game, and appear in it for himself, for by the year 1653, Scotland and Ireland being wholly subdued, and in the hands of his most trusty privado's and confidants, his new son-in-law Fleetwood (for Ireton was dead of the plague at Limerick) being deputy of Ireland, and General Monk governor of Scotland: he proposeth to the parliament the desires of the army, for their dissolution, to make way for succession of a new representative; which they endeavouring to delay, and to impose upon him with the necessities of their sitting a while longer, his ambition could brook no longer retardments, but sent Major General Harrison on the 20th of April, 1653, to out their rump-ships; which he accordingly did, to the general rejoicing of the people, who considered not nor cared, who should come next, so they were rid of these.

CHAP. X.

How Cromwell ordered the government afterward, and how he made himself lord protector of England.

AFTER the rump was thus dissolved, Oliver by the advice (forsooth) of his general council of officers, erected a council of state, of such as were true to his interest, and the army, and were well fledged with the spoils of the kingdom; but, perceiving that was but a slender authority to derive the government to himself, which was the first and last thing intended, he called a picked conventicle, of the like batch as himself and his followers, all of the godly party, whom he stiled a parliament; the name whereof was enough to authorize and dignify the resignation of the authority they had from, to, him; and their odious actions, moreover, would make a single person (himself) more acceptable; for these wild fellows were upon abolishing the ministry, and opening the flood-gate to heresy and atheism; when Cromwell dissolved them, and with them discarded his old friend, and

their darling, Major General Harrison, who was tampering with the army to unhorse Oliver; but he smelt him out, and cashiered him, as he did his trusty friend Lambert, soon after, as finding they were both greater in the army, than his safety and interest would suffer: So impossible it is for brethren in iniquity long to continue in love and friendship. Oliver would endure no competitor, but resolved to be single and supreme.

CHAP. XI.

How Oliver was sworn protector, and how he managed the government, briefly.

THAT little or foolish parliament being divided among themselves, one part thereof resigned their power unto Oliver, who straightwith caused the commissioner of the seal, Mr. Lisle, to administer him an oath, on the sixteenth of December, 1653, before the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of the city of London, in Westminster-Hall, to observe a model of government in forty-two articles; which instrument of his, as was said, was found in my Lady Lambert's placket, and thereupon he was proclaimed lord protector; in February he was feasted sumptuously in the city, and knighted the lord mayor, as he did many others afterwards, upon whom he had better have pissed: he made, also, one lord, but he never owned it. Now, though he was proclaimed protector, yet he knew the people took him for no such thing; therefore he called a parliament according to form, thinking to have been declared so by them; but they would not own him, or his authority. Seeing, therefore, he could neither get reputation nor money at home, he resolved to have it from the king of Spain's West-Indies; but, at Hispaniola, his forces under General Venables, were strangely defeated, and forced to plant themselves in Jamaica, and fight for bread instead of gold. He likewise started several plots (the fox was the finder) against cavaliers, such as Colonel Gerrard, and afterwards Colonel Penruddock (maintaining intelligence, at the price of one thousand five hundred per annum, with one Manning, a clerk to the king's secretary, who then resided at Colen, who discovered most of the king's council, till he was discovered himself, and executed) on purpose to terrify people, and those especially, from rising against him.

Now, when Oliver saw he could not attain his will by whole parliaments, he resolved on his old expedient, to garble a parliament, call it, and then cull it, which he did, and secluded those members that would not, before they entered, recognise and own his highness: by which means two parts of three were excluded, and he, by the remainder, complimented with the stile of king; but, for fear of Lambert and Harrison, and, indeed, the whole kingdom, especially the army, he durst not accept of it; but was content to take the title of protector from their hands; and was accordingly, on the sixteenth of June, 1657, solemnly installed

installed by the speaker, Sir Thomas Widdrington, again, in Westminster-Hall, and the parliament adjourned, who had likewise passed an act for erecting of a thing called another house, consisting of such lords as Pride, Hewson, and Barkstead; but, upon the meeting of a full house, after the adjournment, all this new structure was questioned, even to Oliver himself; who thereupon, in a passion, and transported beyond his vizarded sanctity, with an oath, by the living God, dissolved them.

In the year 1658, he assisted the French against the Spaniard, and helped them to take Dunkirk, which, for his pains, he had delivered to him; and, no doubt, it was the best service he ever did to his country. But, during this unenvied triumph, having drenched his polluted hands in more innocent and loyal blood, namely, that of Dr. Hewet, and Sir Henry Slingsby, God put a hook into the mouth of this Leviathan, and having snatched away his beloved daughter, Claypoole,

just before, on the third of September, 1658, his great successful day, he was hurried in a tempest out of the world, which he had so long troubled; and, on the sixteenth of November following, was most magnificently buried, to the only sorrow of those who furnished the mourning and pageantry thereof, leaving his wife Elisabeth, alias Joan, with two sons, Richard, who succeeded, till he tamely and cowardly resigned, and is now fled for his father's debts; and Henry, and a daughter ycleped Frances Rich. A person, as it is well charactered of him, fit to be a prince of Tartars or Cannibals.

Before the king returned into England, Colonel Henry Cromwell, son of Sir Oliver Cromwell, obtained license of the king to change that hateful name into Williams, which was the name of this family, before they married with a daughter and heir of Cromwell; which was upon condition they should take her name, as well as estate.

A true Narrative of the Occasions and Causes of the late Lord General Cromwell's Anger and Indignation against Lieutenant Colonel George Joyce (sometimes Cornet Joyce, who secured the King at Holmby) and his Proceedings against him to cashier him from the Army, and imprison and destroy him in his Estate.

A Little after the king was brought into the custody or quarters of the army, notice was taken, that Cromwell lifted up his hands in the parliament, and called God, angels, and men to witness, That he knew nothing of Joyce's going for the king.

Thereupon, Joyce asked the said General Cromwell, What made him to speak such words? And, Whether he intended to do as the king had done before him, viz. swear and lye? and bid him mark, What would be the end of such things; cautioning him to take heed and beware of such actions: but he slighted those warnings; and soon after flattered the said Joyce again with tears of seeming repentance.

The next occasion of difference, between the said Joyce and Cromwell, was, concerning the marquis of Argyle's carriage in Scotland; at which time, speaking plainly to him, according unto his own exhortations, putting him in mind of former neglects of his, he immediately fell into a violent fit of passion against the said Joyce; and, laying his hand upon his sword, uttered many threats against him, in the presence of Captain John Vernon, and one more.

Not long after this, the said Joyce, with some other officers, went with a petition, to St. Alban's, to General Fairfax, for justice against capital offenders; and from thence was sent to Pomfret leaguer, with a let-

ter and message from our general and army, to know whether that brigade under Cromwell would join with us. And, while he was waiting for an answer, Cromwell took an occasion to fall out with him, and in a railing manner called him a rascal, many times, and with great threats said, That he would make him write a vindication of him, against a book, intitled, *The Grand Design discovered*. Wherein were many things declared, concerning Cromwell's carriage towards Joyce, before he went to Holmby for the king; which afterwards he called God to witness he knew nothing of.

And, had it not been for Colonel Dean, and others, who, through the mercy of God, prevented him, he had in all probability, done him mischief at the same time.

Not long after this, the parliament was to be purged, which the said Joyce protesting against, was by the said Cromwell threatened to be destroyed.

But it came to such a height at last, that the said parliament must be dissolved forthwith; against which, the said Joyce protested, and gave him his reasons for it, viz. First, He feared he designed to be king by it. Secondly, That, if he dissolved the parliament, there would be no legal way to raise money for the army; which would be a means to take off the affec-

tions of all the parliament's friends; desiring therefore, it might not be dissolved, until they had by our means introduced a more righteous and equal government, which, in our declarations and remonstrances, they had held forth. Then was a certain select company of men to be sent for out of several counties; the said Joyce protested against that likewise, still telling him, that he intended by them to make himself king. At which, he was extremely angry with him, and in a great rage—After this,

About the year 1650, one Mr. Henry Philpott, being chief ranger of Finckley Park in Hampshire, by a patent from the late king; the said park, for the delinquency of the said Philpott, was sequestered; by which means, it came into the hands of the Lord Delawar, who never accounted to the commonwealth for one penny of the profits.

Whereupon, one Mr. Villers Philpott, kinsman to the former, desired him, that inasmuch as his cousin was beyond the seas, that he would get the said park into his possession, and he would engage, that his kinsman, upon his coming over, should do this commonwealth very signal services, and such as few, besides himself, were able to perform.

To the latter he very readily hearkened, and thereupon procured Mr. Henry Philpott to come over; which he accordingly did, and gave so good an account of affairs abroad, that it came not short of his kinsman's word, nor his expectation: but for the former he was altogether unwilling, and offered him divers reasons against it, although his kinsman, upon his coming over, had made him several proffers, of assigning all his interest in the said park unto him; which he as often refused.

Notwithstanding which, he was continually importuned by both; but, nothing prevailing, they desired him to offer it to some friend of his, and alledged this, That it were indifferent to them whoever had it, so it were out of the hands of him that then enjoyed it.

But he being as much to seek in this, as unwilling in the former; they earnestly intreated him, in regard of his more than ordinary knowledge (as they would persuade him he had) of the Lord General Cromwell, that he would prevail with him, or one of his sons, to take into their hands; which, after some time and persuasion, he brought to this issue: That, upon the assignment of Mr. Philpott, and the resignation of the Lord Delawar, Mr. Richard Cromwell desired to take it; all which being accordingly done, he was possessed of it, and hath ever since enjoyed it. But, farther, there was this agreement between Mr. Richard Cromwell, Mr. Philpott, and himself, That if ever the said park were exposed to sale, that he should have the sole right of purchasing it, before either of them two: in order to which, he bought up all the arrears of Portsmouth, Hampton, and the better part of the Isle of Wight, at seven shillings and sixpence per pound, deeming himself obliged in conscience to allow the soldiers, who had equally ventured their

lives with himself, a more proportionable rate than the common prices of one shilling, or one shilling and sixpence per pound.

After this, the parliament made an act for the sale of the king's lands, of which the park aforesaid being parcel, it was amongst others surveyed, and exposed to sale; he having notice of it, by the consent of the Lord Richard, went to the committee, and, informing them of the matter at large, they ordered, that a stop should be put to the sale of the said park, for the present, and that, whenever it was to be sold, himself should have the pre-emption; giving this for the reason of their order, That he had deserved better, than so small a courtesy; by which means, the Lord Richard enjoyed the said park between four or five years longer, his debentures, all that while, lying dead upon his hands.

By this time, the greatest part, if not all the king's lands being sold, comes in one Captain Urland, and pretends a discovery of the said park; whereupon, the committee forgetting, or, at least, taking no notice of the former passages, order a new survey; which being returned, and the park upon sale, he went to him, then called Lord Richard (Cromwell, his father, having interrupted this parliament) and desired to know of him, Whether he would let the park go so, or whether he had forgot our former agreement? His answer was, No, he had not forgot it, but for the park he would not meddle with it; and therefore bade him do in it what he would: whereupon he pressed it to him, how convenient it lay for his estate, and therefore, if he pleased, he would purchase it, and he should have the whole, or half, at the same rate it cost him. To which he said, he wanted money. He replied, Let not that trouble you, I will purchase the whole, and trust you for one half, till you are able to pay me; but, before we proceed farther, I will acquaint your father; which being accordingly done, and he having shewn him a particular of other lands, that were likewise upon sale, and offered him his choice; he took me in his arms, and told me, that himself, his son, and family were more beholden to me, than all the world besides; and therefore bade me go on and prosper.

Upon this, he went the next morning about it, and, there being a full committee, he was just upon the point of contracting for the said park; when on a sudden in came the Lord Richard, his father then overtopping all in power, with three lawyers with him, and required them to proceed no further in it, in regard it was his own inheritance, and no park, as was supposed: whereupon he informed the committee of the whole discourse, that passed between the general, his son, and himself the night before; upon which, he fell upon him in foul words, saying, Sirrah, Sirrah, hold your tongue, or I shall make you repent the time you were born; which the committee perceiving, they desired us to withdraw; and since that time never durst meddle with the park any farther.

Hereupon, the anger of the father and son waxed hot against the said Lieutenant Colonel Joyce.

Upon this, and also upon the said lieutenant colonel's bearing testimony in the publick meetings of the officers against the army's apostasy at that time, who were then concurring to make the said lord general lord protector, endeavours were used to ruin him; and to that purpose his lieutenant (who had before given information against the lieutenant-colonel, but could make nothing of it, as the commissioners, who had been appointed to examine the matters alledged, had signified to the general) was sent for from Portland, by General Cromwell, and by him encouraged to prosecute his lieutenant-colonel again, and, contrary to the course and custom of the army, privately appointed about nine officers, such as he could then trust in such an affair, viz. Colonel Whaly, Colonel G. Colonel Gravener, Lieutenant-Colonel White, and Lieutenant-Colonel Worley, &c. to take the lieutenant's information against him; and they (having no power thereunto) took his deposition against the lieutenant-colonel, who falsely swore, That he should hear the lieutenant-colonel say (in a discourse in Portland, about the death of Lockyer) That he was sorry that Lockyer had not pistolled Cromwell; and thereupon sent him to prison without bail, and order was given, that he should be kept close prisoner. So he was carried away with musquetteers to the Meuse, and put into a close chamber within the common Dutch prison, where the lice crept up very thick, and where he was forced to continue above ten days: after great importunity, he obtained a remove to another chamber in the Meuse, where he fell sick with the filthy smells, and other inconveniencies, and continued ten weeks, but was often sent to by Oliver Cromwell, to lay down his commission, which he absolutely refused to do; declaring to all, how unworthily he was dealt with, and that what was sworn against him was false, and that it would at last appear to the view of the whole world; and, when they should understand what was the design, they would marvel. And, when he could not be persuaded out of his commission, articles

were drawn against him; and by the false and double swearing, and prosecution of his lieutenant, so encouraged as aforesaid, and the officers privately instructed by their general, he was outed and cashiered, though the lieutenant-colonel was, in his own conscience, clear of any crime or offence, punishable by any law, or deserving such usage.

After this, the said lieutenant moved the general, then called protector, for his promised preferment, and his charges, in prosecution; but he answered him in these words: You have not dealt, like a christian, with your Lieutenant-Colonel Joyce. To which the lieutenant replied, That he had done nothing but what he had commanded him, and persuaded him into, upon hopes of preferment. Whereupon, the general thrust him out of his chamber, and bade him go like a knave as he was.

This was the case, but the effects of it were more considerable, as to the ruin of his estate; for, before he was in prison, he had made large contracts, and paid many pounds in part; by which means, he was indebted greatly to private persons, who, as soon as they heard he was in prison, came so thick upon him, that, to satisfy them, he was forced to sell at such under rates, or else relinquish his bargain, that he lost above three thousand pounds in money, and five hundred pounds per annum, in lands; and he pays interest at present for twelve hundred pounds, and he owes the commonwealth sixteen hundred and odd pounds, in money and bills, for the estate he now lives in; which being part of that which was the Lord Craven's, no man can deal in it, there being so many clamours about it.

And now, that he hath declared to your honours both his case and sufferings, he knows not what he should add more, unless it be to beseech your honours, so to take them into serious consideration, that, being vindicated to the world, he may once again appear to be an honest man, a true servant of his country; or else suffer according to his deserts, if he shall be found the contrary.

The Lord General Cromwell's Speech, delivered in the Council-Chamber, upon the Fourth of July, 1653, to the Persons then assembled and intrusted with the supreme Authority of the Nation. This is a true Copy, published for Information, and to prevent Mistakes.

Gentlemen,

I Suppose the summons, that hath been instrumental to bring you hither, gives you well to understand the cause of your being here. Howbeit, having some

things to impart, which is an instrument drawn up by the consent and advice of the principal officers of the army, which is a little (as we conceive) more significant than that other of summons: we have that here to tender you. And we have somewhat likewise further

to say to you, for our own exoneration : and we hope it may be somewhat further to your satisfaction. And therefore, seeing you sit here somewhat uneasy, by reason of the scantness of the room, and the heat of the weather, I shall contract myself, with respect to that.

I have not thought it amiss, a little to mind you of that series of providence, wherein the Lord hitherto hath dispensed wonderful things to these nations, from the beginning of our troubles to this very day. If I should look much backward, we might remember the state of affairs as they were before the short, and that which was the last parliament : in what a posture the things of this nation stood, doth so well, I presume, occur to all your memories and knowledges, that I shall not need to look so far backward, nor yet to the beginning of those hostile actions that passed between the king that was, and the then parliament. And indeed, should I begin this labour, the things, that would fall necessarily before you, would rather be fit for a history, than for a discourse, at this present.

But thus far we may look back : you very well know, after divers turnings of affairs, it pleased God, much about the midst of this war, to winnow, as I may so say, the forces of this nation ; and to put them into the hands of men of other principles than those that did engage at first. By what strange providences that also was brought about, would ask more time than is allotted me, to remember you of. Indeed, there are stories that do recite those transactions, and give narratives of matter of fact : but those things wherein the life and power of them lay ; those strange windings and turnings of providence, those very great appearances of God, in crossing and thwarting the designs of men, that he might raise up a poor and a contemptible company of men, neither versed in military affairs, nor having much natural propensity to them, even through the owning of a principle of godliness, of religion : which so soon as it came to be owned, the state of affairs put upon that foot of account, how God blessed them, and all undertakings, by the rising of that most improbable, despicable, contemptible means ; for that we must for ever own, you very well know.

What the several successes have been, is not fit to mention at this time, neither ; though I must confess I thought to have enlarged myself upon this subject, forasmuch as the considering the works of God, and the operation of his hands, is a principal part of our duty, and a great encouragement to the strengthening of our hands, and of our faith for that which is behind. And then having given us those marvellous dispensations, amongst other ends, for that was a most principal end, as to us, in this revolution of affairs, and issues of those successes God was pleased to give this nation, and the authority that then stood, were very great things brought about ; besides those dints that were upon those nations and places where they were carried on, even in the civil affairs, to the bring-

ing offenders to justice, even the greatest ; to the bringing the state of this government to the name, at least, of a commonwealth ; to the searching and sifting of all places and persons ; the king removed, and brought to justice, and many great ones with him ; the house of peers laid aside ; the house of commons, the representatives of the people of England, itself, winnowed, sifted, and brought to a handful, as you may very well remember.

And truly, God would not rest there (for, by the way, although it be fit for us to intitle our failings and miscarriages to ourselves, yet the gloriousness of the work may well be attributed to God himself, and may be called *his strange work*).

You may remember well, that, at the change of the government, there was not an end of our troubles, although that year were such things transacted, as indeed made it to be the most memorable year (I mean 1648) that ever this nation saw ; so many insurrections, invasions, secret designs, open and publick attempts, quashed in so short a time, and this by the very signal appearances of God himself, I hope we shall never forget.

You know also, as I said before, that as the effect of that memorable year 1648 was to lay the foundation of bringing delinquents to punishment ; so it was of the change of the government : although it be true, if we had time to speak, the carriages of some in trust, in most eminent trust, was such, as would have frustrated to us the hopes of all our undertakings, had not God miraculously prevented : I mean, by that closure that would have been endeavoured by the king, whereby we should have put into his hands all that cause and interest we had opposed, and had nothing to have secured us, but a little piece of paper.

But things going on, how it pleased the Lord to keep this nation in exercise, both at sea and land ; and what God wrought in Ireland and Scotland, you likewise know, until the Lord had finished all that trouble, upon the matter, by the marvellous salvation wrought at Worcester.

I confess to you, I am very much troubled in my spirit, that the necessity of affairs doth require that I should be so short in these things, because I told you before, This is the leanest part of the transaction, to wit, an historical narration, there being in every dispensation (whether the king's going from the parliament, the pulling down the bishops, purging the house at that time by their going away to assist the king, or change of government) whatever it was, not any of those things but hath a remarkable point of providence set upon it, that he that runs may read ; therefore I am heartily sorry, that, in point of time, I cannot be particular in those things, which I did principally design this day, thereby to provoke and stir up your hearts and mine to gratitude and confidence.

I shall now begin a little to remember you of the passages that have been transacted since Worcester fight ; whence coming with my fellow officers and soldiers,

soldiers, we expected, and had some reasonable confidence that our expectations should not be frustrated: that the authority, that then was, having such a history to look back unto, such a God that appeared for them so eminently, so visibly, that even our enemies many times confessed, That God himself was engaged against them, or they should never have been brought so low, nor disappointed in every undertaking; for that may be said, by the way, Had we miscarried but once, where had we been? I say, we did think, and had some reasonable confidence, that, coming up then, the mercies that God had shewed, the expectations that were in the hearts of all good men, would have prompted those that were in authority to have done those good things, which might, by honest men, have been judged a return fit for such a God, and worthy of such mercies, and, indeed, a discharge of duty to those, for whom all these mercies have been shewed, that is, the interest of the three nations, the true interest of the three nations.

And, if I should now labour to be particular in enumerating some businesses, that have been transacted from that time till the dissolution of the late parliament, indeed I should be upon a theme that would be very troublesome to myself. For I must say for myself and fellow officers, we have rather desired and studied healing, than to rake into sores, and look backward, to render things in those colours that would not be very well pleasing to any good eye to look upon: only this we must say, for our own exoneration, and as thereby laying some foundation for the making evident the necessity and duty, that was incumbent upon us, to make this last great change, I think it will not be amiss to offer a word or two in that, not taking pleasure to rake into the business, were there not some kind of necessity so to do.

Indeed, we may say, without commending ourselves, I mean myself, and those gentlemen that have been engaged in the military affairs, that, upon our return, we came, fully bent in our hearts and thoughts, to desire and use all fair and lawful means we could, to have had the nation to reap the fruit of all that blood and treasure that had been expended in this cause; and we have had many desires, and thirstings, in our spirits, to find out ways and means, wherein we might any ways be instrumental to help it forward; and we were very tender, for a long time, so much as to petition, till August last, or thereabouts; we never offered to petition, but some of our then members, and others, having good acquaintance and relation to divers members of the parliament, we did, from time to time, solicit that, which we thought (if there had been no body to prompt them, no body to call upon them) would have been listened to, out of ingenuity and integrity in them, that had opportunity to have answered our expectations; and truly, when we saw nothing would be done, we did, as we thought, according to our duty, remind them by a petition; which petition I suppose the most of you have seen, which we delivered, either in July or August last;

what effect that had is likewise very well known. The truth is, we had no return at all, that was satisfaction for us, but a few words given us: the business petitioned for, most of them, we were told, were under consideration; and those that were not, had very little or no consideration at all.

Finding the people dissatisfied in every corner of the nation, and bringing home to our doors the non-performance of those things that had been promised, and were of due to be performed, we did think ourselves concerned; we endeavoured, as became honest men, to keep up the reputation of honest men in the world; and therefore we had, divers times, endeavoured to obtain a meeting with divers members of parliament; and truly we did not begin this till October last, and in those meetings did, in all faithfulness and sincerity, beseech them, that they would be mindful of their duty to God and man, and of the discharge of their trust to God and man: I believe these gentlemen, that are many of them here, can tell, that we had, at the least, ten or twelve meetings, most humbly begging and beseeching them, that, of their own accords, they would do those good things that had been promised, that so it might appear, they did not do them by any suggestion from the army, but of their own ingenuity, so tender were we to preserve them in the reputation and opinion of the people, to the uttermost. And having had many of those meetings, and declaring plainly, that the issue would be the judgment and displeasure of God against them, the dissatisfaction of the people, and the putting things into a confusion: yet, how little we did prevail, we well know, and, we believe, is not unknown to you; at the last, when we saw, indeed, that things would not be laid to heart, we had a serious consideration amongst ourselves, what other way to have recourse unto; and when, indeed, we came to those close considerations, they began to take the act of the new representative to heart, and seemed exceeding willing to put it on; the which, had it been done, or would it have been done with that integrity, with that caution, that would have saved this cause, and the interest we have been so long engaged in, there could nothing have happened to our judgments more welcome than that would have been; but finding plainly, that the intendment of it was not to give the people that right of choice, although it had been but a ceding right, or the seeming, to give the people that choice intended and designed, to recruit the house, the better to perpetuate themselves: and truly divers of us being spoken to, to that end that we should give way to it, a thing to which we had a perpetual aversion, which we did abominate the thoughts of, we always declared our judgments against it, and our dissatisfaction; but yet they would not hear of a representative, before it lay three years before them, without proceeding with one line considerably in it; they that could not endure to hear of it, then, when we came to our close considerations, then, instead of protracting, they did make as much preposterous haste on the other hand, and ran into that extremity;

tremity; and finding that this spirit was not according to God, and that the whole weight of this cause, which must needs have been very dear unto us, who have so often adventured our lives for it; and we believe is so to you; when we saw plainly, that there was not so much consideration how to assert it, or to provide security for it; and indeed to cross those, that they reckoned the most troublesome people they had to deal with, which was the army, which, by this time, was sufficiently their displeasure; when we saw this, truly, that had power in our hands, to let the business go to such an issue as this, was to throw back the cause into the hands of them we first fought with, we came to this first conclusion amongst ourselves, that, if we had been fought out of it, necessity would have taught us patience; but, to be taken from us so unworthily, we should be rendered the worst people in the world, and we should become traitors both to God and man; and, when God had laid this to our hearts, and that we found the interest of his people was grown cheap, and not laid to heart, and, if we came to competition of things, the cause even amongst themselves would even, almost in every thing, go to the ground; this did add more consideration to us, that there was a duty incumbent upon us, and truly I speak it in the presence of some that are here, that were at the close consultations; I may say, as before the Lord, the thinking of an act of violence was, to us, worse than any engagement that ever we were in yet, and worse to us than the utmost hazard of our lives, that could be, so unwilling were we, so tender were we, so desirous were we, if it were possible, that these men might have quit their places with honour: and truly, this I am the longer upon, because it hath been, in our hearts and consciences, our justification, and hath never yet been imparted thorough to the nation; and we had rather begin with you to do it, than to have done it before, and do think, indeed, that these transactions be more proper for a verbal communication, than to have put it into writing; I doubt, whosoever had put it on, would have been tempted to have dipped his pen in anger and wrath; but affairs being at this posture, that we saw plainly and evidently, in some critical things, that the cause of the people of God was a despised thing, truly then we did believe, that the hands of other men must be the hands that must be trusted with it, and then we thought it high time for us to look about us, and to be sensible of our duty. If I should take up your time to tell you, what instances we have to satisfy our judgments and consciences, that these things were not vain imaginations, and things that were petitioned for, but that fell within the compass of our certain knowledge and sense; should I repeat these things to you, I should do that which I would avoid, to rake into these things too much; only this, if any body were in competition for any place of real and signal trust, how hard and difficult a thing it was to get any thing to be carried, without making parties, without things, indeed, unworthy of a parliament. And, when things

must be carried so in a supreme authority, indeed, I think, it is not as it ought to be; but, when it came to other trials, in that case of Wales, which I must confess, for my own part, I set myself upon, if I should inform what discountenance that business of the poor people of God there had, who had watchings over them, men, like so many wolves, ready to catch the lamb, as soon as it was brought out into the world; how signally they threw that business under foot, to the discountenancing of the honest people there, and to the countenancing of the malignant party of this commonwealth. I need but say, it was so; many have felt, by sad experience, it was so, who will better impart that business to you. Which, for myself and fellow-officers, I think it was as perfect a trial of our spirits as any thing, it being known to many of us, that God kindles a feed there, indeed, hardly to be paralleled since the primitive times. I would this had been all the instances; but finding which way their spirits went, and finding that good was never intended to the people of God, I mean when I say so, that large comprehension of them, under the several forms of godliness in this nation; when I saw, that tenderness was forgotten to them all (though it was very true, that, by their hands and means, through the blessing of God, they sat where they did) and affairs, not to speak it boastingly, had been instrumentally brought to that issue they were brought to by the hands of those poor creatures, we thought this an evil requital: I will not say they were at the uttermost pitch of reformation, although I could say, that one thing, the regulation of the law so much groaned under in that posture it now is in, there were many words spoken for it, we know many months together was not time enough to pass over one word called *Incumbrances*: I say, finding that this was the spirit and complexion of them, that though these were faults, for which no man should have dared to lift his hand, simply for their faults and failing, when yet we saw their intendment was to perpetuate themselves, and men of this spirit, for some had it from their own mouths, from their own designs, who could not endure to hear of being dissolved, this was an high breach of trust, if they had been a parliament, never violated, sitting as free, and as clear as ever any sat in England; yet, if they would go about to perpetuate themselves, we did think this so great a breach of trust, as greater could not be; and we did not go by guess in this, and to be out of doubt in it, we did (having that conference amongst ourselves, whereof we gave account) we did desire once more, the night before the dissolution, and it had been in our desires, some two or three days before, that we might speak with some of the principal persons of the house, that we might, with ingenuity, open our ears to them, to the end we might be either convinced of the ground of their principles and intentions, to the good of the nation; or, if we could not be convinced, they would hear our offer, or expedient to prevent this mischief; and indeed, we could not prevail for two or three days, till the night before the

the dissolution; there is a touch of this in that our declaration; we had often desired it; at that time we attained it, there were above twenty of them who were members not of the least consideration for interest and ability, with whom we desired to discourse those things, and had discourse with them; and it pleased the gentlemen officers of the army, to desire me to offer their sense to them, and, indeed, it was shortly carried thus; we told them, that the reason of our desire to wait upon them was, that we might know from them what security lay in the way of their proceedings so hastily with their representative, wherein they had made a few qualifications, such as they were, and how the whole business should be executed, we have no account of; and we desired them they would be pleased, and we thought we had an interest in our lives, estates, and families, as well as the worst people of the nation, and that we might be bold to ask satisfaction in that; and if they did proceed in honest ways, as might be safe to the nation, we might acquiesce therein: when we pressed them to give satisfaction in this, the answer was made, That nothing could be good to the nation, but the continuance of this parliament; we wondered that we should have such a return, we said little to that.

But seeing they would not give us that which might satisfy us, that their way was honest and safe, they would give us leave to make our objections: we did tell them, that we thought that way they were going in would be impracticable; we could not tell them how it would be brought to pass, to send out an act of parliament into the country, to have qualifications in an act to be the rules of electors and elected, and not to know who should execute this: desired to know whether the next parliament were not like to be all Presbyters? Whether those qualifications would hinder them, or neuters? And though it be our desire to value and esteem persons of that judgment, only they having been as we know, having deserted this cause and interest upon the king's account, and upon that closure between them and the neighbour nation, we do think we must profess we had as good have delivered up our cause into the hands of any, as into the hands of interested and biased men; for it is one thing to live friendly and brotherly, to bear with, and love a person of another judgment in religion; another thing to have any so far fet into the saddle upon that account, as it should be in them to have all the rest of their brethren at mercy: having had this discourse, making these objections of bringing in neuters, or such as should impose upon their brethren, or such as had given testimony to the king's party, and objecting to the danger of it, in drawing the concurrence of all people to arraign every individual person, which indeed did fall obviously in, and the issue would certainly have been the putting it into the hands of men that had little affection to this cause. The answer again was made, and it was confessed by some, that these objections did lie; but answer was made by a very eminent person, at the same time as before, that no-

thing would save the nation but the continuance of this parliament; this being so, we humbly proposed an expedient of ours, which was indeed, to desire that the government being in that condition it was, and things being under so much ill sense abroad, and so likely to come to confusion in every respect, if it went on; so we desired they would devolve the trust over to persons of honour and integrity, that were well known, men well affected to religion and the interest of the nation, which we told them, and was confessed, had been no new thing when these nations had been under the like hurly-burly and distractions, and it was confessed by them it had been no new thing; we had been at labour to get precedents to convince them of it, and we told them these things we offered out of that deep sense we had of the good of the nation, and the cause of Christ: and being answered to that, Nothing would save the nation but the continuance of that parliament, although they would not say they would perpetuate it, at that time least of all.

But finding their endeavours did directly tend to it, they gave us this answer, That the things we had offered were of a tender and very weighty consideration; they did make objections how we should raise money, and some other objections; we told them, that that we offered as an expedient, because we thought better, than that for which no reason was, or thought would be given; we desired them to lay the thing seriously to heart. They told us, they would take consideration of these things till the morning, that they would sleep upon them, and I think that there was scarce any day that there sat above fifty, or fifty-two, or fifty-three. At the parting two or three of the chief ones, the very chiefest of them, did tell us, that they would endeavour the suspending the proceedings of the representative, the next day, till they had a further conference; and we did acquiesce, and had hope, if our expedient would take up a loving debate, the next day we should have some such issue of our debate, as would have given a satisfaction to all; they went away late at night, and the next morning we considering how to order that which we had to offer to them, when they were to meet in the evening, word was brought they were proceeding with a representative with all the eagerness they could; we did not believe persons of such quality could do it; a second and third messenger told us, they had almost finished it, and had brought it to that issue with that haste that had never been known before, leaving out the things that did necessarily relate to due qualifications, as we have heard since, resolved to make it a paper bill, not to ingross it, that they might make the quicker dispatch of it, thus to have thrown all the liberties of the nation into the hands that never bled for it; upon this account, we thought it our duty not to suffer it, and upon this the house was dissolved.

This we tell you, that you may so know, that what hath been done in the dissolution of this parliament, was as necessary to be done, as the preservation of this cause; and that necessity that led us to do that, hath

hath brought us to this issue, of exercising an extraordinary way and course, to draw yourselves together upon this account; that you are men who know the Lord, and have made observations of his marvellous dispensations, and may be trusted with this cause. It remains, for I shall not acquaint you further with that that relates to your taking upon you this great business, that being contained in this paper, in my hand, which I do offer presently to you to read, having done that which we thought to have done upon this ground of necessity, which we know was not feigned necessity but real and true, to the end the government might not be at a loss, to the end we might manifest to the world the singleness of our hearts and integrity, who did those things not to grasp after the power ourselves, to keep it in a military hand, no not for a day, but as far as God enables us with strength and ability, to put it into the hands that might be called from several parts of the nation; this necessity I say, and we hope may say, for ourselves, this integrity of labouring to divest the sword of the power and authority, in the civil administration of it, hath been that that hath moved us to conclude of this course; and having done that, we think we cannot, with the discharge of our consciences, but offer somewhat unto you, as I said before, for our own exoneration, it having been the practice of others who have voluntarily and out of sense of duty divested themselves, and devolved the government into the hands of others; it having been the practice, where such things have been done, and very consonant to reason, together with the authority, to lay a charge, in such a way, as we hope we do, and to press to the duty which we have a word or two to offer to you. Truly, God hath called you to this work by, I think, as wonderful providences as ever passed upon the sons of men in so short a time: and truly I think, taking the arguments of necessity (for the government must not fall) take the appearances of the will of God in this thing; I am sure you would have been loth it should have been resigned into the hands of wicked men and enemies: I am sure God would not have it so: it comes therefore to you by way of necessity; it comes to you by the way of the wise providence of God, though through weak hands; and therefore I think, it coming through our hands, though such as we are, it may not be taken ill, if we offer to you something, as to the discharge of that trust which is incumbent upon you; and although I seem to speak that which may have the face of a charge, it is a very humble one; and he that means to be a servant to you, who are called to the exercise of the supreme authority, to discharge that which he conceives is his duty, in his own and his fellows names, to you, I hope, who will take it in good part: and truly I shall not hold you long in that, because I hope it is written in your hearts to approve yourselves to God; only this scripture I shall remember to you, which hath been much upon my spirit: *Hosea xi. ver. 12. Yet Judah ruleth with God, and is faithful among the saints.* It is said before, *Ephraim did compass God*

about with lyes, and Israel with deceit. How God hath been compassed about with fastings and thanksgivings, and other exercises and transactions, I think we have all to lament; why, truly, you are called by God to rule with him and for him, and you are called to be faithful with the saints, who have been somewhat instrumental to your call: *He that ruleth over men, the scripture saith, he must be just, ruling in the fear of God.*

And truly it is better to pray for you, than to counsel you in that, that you may exercise the judgment of mercy and truth; I say, it is better for you to do it, than to advise you to ask wisdom from heaven for you; which, I am confident, many thousands of saints do this day, and have done, and will do, through the permission of God, and his assistance to advise you: only, truly, I thought of a scripture likewise, that seems to be but a scripture of common application to every man as a Christian, wherein he is counselled to ask wisdom; and he is told what is that wisdom that is from above; it is *pure, peaceable, gentle, easy to be intreated, full of good fruits, without partiality, without hypocrisy*: And my thoughts ran thus upon this, That the executing of the judgment of truth, for that is the judgment that you must have wisdom from above for, and that is pure, that will teach you to execute the judgment of truth; and then, if God give you hearts to be easy to be intreated, to be peaceable spirits, to be full of good fruits, bearing good fruits to the nation, to men as men, to the people of God, to all in their several stations; this wisdom will teach you to execute the judgment of mercy and truth; and I have little more to say to this, I shall rather bend my prayers for you in that behalf (as I said before) and I know many others do also. Truly, the judgment of truth will teach you to be as just towards an unbeliever, as towards a believer; and it is our duty to be so. I confess, I have often said it foolishly, If I would miscarry, I would rather do it to a believer than to an unbeliever; perhaps it is a paradox; but let us take heed of doing it to either, exercising injustice to either. If God fill our heart with such a spirit as Moses and Paul had, which was not only a spirit for the believers among the people of God, but for the whole people (he would have died for them; and so Paul to his countrymen according to the flesh, he could have died for them) truly, this will help us to execute the judgment of truth, and mercy also.

A second thing is, To desire you would be faithful with the saints; and I hope, whatever others may think, it ought to be to us all matter of rejoicing, that, as one person (our Saviour) was touched with our infirmities, that he might be pitiful, I do think this assembly, thus called, is very much touched with the common infirmity of the saints; and I hope that will teach you to pity others, that so saints of one sort may not be our interest, but that we may have respect unto all, though of different judgments; and, if I did seem to speak any thing, that might seem to reflect upon those of the Presbyterian judgment, I think, if you have

have not an interest of love for them, you will hardly answer this faithfulness to his saints; I confess, in my pilgrimage, and some exercises I have had abroad, I did read that scripture often, in *Isaiah* xli. 19. when God gave me, and some of my fellows, what he would do there, and elsewhere; which he performed for us: And what would he do? To what end? *That he might plant in the wilderness the cedar, and the shittah-tree, and the myrtle-tree, and the palm-tree together.* To what end? *That they might know, and consider, and understand together, that the hand of the Lord hath done this;* and that the Lord hath created it; that he wrought all salvation and deliverance, which he hath wrought, for the good of the whole flock; therefore I beseech you (but I think I need not) have a care of the whole flock, love all the sheep, love the lambs, all, and tender all, and cherish all, and countenance all, in all things that are good; and if the poorest Christian, the most mistaken Christian, should desire to live peaceably and quietly under you, soberly and humbly desire to lead a life in godliness and honesty, let him be protected.

I think I need as little advise you concerning the propagation of the gospel, and encouraging such ministers, and such a ministry, as are faithful in the land, upon whom the true character is, men that have truly received the spirit for such an use; which Christians will be well able to discern and do; men that have received gifts from him that ascended on high, and led captivity captive, for the work before-mentioned: and truly the apostle, *Rom. xii.* when he had summoned up all the mercies of God, and the goodness of God, and hath discoursed of the foundations of the gospel, and of the several things that are the subject of his discourse, in the eleven first chapters, after he had besought them to offer up their souls and bodies a living sacrifice to God, he beseecheth them not to esteem more highly of themselves than they ought; but that they would be humble and sober-minded, and not stretch themselves beyond their line, but they would have a care to those that had received gifts to the uses there mentioned. I speak not, it is far from my heart, for a ministry, deriving itself through the papacy, and pretending to that, which is so much insisted upon to be succession: the true succession is through the spirit, given in that measure that the spirit is given; and that is a right succession. But I need not discourse of these things to you; I am persuaded you are taught of God, in a greater measure than myself, in these things; indeed I have but one word more to say, and that is (though in that perhaps I shall shew my weakness) it is by way of encouragement to you to go on in this work.

And give me leave to begin thus: I confess I never looked to see such a day as this, it may be nor you, when Jesus Christ shall be owned, as he is this day, and in this world: Jesus Christ is owned this day by you all, and you own him by your willingness in appearing here; and you manifest this (as far as poor creatures can) to be a day of the power of Christ by

your willingness. I know you remember that scripture in *Psalms* cx. 3. *The people shall be willing in the day of thy power;* God doth manifest it to be a day of the power of Jesus Christ.

Having through so much blood, and so many trials as have been upon these nations, made this to be one of the great issues thereof, to have a people called to the supreme authority upon such an avowed account, God hath owned his son by this; and you, by your willingness, do own Jesus Christ; and therefore, for my part, I confess I did never look to see such a sight: perhaps, you are not known by face one to another; but we must tell you this, that indeed we have not allowed ourselves in the choice of one person, in whom we had not this good hope, that there was faith in Jesus Christ, and love unto all his saints and people: and thus God hath owned you in the face and eyes of the world; and thus, by your coming hither, have you owned him; as it is in *Isaiah* xliii. 21. It is an high expression, and look to your own hearts, whether now or hereafter God shall apply it to you: *This people* (saith he) *I have formed for myself, that they might shew forth my praise.* It is a memorable place, and, I hope, not unfitly applied; God apply it to each of your hearts. I shall not descant upon the words, they are plain, you are as like the forming of God as ever people were: if any man should ask you one by one, and should tender a book to you, you would dare to swear, that neither directly nor indirectly did you seek to come hither: you have been passive in coming hither, in being called hither, and that is an active word, *This people I have formed.* Consider the circumstances by which you are called together; through what difficulties, through what strivings, through what blood, you are come hither. Neither you nor I, nor no man living, three months ago, had a thought to have seen such a company, taking upon them, or rather being called to the supreme authority, and therefore know now your call.

Indeed I think, as it may be truly said, that never was a supreme authority, consisting of so numerous a body as you are, which I believe are above one hundred and forty, were ever in the supreme authority, under such a notion, in such a way of owning God, and being owned by him; and therefore I say also, never a people formed for such a purpose (so called) if it were time to compare your standing with those that have been called by the suffrages of the people. Who can tell how soon God may fit the people for such a thing, and who would desire any thing more in the world, but that it might be so? I would all the Lord's people were prophets, I would they were fit to be called, and fit to call; and it is the longing of our hearts, to see them once own the interest of Jesus Christ; and give me leave to say, if I know any thing in the world, What is there more like to win the people to the interest and love of God? Nay, what a duty will lie upon you, to have your conversation such, as that they may love you, that they may see you lay out your time and spirits for them? Is

not this the most likely way to bring them to their liberties? And do you not, by this, put it upon God to find the time and the season for it, by pouring forth his spirit; at least by convincing them, that, as men fearing God have fought them out of their thralldom and bondage under the royal power, so men fearing God rule them in the fear of God, and take care to administer good unto them: but this is some digression. I say, own your call, for indeed it is marvellous, and it is of God, and it hath been unprojected, unthought of by you and us; and that hath been the way God hath dealt with us all along, to keep things from our eyes, that what we have acted, we have seen nothing before us, which also is a witness, in some measure, to our integrity. I say, you are called with a high call: and why should we be afraid to say, or think, that this way may be the door to usher in things that God hath promised and prophesied of, and to set the hearts of his people to wait for, and expect? We know who they are that shall war with the Lamb against his enemies: they shall be a people called, chosen, and faithful; and hath in the military way (we must speak it without flattery) I believe you know it, he hath acted with them, and for them, and now in the civil power and authority, and these are not ill prognostications for that good we wait for: indeed, I do think something is at the door, we are at the threshold, and therefore it becomes us to lift up our heads, and to encourage ourselves in the Lord, and we have some of us thought it our duty to endeavour this way, not vainly looking on that prophecy in Daniel, *And the kingdom shall not be delivered to another people.* Truly, God hath brought it into your hands, by his owning, and blessing, and calling out a military power; God hath persuaded their hearts to be instrumental in calling you, and this hath been set upon our hearts, and upon all the faithful in the land; it may be that it is not our duty to deliver it over to any other people, and that scripture may be fulfilling now to us: but I may be beyond my line.

But, I thank God, I have my hopes exercised in these things, and so I am persuaded are yours: truly, seeing that these things are so, that you are at the edge of the promises and prophecies, at least if there were neither promise for this nor prophecy, you are coveting the best things, endeavouring after the best things; and, as I have said elsewhere, if I were to chuse the meanest officer in the army, or commonwealth, I would chuse a godly man that hath principles, especially where trust is to be committed, because I know where to have a man that hath principles: I believe if any man of you should chuse a servant, you would do so; and I would all our magistrates were so chosen, that may be some effects of this: it is our duty to chuse men that fear the Lord, to praise the Lord, yea, such as the Lord forms for himself, and he expects not praises from others; this being so, puts me in mind of another scripture, *Psal. lxxviii.* which indeed is a glorious prophecy, and I am per-

suaded of the gospel, or it may be of the Jews; also there it is prophesied, *He will bring his people again out of the depths of the sea, as once he led Israel through the Red-sea;* and it may be, some do think God is bringing the Jews home to their station from the isles of the sea: surely, when God sets up the glory of the gospel church, it shall be gathering people out of deep waters, out of the multitude of waters; such are his people, drawn out of the multitudes of the nations, and people of the world. And that Psalm will be very glorious in many other parts of it, *When he gave the word, great was the company of them that published it; kings of the armies did fly apace, and she that tarried at home divided the spoil; and, although ye have lain among the pots, yet shall ye be as the wings of a dove covered with silver, and her feathers with yellow gold.* And, indeed, the triumph of that Psalm is exceeding high and great, and God is accomplishing it; and the close of it, that closeth with my heart, and I am persuaded will with yours also: that *God shakes hills and mountains, and they reel;* and God hath a hill too, and his hill is as *the hill of Bashan, and the chariots of God are twenty thousand of angels, and God will dwell upon this hill for ever.* Truly, I am sorry that I have troubled you, in such a place of heat as this is, so long; all that I have to say in mine own name, and in the names of my fellow-officers, who have joined with me in this work, is, that we shall commend you to the grace of God, and to the guidance of his spirit; having thus far served you, or rather our Lord Jesus Christ in it, we are, as we hope, and shall be, ready in our stations, according as the providence of God shall lead us, to be subservient to the work of God, and the authority, which we reckon, God hath set over us. And although we have no formal thing to present you with, to which the hands and outward visible expressions of the hearts of the officers of the three nations are set; yet we may say for them, and we may say also with confidence for our brethren at sea, with whom neither in Scotland, nor Ireland, nor at sea, hath any artifice been used, to persuade their approbations to this work; yet we can say, that their consent and affections hath flowed in to us from all parts beyond our expectations, and we are confident we may say with all confidence, that we have had their approbations, and full consent, unsought indeed to the other work, so that you have their hearts and affections in this; and not only they, but we, have very many papers from the churches of God, throughout the nation, wonderfully both approving what hath been done in removing obstacles, and approving what we have done in this very thing. And, having said this, I shall trouble you no more; but if you will be pleased that this instrument may be read, which I have signed by the advice of the council of officers, we shall then leave you to your own thoughts, and to the guidance of God, to order and dispose of yourselves for further meetings as you shall see cause.

A true Narrative and Relation * of his Most Sacred Majesty's (CHARLES II.)
miraculous Escape from Worcester, on the Third of September, 1651, till his
Arrival at Paris.

FORTUNE had now twice counterfeited and double-gilt the trophies of rebellion, and its brazen trumpet repeated victory, betrayed, or prostituted, before at Dunbar, and now ravished at Worcester, by numerous overpowering force, on that black and white day, September the Third, 1651; in the dusk of which fatal evening, when the ashamed sun had blushed in his setting, and plunged his affrighted head into the depth of luckless Severn; and the night, ready to stain and spot her guilty fables with loyal blood, was attiring herself for the tragedy. The king (whose first and conspicuous valorous essay so exceeded all comparison, that it cannot but oblige fate to preserve that matchless courage, and never again to venture, or expose it to any hazard) compelled to abandon the city of Worcester, whose fidelity and affection deserved perpetual memory. After he had quitted his court and lodgings, to which he retired from the field, and having rallied his most faithful and considerable friends, divers English lords and gentlemen, who were resolved to accompany him in his flight, was presented by the late renowned earl of Derby, with one Charles Gifford, Esq; (a person of note, then of that country, and of much manifested honour since to the world) to be his majesty's conductor in this miraculous blessed escape; who forthwith called for one Francis Yates, whom he had brought with him, under the command of Colonel Careless, in a party that met the king in his advance to Worcester, to be guide-assistant, for the surer finding the by-ways for his majesty's speed and safety.

In the mean time, Colonel Careless, a gentleman of very gallant and noble endowments, was commanded to sustain the brunt of the pursuing enemy, and to keep them off, while the king might be somewhat in his way; which, with excellent prudence and valour, he did to effect, and afterwards fled to his old retreat and coverture, passing by Hartlebury castle, then garrisoned by the enemy, whom he courageously fought with, and broke through, and came safe to his designed shelter.

Towards three o'clock, Thursday morning, the fourth of September, the king, in company with the said earl of Derby, earl of Shrewsbury, earl of Cleveland, duke of Buckingham, my Lord Wilmot, and others, to the number of fourscore, came to a place called White-Ladies, in the parish of Tong, in the confines of Stafford and Shropshire, being twenty-five miles distant, or thereabouts, from Worcester, which space of ground he had rid that night.

The White-Ladies was a house belonging to one Fitz-Herbert, where one George Pendrill, hearing somebody knocking at the gate so early, and opening the window, espied the aforesaid Francis Yates, who was his brother-in-law, with Mr. Gifford; to whom he presently opened the door, and enquired of his brother Yates, what news from Worcester? who told him, that the king was defeated, and in pursuit, and therefore bid him to make haste, and put on his cloaths: but before he could make himself ready, the king, with most of his lords, had entered the house, and come into the hall; where, after a short consultation held amongst them, the earl of Derby called for William Pendrill, the eldest brother; (you must know that my lord of Derby had taken this place for a subterfuge, after the defeat given him by Colonel Lilburn, near Wigan in Lancashire, and was acquainted there, and by them conveyed to Worcester to the king; as also, several other gentlemen before had used this for their sanctuary) who being come, George was sent to Tong, to one Robert Beard, an honest subject, to enquire of him, whether there were any scattered parties of the king's thereabouts, or any of the enemies appearing; who brought word, that the coast was yet clear, and no parties at all to be seen. In his return, he met with his brother Richard; for now those few inhabitants that lived there were awaked with the noise, and their own ill-boding thoughts and fears of the success at Worcester.

Richard was no sooner come in, but Esquire Gifford called for him, and bid him make haste, and bring with him his best cloaths, which were a jump and breeches, of green coarse cloth, and a doeskin leather doublet; the hat was borrowed of Humphry Pendrill, the miller, being an old grey one, that turned up its brims; the shirt (which in that country language they called an *burden*, or *noggen-shirt*, of cloth, that is made of the coarsest of the hemp) was had of one Edward Martin, George Pendrill's band, and William Creswel's shoes; which the king, having presently unstripped himself of his own cloaths, did nimbly put on. His buff-coat, and linen-doublet, and a grey pair of breeches, which he wore before, he gave into these brothers hands, who forthwith buried them under ground, where they lay five weeks before they durst take them up again. The jewels, off his arm, he gave to one of the lords then departing.

Then Richard came with a pair of shears, and rounded the king's hair, which my Lord Wilmot having cut before with a knife, had untowardly notched;

* This is the 126th Number in the Catalogue of Pamphlets in the Harleian Library.

and the king was pleased to take notice of Richard's good barbering, so as to prefer his work before my Lord Wilmot's, and gave him the praise of it; and now his majesty was *a-la-mode* the woodman.

Hereupon, William Pendrill was brought to the king, by the earl of Derby, and the care and preservation of his most sacred majesty, committed to his charge, and the rest of the brothers (my lord would have staid too, but there was no undertaking security for them both) and presently the lords took their heavy leave, and departed, every one shifting for himself. Only my Lord Wilmot was conveyed by John Pendrill to Mr. Thomas Whitgrave's; but he would have left him at several other places, which my lord did in no wise approve of; first, at one John Shore's of Hungerhill, thence to John Climpson, thence to one Reynolds of the Hide, so to John Hunspatch's; where passing by Coven, they had notice of a troop of horse in the town, and seeing some men coming behind them (which proved to be friends, though my lord suspected the country rising upon them) they betook themselves into a dry pit, where they staid all evening, and then arrived safe at Mr. Whitgrave's.

The company being all departed, a woodbill was brought and put into the king's hand, and he went out with Richard into the adjoining woods. William departed home, and Humphry and George went out to scout, and lay hovering in the woods, to hear or see if any one approached that way. But the king had not been an hour in the wood, before a troop of horse of the enemy's, came to White-Ladies, and enquired, if some of the king's horse, and himself, passed not that way, and if they could give any information of him; to which the town's-folks answered, that about three hours ago, there was a party of horse came thither, and they supposed the king with them, but they made no stay in the village, but presently departed; they were hereupon so eager in the pursuit, that after enquiring which way they took, they followed the rout, and made no further search there; the king straight heard this, by the two aforefaid scouts, who straggled for intelligence into the town.

All this day, being Thursday, the king continued in the wood, upon the ground, Richard Pendrill being constantly with him, and sometimes the other two brothers: it proved to be a very rainy day, and the king was wet with showers; thereupon Francis Yates's wife came into the wood, and brought the king a blanket, which she threw over his shoulders to keep him dry; she also brought him his first meat he eat there, viz. a mess of milk, eggs, and sugar, in a black earthen cup, which the king guessed to be milk and apples, and said he loved it very well: after he had drank some of it, and eaten part in a pewter spoon, he gave the rest to George and bid him eat, for it was very good. There was nothing of moment passed this day in court, but only the king exchanged his woodbill for Francis Yates's broom-hook, which was something lighter.

They had much ado all that day, to teach and fashion

his majesty to their country guise, and to order his steps, and straight body, to a lobbing Jobson's gate, and were forced every foot to remind him of it; for the language, his majesty's most gracious converse with his people, in his journey to, and at Worcester, had rendered it very easy, and very tuneable to him.

About five o'clock that evening, the king, with the retinue of Richard, Humphry, George, and Francis Yates, left the wood, and betook himself to Richard's house, where he went under the name of William Jones, a wood-cutter, newly come thither for work; against his coming, the good wife, for his entertainment at supper, was preparing a fricassee of bacon and eggs; and whilst that was doing, the king held on his knee their daughter Nan: after he had eat a little, he asked Richard to eat, who replied, Yea, sir, I will; whereto his majesty answered, You have a better stomach than I, for you have eaten five times to-day already. After supper ended, the king, according to his resolution to pass into Wales, prepared, when it should be dusky, to depart; before he went, Jane Pendrill, the mother of the five brethren, came to see the king, before whom she blessed God, that had so honoured her children, in making them the instruments, as she hoped, of his majesty's safeguard and deliverance. Here Francis Yates offered the king thirty shillings in silver; the king accepted ten, and bid him put the other up. Humphry would have gone before, to see and view about, but the king would not let him; it being now near night, they took their leave of the king upon their knees, beseeching God to guide and bless him. So the king and Richard only departed, to go to one Mr. Francis Wolfe of Madely, there to take passage into Wales. On the way, they were to pass by a mill, at a place called Evelin, and going over (it was about nine o'clock at night) the bridge of the said mill, the miller steps forth, and demanded, who goes there; having a quarterstaff, or a good cudgel in his hand; to which Richard, being foremost, thought it not safe to reply, but, the water being shallow, leaped off the bridge into it, and the king did the like, following Richard by the noise and rattling of his leather breeches; the miller being glad he was so rid of them, for, as it afterwards appeared, here were some of the king's scattered soldiers in the mill, and he supposed the other to be parliamentarians, that were upon the scent for his distressed guests.

Being come to Madely, to the said Mr. Francis Wolfe's, late that night, they understood there was no passage over the water into Wales, and that it was very dangerous to abide there, the country being, every where about, laid with soldiers; nor durst he entertain them in his house, but shewed them a hay-mow, where they might lodge; and there the king and Richard continued all that night, and the next day, being Friday; and that night, with the conveyance of a maid of this Mr. Wolfe's, who brought the king two miles on his way, they retreated back again to Richard's house: Master Wolfe lent the king some small sum of money.

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The design being crossed, Saturday morning, without any stay at Richard's, the king and he went to a house of Mrs. Giffard's, called Boscabel, where William Pendrill and his wife dwelt as housekeepers for the said Giffard, who received him joyfully; but the king's feet were so blistered, with travelling in such coarse and stiff accoutrements, as he wore on his feet, and lying in them, that he was scarce able to stand or go; which William's wife perceiving, she stripped off his stockings, and cut the blisters, and washed his feet, and gave the king some ease.

The same time, or near thereupon, that noble colonel, Careless, who, as is said before, made good the king's rear at Worcester, and had fought his way through; after he had been two days at one David Jones's, living in the heath in Tong parish, and there by him secured (for this colonel had lain three quarters of a year before obscured in this country, when he had been narrowly, every where, searched after) was brought, by one Elisabeth Burgefs, to this same house of Boscabel; and there his majesty and he met, but the colonel was so overjoyed with the sight of the king, his master, in such sure and safe hands, that he could not refrain weeping, and the king was himself moved with the same passion.

After a short conference, and but inchoated counsel of the king's probablest means of escape, it was resolved by them, to betake themselves to the wood again; and accordingly, about nine of the clock, that Saturday morning the sixth of September, they went into the wood, and Colonel Careless brought and led the king to that so much celebrated oak, where before he had himself been lodged: this tree is not hollow, but of a sound firm trunk, only, about the middle of the body of it, there is a hole in it, about the bigness of a man's head, from whence it absurdly and abusively, in respect of its deserved perpetual growth to out-last time itself, is called hollow; and, by the help of William Pendrill's wood-ladder, they got up into the boughs and branches of the tree, which were very thick and well spread, full of leaves; so that it was impossible for any one to discern through them.

When they were both up, William gave them up two pillows to lie upon between the thickest of the branches, and the king, being over-wearied with his travel and fore journey, began to be very sleepy; the colonel, to accommodate him the best he could, desired his majesty, to lay his head in his lap, and rest the other parts of his body upon the pillow, which the king did; and after he had taken a good nap (William and his wife Joan still peaking up and down, and she commonly near the place, with a nut-hook in her hand gathering of sticks) awaked very hungry, and wished he had something to eat; whereupon the colonel plucked out of his pocket a good lunchion of bread and cheese, which Joan Pendrill had given him for provant for that day, and had wrapped it up in a clean linen cloth, of which the king fed very heartily, and was well pleased with the service, and commended highly his good cheer; and some other small relief he

had, which was put up in the tree, with a long hook-stick.

In the mean while, Richard Pendrill, the first esquire, was sent to Wolverhampton some three miles thence, being a market-town, to buy wine and bisket, and some other necessary refreshments for the king; and withal to speak with one Mr. George Manwaring, a person of known integrity and loyalty, from Colonel Careless, with some instructions about the king's removal, though not expressly the king, but one of that ruined party; in effect it was to know of him, whether he knew of any sure privacy for two such persons; to which he answered he had not himself, but would enquire if a friend of his, one Mr. Whitgrave of Mosely, formerly and again to be spoken of here, could do it. So that we may see what a loyal honest combination and secrecy there was between all of these persons; and then Richard returned with his wine, &c. to the king, who, towards the evening, came down by the same ladder from the tree, and was brought into the garden of Boscabel house, where he sat in the bower of it, and drank part of the wine till towards night.

Neither was Humphry Pendrill, the miller, unemployed all this while, but was sent to get intelligence how things went. And the easier to come by it, he was sent to a captain of the rump, one Broadway, formerly a heel-maker, under pretence of carrying him twenty shillings, for the pay of a man in the new raised militia of their county for their mistress. While he was there, in came a colonel of the rebels, and asked for Captain Broadway, on purpose to know what further enquiry had been made at White-Ladies for the king, relating to Broadway the story of it; to which he replied he knew nothing of it further than rumour, but that there was one of that place in the house that could give him an account of it. So Humphry was called, and several questions put to him, which he evaded, but confessed that the king had been there, as was supposed; but there was no likelihood for him to stay there, for there were three families in the house, and all at difference with one another. The colonel told him there was a thousand pounds offered to any, that would take or discover him, and that they doubted not, but within a day or two to have him delivered into their hands.

These tidings Humphry brought with him, and omitted not to tell his majesty of the price his rebels had set on him; at the telling of which, the king looked something dismayed, as having trusted his life into the hands of so poor men, whom such a sum as that, though both detestable, and of inconsiderable value to the purchase, might pervert from their allegiance and fidelity; which made Humphry to be exceedingly troubled for his rashness, while Colonel Careless assured the king, if it were one hundred thousand pounds, it were to no more purpose, and that he would engage his soul for their truth; which Humphry also, with many urgent asseverations did second.

It was late, and the king was very hungry, and had
a mind

a mind to a loin of mutton, and being come into the house, asked William if he could not get him such a joint; to which he replied, that he had it not of his own, but he would make bold at that time, and for that occasion with one of his master's sheep in the cote; which instantly he did, and brought it into the ground cellar, where the colonel, not having the patience to stay while he fetched a knife, stabbed it with his dagger; and when William came down, they hung it upon a door, and flead it, and brought up a hind quarter to the king, who presently fell a chopping of the loin to pieces, or, as they called it then, into Scotch collops, which the colonel clapped into the pan, while the king held it and fried it.

This passage yielded the king a pleasant, jocular discourse, after his arrival in France, when it amounted to a question, a very difficult case, who was cook, and who was scullion? And the solution of the doubt, when it could not be decided by the lords then present, was referred to the judgment of his majesty's master-cook, who affirmed, that the king was *hic & nunc*, both of them.

When this nimble collation was ended, it was time for the king to betake himself to his rest, and his chamberlain William brought him to his apartment. It was a place made between two walls on purpose for secrecy, contrived at the building of the house; thither they let the king down, where he slept very incommodiously with little or no rest, for that the place was not long enough for him; and therefore, the next night, they laid him a sorry bed upon the staircase, that the meanness of his lodging might secure him from suspicion.

My Lord Wilmot, as is said before, was all this while safe at Mr. Whitgrave's, only his care of the king made him full of trouble. His hiding-place was so sure a one, that at his first coming to it, he wished, so he gave twenty thousand pounds, that the king was either as secure, or there with him; he therefore dispatched away John Pendrill, who attended him all along to the White-Ladies, to enquire for the king, and to give him notice of the conveniency that was at Mr. Whitgrave's; but when he came thither, which was on Friday, the king was then gone to Madely, to Mr. Wolfe's. The next day he was sent again, and Richard's wife directed him to Boscabel, where he delivered the king his message, which the king assented unto, and resolved to remove thither.

Monday night, September the eighth, at eleven at night, was the time appointed for the king's progress to Mosely, but a horse was hard to be found. John was ordered to borrow one of one Stanton of Hatton, but he had lent his out before; when the colonel remembered that Humphry the miller had one, and he thereupon was called and desired to lend him for the king's service; it was a kind of war-horse, that had carried many a load of provision, meal, and such like, but now he put upon him a bridle and saddle, that had outworn his tree and irons, and at the time prefixed, brought him to the gate.

As soon as the king had notice of it, out he came, and would have had none but Colonel Careless and John to have gone along with him; but they told him, it was dangerous to venture himself with so few; they therefore intreated his majesty, that he would give them leave to go with them, which, at their importunity he granted.

Having mounted the king, Colonel Careless and the six brethren guarding him, two before and two behind, and one of each side, armed with clubs and bills, Humphry, leading his horse by the bridle, they began their journey. It was five miles from Boscabel to Mosely, Mr. Whitgrave's, and the way in some places miry where the horse blundering, caused the king to suspect falling, and bid Humphry have a care; to which he answered, that that now fortunate horse had carried many a heavier weight in his time, six strike of corn, which measures the king understood not, but now had a better price on his back, the price of three kingdoms, and therefore would not now shame his master.

Their travel was soon and safe ended, and the king brought the back way to a stile that led to the house; Humphry led the horse into a ditch, and the king alighted off upon the stile; but, forgetting that most of his guard were to return home, was gone five or six steps onward, without taking leave of them, but, recalling himself, returned back and said, I am troubled that I forgot to take my leave of my friends; but if ever I come into England, by fair or foul means, I will remember you, and let me see you, whenever it shall so please God; so they all departed, but the colonel, John, and Francis Yates, who guided the king to the house.

Their master Thomas Whitgrave received the king, dutifully and affectionately, and brought him in to my Lord Wilmot, who with infinite gladness, kneeled down and embraced his knees. After a little conference, his majesty was had to his lodging, and the intrigues of it shewn him; where, after the king had rested himself that night, they entered into consultation about the escape, which had been projected by my Lord Wilmot before.

Francis Yates departed, but John staid two or three days longer with the king, while he went away. On Wednesday noon a troop of the rebels horse passed through the town, and made no stay; which John told not the king of, till afternoon, because, as he then said, he would not spoil his majesty's dinner.

Now the king prepared and fitted himself for his journey, and one Mr. Huddleston and Mr. Whitgrave accommodated him with boots, cloke, money, &c. and John Pendrill was sent to Mrs. Lane about it, who sent him back again with a parcel of leaves of walnuts, boiled in spring-water, to colour his majesty's hands, and alter the hue and whiteness of his skin in those parts, that were most obvious to the eye, and by him gave notice to the king what time he should be ready.

On Thursday night, the eleventh of September,
Colonel

Colonel Lane came with his sister to a field adjoining, and there they put the king before her, John having the honour to hold the king's stirrup, while he mounted; and presently they two set forward, having taken directions to know the country, and my Lady Lane having several recommendations to the allies, friends, and acquaintance of her family, that lay in their intended road, if any untoward occasion should put them to the trial.

The several adventures, which that heroical lady passed and overcame, in the management of that grand affair of his majesty's life, will become and besit a worthier paper, and a nobler pen; and therefore, let the blessed and thrice happy event of that her fortunate loyalty restrain a curious enquiry of the means, which probably may be some *arcana imperii*, secrecy of state now, as well as then of the king, not yet fit to be divulged. Miracles indeed of this benign and propitious influence are very rare; God hath not dealt so with the nations round about us, especially, where human coadjutement, and that so signally, in the taciturnity of so many persons concerned, hath been instrumental; and therefore, why may we not, as we fearfully behold comets, with delight look upon the serene smiles of heaven, in his majesty's preservation, and the rays of its goodness, diffused into the breasts of those loyal persons, his guardians, for whose honour more especially this paper officiously obtrudes itself, with such weak eyes as we now see with, before we can have the benefit of a prospective (the full relation.)

Let it therefore suffice and content us, that it pleased the divine wisdom and goodness to protect and defend our most gracious sovereign in all dangers, places, and conditions whatsoever, in that his incumbered passage, through his own rightful dominions, and without the least umbrage of suspicion, to convey him out of the hands of his blood-thirsty trayterous enemies, who thought themselves sure of him, that so killing the heir, the inheritance might be theirs.

He remained or rather pilgrimaged from one sanctuary to another, in England, near the space of five weeks, and like other princes, though not on the same account, was present *incognito*, while such time as a convenience of passage could be found for him in Sussex; where after he had embarked himself in a barque out of a creek, he was put back again by contrary weather into the same place, being disguised in a sailor's cloaths; but the wind veering about more favourably, about the end of October, 1651, landed at Dieppe in Normandy, from whence an express was sent to her majesty of England, to acquaint her of his safe arrival, which was presently communicated to the French court, who, appearingly with great manifestation of joy, welcomed the news: but his majesty's most affectionate uncle, the late duke of Orleans, did with intire joy, as also sundry of the most eminent French nobility, congratulate his deliverance, which they testified by a most splendid and honourable cavalcade, at his reception and entry into Paris.

News from Pembroke and Montgomery, or Oxford Manchestered, by Michael Oldworth and his Lord, who swore he was Chancellor of Oxford. And proved it in a Speech made to the new Visitors, in their New Convocation, April 11, 1648. As here it follows Word for Word, and Oath for Oath.

Mr. Visitors,

I Am glad to see this day, I hope it will never end; for I am your chancellor: some say I am not your chancellor, but dam me, they lye, for my brother was so before me, and none but rascals would rob me of my birth-right. They think marquis of Hertford is chancellor of Oxford, because, forsooth, the university chose him; s'death, I sit here by ordinance of parliament, and judge ye, gentlemen, whether he or I look like a chancellor: I'll prove he is a party, for he himself is a scholar, he has Greek and Latin; but all the world knows I can scarce write or read; dam me, this writing and reading hath caused all this blood.

Some say, I love not the university, but I say, they lye; I love her, I count her my mother, for I had four sons there. You know what a coil I had ere I could get hither; Selden did so vex us with his law and his reasons, we could get nothing pass; you saw I was fain to swear him down, and Mr. Rous, Gurdon, Mildmay, Wentworth, Prideaux, Scot, and other friends, voted bravely, else Selden had carried it. S'death, that fellow is but burges for Oxford, and I am chancellor, and yet he would have the parliament hear his law and reasons against their own chancellor. I thank God, and I thank you; I thank God I am come at last, and I thank you for giving me a gilded bible; you could not give me a better book, dam me. I think so; I love the bible, though I seldom use it; I say

I say I love it, and a man's affection is the best member about him; I can love it, though I cannot read it, as you Dr. Wilkinfon love preaching, though you never preach: What! Cannot a man be a doctor of divinity but he must preach? I hope you'll confefs I have gotten you good places; if I had not stuck to you, how could you have thrown out Bayly, Sheldon, Fell, Potter, Oliver, Hammond, Morley, and the rest? And then to what end had you been visitors, if you got not their places? You know Hammond is my own godson, and they say he is a scholar; s'death, I love you, What care I for deep scholars? Mr. Cheynell, I thank you, you have been kind to me, you have broke your brains again for me, and I have given you another head, for I make you head of St. John's, and for your sake have thrust out Bayly, his wife, and nine pretty children. Master Reynolds, I feared you would have left us, for you pretended to take no man's place from him, but, I thank God, you are of another mind, for you have both a man's place and a woman's place, you have all that belonged to Fell, his wife, and all his children. Mr. Wilkinfon, you love me, and I am glad of it, for, they say, you hate your enemies to the bottomless-pit; I have given you my own chaplain's prebend, and dam me, while he served me, he was an excellent scholar. Mr. Corbet, I love you too, I have made you orator of the university; it was my godson Hammond's place, I hope none will blame me for displacing my own godson, you are now my godson, for you are orator; I hope you'll speak for me, I cannot speak for myself; you have a tongue now, though you want eyes; What cannot a man be a visitor, though without eyes? Mr. Langley, I love you also, I have made you doctor of divinity; malignants say, it is impossible to make you a doctor, but, hang them, they lye, for you were created a doctor, and nothing can create but God and a chancellor; nay, I have made you head of Pembroke college, I cannot make you governor, for a rogue, they call him Poyer, is governor of Pembroke, and, dam me, I think the king will make Poyer to be earl of Pembroke. Master Harris, you are an old man, I have made you head of Trinity college, I love an old head; Dr. Kettle was an old head before, but he loved us not, I love an old head new made. Sir Nathaniel Brent, I know you love me, for you are judge of the prerogative court; the parliament gave it you, you are a good man, and that's a good place; they say you have no civil law, What is that to the purpose? You have an ordinance of parliament; a man may be a civilian by an ordinance of parliament, else why the devil have we sat seven years? My father said, That a parliament could do any thing but make

a man a woman, and a woman a man. Mr. Rogers, you look as if you loved me, and I have made you doctor; they call you Aaron, I hate them for it, for I hate Aaron, he was a priest, and I would have all priests and jesuits hanged. Mr. Cornish, I love you, though your wife plays tricks with you; they say she gads abroad, because you are a sickly weak man, but I have given you Dr. Wall's place, for the weakest goes to the wall; you must give me leave to clinch, for those that have no wit must be content with clinches. Mr. Palmer, I have made you head of All-Souls, and have turned out Sheldon; I hope you love me, for you are a physician, and never any physician was head of All-Souls; they say their statutes do keep you out, hang their statutes, I'll keep you in; you are a member of the house of commons, and a member of parliament may be head of any house: What! Must the parliament be tied to oaths and statutes? I have, for your sake, clapped Sheldon in prison, Was it not high time? Dam me, he hath more brains than all we together, you say to-daw what tricks he put upon me: I could not speak to him but he made it nonsense, so as I was forced to cry him mercy four several times; but I have Sheldon'd him by the heels, and he deserves it; S'death, Is he not clerk of the closet? I love no clerks of the closet, I am not one myself, dam me if I be: there is a young rogue, one Palmer, I hope, Mr. Palmer, he is not your name-fake, this little knave looked at me as if he cared not two-pence for me; but I have Sheldon'd him too; and I'll justify it, for he is at least twelve years old, and the parliament hath imprisoned one at nine years old, I mean Inchiquin's son, a plague upon him, for now Inchiquin is turned *Inchiking*. Gentlemen, love one another, for there's twenty thousand do hate you, they say you are all either dunces, knaves, or madmen; S'death, they will say so of me, if they durst. But do you serve God, and love your chancellor, you have all the good places the university can yield; you desired us to make you visitors, and you have made yourselves heads of colleges; I love you all, dam me I do. I command you, Register, to write it down that I love them all; your name is French, and my name may be French, for I cannot spell English. God blefs you all, and God blefs me, and do as I do, for I fear God, and obey the parliament; I will live and die with you, and God confound me, if I leave the town these two days.

Copia vera,

MICHAEL OLDSWORTH.

A true and just Relation of Major-General Sir Thomas Morgan's Progress in France and Flanders, with the six thousand English, in the Years 1657 and 1658, at the taking of Dunkirk, and other important Places; as it was delivered by the General himself.

Cromwell, being confirmed in his protectorship by the parliament, concludes a league offensive and defensive with the king of France, conditionally, that the protector should assist the French with six thousand men, and that they should be put into possession of Mardyke and Dunkirk, when taken. But Cromwell's great aim, in this league, was, to destroy the children of Charles the First, and their Adherents. So,

In consequence of this treaty, James duke of York, and all others that adhered to the fortune of the Stuarts, had notice to leave France; and Cromwell sent his six thousand soldiers, who, as it plainly appears from all, but especially from the following account, wrought wonders in that expedition, not under the command of Reynolds and Lockhart, two successive ambassadors at the court of France, as Rapin and most historians have erroneously recorded, but under that brave soldier, Sir Thomas Morgan; as this intrepid General has avouched under his own hand.

I shall say no more of the value of this piece of history, without which the memoirs of those times are imperfect, but conclude this introduction with the publisher's advertisement.

Sir Thomas Morgan, says he, drew up the following relation at a friend's desire, who was unwilling that posterity should want an authentick account of the actions of the six thousand English, whom Cromwell sent to assist the French against the Spaniards, and thought the right they did their country, by their behaviour, might make some amends for the occasion of their being in that service. It had been printed in the last reign, if the authority of it had not interposed, because there was not so much said of some †, who were then in the Spanish army, as they expected; and is published now, to let the world see, that more was owing to our countrymen, at the battle of Dunkirk, than either ‡ Monsieur Buffy Rabutin, or || Ludlow, in their memoirs, do allow. The former, by his manner of expression, seems contented with an opportunity to lessen their merit; and, being in the right wing of the French, while this passed in the left, comes under the just reflection, he himself makes § a little after, upon the describers of fights, who are particular in what they did not see; and, whether the latter was misinformed, or swayed, by his prejudice **, to those that were engaged to support the new-erected tyranny, is left to the reader to judge. It may not be improper to add, That these papers came to the publisher's hand, from the gentleman, at whose request they were wrote, and to whom Sir Thomas Morgan confirmed every paragraph of them, as they were read over, at the time he delivered them to him: which, besides the unaffected plainness of the stile, may be urged for the credit of the narrative, since Sir Thomas was intitled to so much true reputation, that he had no need to grasp at any that was false.*

Jan. 24, 1698.

THE French king, and his eminence the Cardinal Mazarine, came to view the six thousand English near Charleroy; and ordered Major General Morgan, with the said six thousand English, to march and make conjunction with Marshal Turenne's army, who, soon after the conjunction, beleaguered a town,

called St. Venant, on the borders of Flanders. Marshal Turenne having invested the town on the east-side, and Major-general Morgan, with his six thousand English, and a brigade of French horse on the west, the army incamped betwixt Marshal Turenne's approaches and Major-general Morgan's; and, being

* Of King James II.

† The duke of York, the earl of Bristol, &c.

‡ Part II. p. 135.

|| Part II. p. 561.

§ Part II. p. 139.

** Part II. p. 496.

to relieve Count Schomberg, out of the approaches of the west-side of the town, Major-general Morgan marched into the approaches, with eight hundred English. The English, at that time, being strangers in approaches, Major-general Morgan instructed the officers and soldiers to take their places by fifties, that thereby they might relieve the point to carry on the approaches, every hour. In the mean time, whilst we besieged the town, the enemy had beleaguered a town, called Ardres, within five miles of Calais. In the evening, Count Schomberg, with six noblemen, came upon the point, to see how Major-general Morgan carried on his approaches; but there happened a little confusion, by the soldiers intermingling themselves in the approaches, so as there was never an intire fifty to be called to the point. Count Schomberg and his noblemen taking notice thereof, Major-general Morgan was much troubled, leaped upon the point, and called out fifty to take up the spades, pick-axes, and fascines, and follow him: but so it happened, that all in the approaches leaped out after him, the enemy, in the mean time, firing as fast as they could. Major-general Morgan, conceiving his loss, in bringing them again to their approaches, would be greater, than in carrying them forward, passed over a channel of water, on which there was a bridge and a turn-pike; and the soldiers crying out, 'Fall on, fall on,' he fell upon the counterscarp, beat the enemy from it, and three redoubts; which caused them to capitulate, and, the next morning, to surrender the town, and receive a French garrison; so as the sudden reduction thereof gave Marshal Turenne an opportunity afterwards to march and relieve Ardres.

The next place Marshal Turenne besieged was Mardyke, taken, in twice eight and forty hours, by the English and French. After the taking whereof, Major-general Morgan was settled there, by order of the French king and Oliver, with two thousand English, and one thousand French, in order to the beleaguering Dunkirk, the next spring.

The rest of the English were quartered in Borborch. For the space of four months, there was hardly a week, wherein Major-general Morgan had not two or three alarms by the Spanish army: he answered them all, and never went out of his clothes all the winter, except to change his shirt.

The next spring, Marshal Turenne beleaguered Dunkirk on the Newport-side, and Major-general Morgan on the Mardyke-side, with his six thousand English, and a brigade of French horse: he made a bridge over the canal, betwixt that and Bergon, that there might be a communication betwixt Marshal Turenne's camp and his. When Dunkirk was close invested, Marshal Turenne sent a summons to the governor, the Marquis de Leda, a great captain, and brave defender of a siege; but, the summons being answered with defiance, Marshal Turenne immediately broke ground, and carried on the approaches on his

side, whilst the English did the same on theirs; and, it is observable, the English had two miles to march every day, upon relieving their approaches. In this manner the approaches were carried on, both by the French and English, for the space of twelve nights; when the Marshal Turenne had intelligence, that the prince of Conde, the duke of York, Don John of Austria, and the Prince de Ligny were at the head of thirty thousand horse and foot, with resolution to relieve Dunkirk.

Immediately upon this intelligence, Marshal Turenne and several noblemen of France went to the king and cardinal at Mardyke, and acquainted his eminence therewith; and desired his majesty, and his eminence the cardinal, to withdraw their persons into safety, and leave their orders: his majesty answered, That he knew no better place of safety, than at the head of his army; but said it was convenient the cardinal should withdraw to Calais. Then Marshal Turenne and the noblemen made answer, They could not be satisfied, except his majesty withdrew himself into safety; which was assented to; and the king and cardinal, marching to Calais, left open orders with Marshal Turenne, That, if the enemy came on, he should give battle, or raise the siege, as he should be advised by a council of war.

The enemy came to Bruges, and then Marshal Turenne thought it high time to call a council of war, which consisted of eight noblemen, eight lieutenant-generals, and six marshals du camp; but never sent to Ambassador Lockhart, or Major-general Morgan. The whole sense of the council of war was, That it was great danger to the crown of France, to hazard a battle in that streight country, full of canals and ditches of water; and, several reasons being shewn to that purpose, it ran through the council of war, to raise the siege, if the enemy came on. Within half an hour after the council of war was risen, Major-general Morgan had the result of it in his camp, and went immediately to Ambassador Lockhart*, to know if he heard any thing of it: he said he heard nothing of it; and complained, that he was much afflicted with the stone, gravel, and some other impediments. Major-general Morgan asked him to go with him the next morning to the head-quarters: he said he would, if he were able.

Next morning, Marshal Turenne sent a nobleman to Ambassador Lockhart and Major-general Morgan, to desire them to come to a second council of war. Immediately, therefore, Ambassador Lockhart and Major-general Morgan went with the nobleman to Marshal Turenne's camp; and, by that time they came there, the council of war was ready to sit down in Marshal Turenne's tent.

Marshal Turenne satisfied the council of war, that he had forgot to send for Ambassador Lockhart and Major-general Morgan to the first council of war, and therefore thought fit to call this, that they might

* This man had married Cromwell's niece.

be satisfied; and then put the question: Whether, if the enemy came on, he should make good the siege on the Newport-side, and give them battle; or raise the siege? And required they should give their reasons for either. The marshals du camp ran away with it clearly to raise the siege, alledging what danger it was to the crown of France, to hazard a battle within so streight a country, full of canals and ditches of water; farther alledging, that, if the enemy came upon the rock, they would cut between Marshal Turenne's and Major-general Morgan's camps, and prevent their conjunction. Two of the lieutenant-generals ran along with the marshals du camp, and shewed the same reasons: but Major-general Morgan, finding it was high time to speak, and that otherwise it would go round the board, rose up, and desired, though out of course, that he might declare his mind, in opposition to what the marshals du camp and the two lieutenant-generals had declared. Marshal Turenne told him he should have freedom to speak his thoughts. Then Major-general Morgan spake, and said, That the reasons, the marshals du camp and the two lieutenant-generals had given for raising the siege, were no reasons; for the streightness of the country was as good for the French and English, as for the enemy: and, whereas they alledged, That, if the enemy came on the bank between Furnes and Dunkirk, they would cut between Marshal Turenne's and Major-general Morgan's camps; Major-general Morgan replied, It was impossible, for they could not march upon the bank above eight a-breast; and farther he alledged, That Marshal Turenne's artillery and small shot would cut them off at pleasure: he added, That that was not the way the enemy could relieve Dunkirk, but that they would make a bridge of boats over the channel, in an hour and half, and cross their army upon the sands of Dunkirk, to offer Marshal Turenne battle.

Farther, Major-general Morgan did alledge, What a dishonour it would be to the crown of France to have summoned the city of Dunkirk, and broke ground before it, and then raise the siege, and run away; and he desired the council of war would consider, that, if they raised the siege, the alliance with England would be broken, the same hour.

Marshal Turenne answered, 'That, if he thought the enemy would offer that fair game, he would maintain the siege on Newport-side; and Major-general Morgan should march, and make conjunction with the French army, and leave Mardyke-side open.' Upon Marshal Turenne's reply, Major-general Morgan did rise from the board, and, upon his knees, begged a battle, and said, That he would venture the six thousand English, every soul. Upon which, Marshal Turenne consulted the noblemen that sat next him, and it was desired, that Major-general Morgan might walk a turn or two without the tent, and he should be called immediately. After he had walked two turns, he was called in; as soon as he came in, Marshal Turenne said, 'That he had considered his reasons, and that himself and the council of war resolved to give battle to the enemy,

' if they came on, and to maintain the siege on Newport-side; and that Major-general Morgan was to make conjunction with the French army.' Major-general Morgan then said, That, with God's assistance, we should be able to deal with them.

The very next day, at four in the afternoon, the Spanish army had made a bridge of boats, crossed their army on the sands of Dunkirk, and drew up into battalia, within two miles of Marshal Turenne's lines, before he knew any thing of them. Immediately, all the French horse drew out to face the enemy at a mile's distance; and Marshal Turenne sent immediate orders to Major-general Morgan, to march into his camp, with the six thousand English, and the French brigade of horse; which was done accordingly.

The next day, about eight of the clock, Marshal Turenne gave orders to break avenues on both the lines, that the army might march out in battalia. Major-general Morgan set his soldiers to break avenues for their marching out in battalia likewise. Several officers being with him, as he was looking on his soldiers at work, Ambassador Lockhart comes up, with a white cap on his head, and said to Major-general Morgan, 'You see what a condition I am in, I am not able to give you any assistance this day; you are the older soldier, and the greatest part of the work of this day must lie upon your soldiers.' Upon which the officers smiled; and so he bid *God be with us*, and went away with the lieutenant-general of the horse, that was upon our left wing: from which time we never saw him, till we were in pursuit of the enemy. When the avenues were cleared, both the French and English army marched out of the lines towards the enemy. We were forced to march up in four lines (for we had not room enough to wing, for the canal between Furnes and Dunkirk, and the sea) till we had marched about half a mile; then we came to a halt on rising hills of sand, and, having more room, took in two of our lines.

Major-general Morgan, seeing the enemy plain in battalia, said, before the head of the army, 'See! Yonder are the gentlemen, you have to trade withal.' Upon which the whole brigade of English gave a shout of rejoicing, that made a roaring echo betwixt the sea and the canal. Thereupon, the Marquis Turenne came up, with above an hundred noblemen, to know what was the matter and reason of that great shout. Major-general Morgan told him, It was an usual custom of the red-coats, when they saw the enemy, to rejoice.

Marshal Turenne answered, 'They were men of brave resolution and courage.' After which, Marshal Turenne returning to the head of his army, we put on to our march again. At the second halt, the whole brigade of English gave a shout, and cast up their caps into the air, saying, 'They would have better hats before night.' Marshal Turenne, upon that shout, came up again, with several noblemen and officers of the army, admiring the resolution of the English, at which time we were within three quarters of a mile of the enemy in battalia. Marshal

Turenne

Turenne desired Major-general Morgan, that, at the next halt, he would keep even front with the French, 'For,' says he, 'I do intend to halt at some distance, that we may see how the enemy is drawn up, and take our advantage accordingly.' Major-general Morgan demanded of his excellency, 'Whether he would shock the whole army at one dash, or try one wing first?' Marshal Turenne's reply was, 'That, as to that question, he could not resolve him yet, till he came nearer the enemy.' Major-general Morgan desired the Marshal, not to let him languish for orders, saying, 'That oftentimes opportunities are lost, for want of orders in due time.' Marshal Turenne said, he would either come himself and give orders, or send a lieutenant-general; and so Marshal Turenne parted, and went to the head of his army. In the mean time, Major-general Morgan gave orders to the colonels and leading officers, to have a special care, that, when the French came to a halt, they keep even front with them; and farther told them, if they could not observe the French, they should take notice when he lifted up his hat (for he marched still above threescore before the center of the bodies): but, when the French came to halt, it so happened, that the English pressed upon their leading-officers, so that they came up under the shot of the enemy: but, when they saw that Major-general Morgan was in a passion, they put themselves to a stand. Major-general Morgan could soon have remedied their forwardness, but he was resolved he would not lose one foot of ground he had advanced, but would hold it as long as he could. We were so near the enemy, the soldiers fell into great friendship, one asking, Is such an officer in your army; another, Is such a soldier in yours; and this passed on both sides. Major-general Morgan endured this friendship for a little while, and then came up to the center of the bodies, and demanded, How long that friendship would continue; and told them further, that, for any thing they knew, they would be cutting one another's throats, within a minute of an hour. The whole brigade answered, Their friendship should continue no longer than he pleased. Then Major-general Morgan bid them tell the enemy, No more friendship: prepare your buff-coats and scarfs, for we will be with you sooner than you expect us. Immediately after the friendship was broke, the enemy poured a volley of a shot into one of our battalions, wounded three or four, and one dropped. The major-general immediately sent the adjutant-general to Marshal Turenne for orders, Whether he should charge the enemy's right wing, or whether Marshal Turenne would engage the enemy's left wing, and advised the adjutant-general not to stay, but to acquaint Marshal Turenne, that we were under the enemy's shot, and had received some prejudice already; but there was no return of the adjutant-general, nor orders. By and by the enemy poured in another volley of shot, into another of our battalions, and wounded two or three. Major-general Morgan, observing the enemy mending faults, and opening the intervals of the foot, to bring horse in, which would

have made our work more difficult, called all the colonels and officers of the field together, before the center of the bodies, and told them, he had sent the adjutant-general for orders, but, when he saw there was no hope of orders, he told them, If they would concur with him, he would immediately charge the enemy's right wing: their answer was, 'They were ready whenever he gave orders.' He told them, He would try the right wing with the blue regiment, and the four hundred firelocks, which were in the interval of the French horse; and wished all the field-officers to be ready at their several posts. Major-general Morgan gave orders, that the other five regiments should not move from their ground, except they saw the blue regiment, the white, and the four hundred firelocks shocked the enemy's right wing off of their ground, and, farther, shewed the several colonels what colours they were to charge, and told them moreover, 'That, if he was not knocked on the head, he would come to them.' In like manner, as fast as he could, he admonished the whole brigade, and told them, They were to look in the face of an enemy who had violated, and endeavoured to take away their reputation, and that they had no other way, but to fight it out to the last man, or to be killed, taken prisoners, or drowned; and farther, that the honour of England did depend much upon their gallantry and resolution that day.

The enemy's wing was posted on a sandy hill, and had cast the sand breast-high before them: then Major-general Morgan, did order the blue regiment, and the four hundred firelocks, to advance to the charge. In the mean time Major-general Morgan, knowing the enemy would all bend upon them that did advance, removed the white regiment more to the right, that it might be in the flank of them, by that time the blue regiment was got within push of pike.

His royal highness the duke of York, with a select party of horse, had got into the blue regiment, by that time the white came in, and exposed his person to great danger: but we knew nobody at that time. Immediately the enemy were clear shocked off of their ground, and the English colours flying over their heads, the strongest officers and soldiers clubbing them down. Major-general Morgan, when he saw this opportunity, stepped to the other five regiments, which were within six score of him, and ordered them to advance, and charge immediately: but, when they came within ten pikes length, the enemy, perceiving they were not able to endure our charge, shaked their hats, held up their handkerchiefs, and called for quarter; but their coats cried aloud, they had no leisure for quarter. Whereupon the enemy faced about, and would not endure our charge, but fell to run, having the English colours over their heads, and the strongest soldiers and officers clubbing them down, so that the six thousand English carried ten or twelve thousand horse and foot before them. The French army was about musquet-shot in the rear of us, where they came to halt, and never moved off of their ground. The rest of the Spanish army, seeing the right wing carried

carried away, and the English colours flying over their heads, wheeled about in as good order as they could, so that we had the whole Spanish army before us; and Major-general Morgan called out to the colonels, To the right as much as you can, that so we might have all the enemy's army under the English colours. The six thousand English carried all the Spanish army, as far as from Westminster-abbey to Paul's Church-yard, before ever a Frenchman came in, on either wing of us; but then at last we could perceive the French horse come pouring on each wing, with much gallantry; but they never struck one stroke, only carried prisoners back to the camp. Neither did we ever see the Ambassador Lockhart, till we were in pursuit of the enemy; and then we could see him amongst us very brisk, without his white cap on his head, and neither troubled with gravel or stone. When we were at the end of the pursuit, Marshal Turenne and above a hundred officers of the army came up to us, quitted their horses, embraced the officers, and said, They never saw a more glorious action in their lives, and that they were so transported with the sight of it, that they had no power to move, or do any thing. And this high compliment we had for our pains. In a word, the French army did not strike one stroke in the battle of Dunkirk, only the six thousand English. After we had done pursuing the enemy, Major-general Morgan rallied his forces, and marched over the sands where he had shocked them at first, to see what slaughter there was made. But Ambassador Lockhart went into the camp as fast as he could, to write his letters for England, of what great service he had done, which was just nothing. Marshal Turenne and Major-general Morgan brought the armies close to invest Dunkirk again, and to carry on the approaches. The Marquis de Leda happened to be in the counterscarp, and received an accidental shot, whereof he died; and the whole garrison being discouraged at his death, came to capitulate in few days; so the town was surrendered, and Ambassador Lockhart marched into it with two regiments of English for a garrison; but Major-general Morgan kept the field, with Marshal Turenne, with his other four regiments of English.

The next siege was Bergen St. Winock, six miles from Dunkirk, which Marshal Turenne beleaguered with the French army, and the four regiments of English; and, in four or five days siege, Bergen St. Winock was taken upon capitulation. Marshal Turenne did rest the army for two days after, and then resolved to march through the heart of Flanders, and take what towns he could, that campaign.

The next town we took was Furnes, the next Menin, after that Oudenard; and, in a word, eight towns, besides Dunkirk and Ypres; for, so soon as the red-coats came near the counterscarp, there was nothing but a capitulation, and a surrender presently: all the towns we took were towns of strength.

The last siege we made was before the city of Ypres, where the Prince de Ligny had cast himself in before, for the defence of that city, with two thousand five hundred horse and dragoons: besides, there were in

the city four thousand burghers, all proper young men, under their arms, so that the garrison did consist of six thousand five hundred men. Marshal Turenne sent in a summons, which was answered with a defiance: then Marshal Turenne broke ground, and carried on two approaches towards the counterscarp: Major-general Morgan went into the approaches every night, for fear of any miscarriage by the English, and came out of the approaches at sun-rising to take his rest, for then the soldiers had done working. The fourth morning, Major-general Morgan went to take his rest in his tent, but, within half an hour afterwards, Marshal Turenne sent a nobleman to him, to desire him to come to speak with him; when the major-general came, there were above a hundred noblemen and officers of the army walking about his tent. And his gentlemen had decked a room for his excellency with his sumpter-cloaths, in which homely place there were about twenty officers of the army with him; but, as soon as Major-general Morgan came, Marshal Turenne desired all of them to retire, for he had something to communicate to the major-general. The room was immediately cleared, and Marshal Turenne turned the gentleman of his chamber out, and shut the door himself. When this was done, he desired the major-general to sit down by him, and the first news that he spake of, was, that he had certain intelligence, that the prince of Conde and Don John of Austria were at the head of eleven thousand horse, and four thousand foot, within three leagues of his camp, and resolved to break through one of our quarters, to relieve the city of Ypres; and therefore he desired Major-general Morgan, to have all the English under their arms every night at sunset, and the French army should be so likewise. Major-general Morgan replied, and said, 'That the prince of Conde and Don John of Austria were great captains, and that they might dodge with Marshal Turenne to fatigue his army.' The major-general farther said, 'That, if he did keep the army three nights to that hard shift, they would not take care who did knock them on the head.' Marshal Turenne replied, 'We must do it, and surmount all difficulty.' The major-general desired to know of his excellency, Whether he was certain the enemy was so near him; he answered, He had two spies come just from them. Then Major-general Morgan told him, His condition was somewhat desperate, and said, That a desperate disease must have a desperate cure. His excellency asked, What he meant? Major-general Morgan did offer him, to attempt the counterscarp upon an assault, and so put all things out of doubt with expedition. The major-general had no sooner said this, but Marshal Turenne joined his hands, and looked up through the boards towards the heavens, and said, 'Did ever my master, the king of France, or the king of Spain, attempt a counterscarp upon an assault, where there were three half-moons covered with cannon, and the ramparts of the town playing point-blank into the counterscarp?' Farther he said, 'What will the king my master

‘master think of me, if I expose his army to these hazards?’ And he rose up, and fell into a passion, stamping with his feet, and shaking his locks, and grinning with his teeth; he said, Major-general Morgan had made him mad. But, by degrees, he cooled, and asked the Major-general, Whether he would stay to dinner with him: but the major-general begged his pardon, for he had appointed some of the officers to eat a piece of beef at his tent that day. His excellency asked him, If he would meet him at two of the clock, at the opening of the approaches? The major-general said, He would be punctual; but desired he would bring none of his train with him (for it was usually a hundred noblemen with their feathers and ribbands) because, if he did, he would have no opportunity, to take a view of the counterescarp; for the enemy would discover them, and fire incessantly. His excellency said, He would bring none, but two or three of the lieutenant-generals. Major-general Morgan was at the place appointed a quarter of an hour before his excellency, and then his excellency came, with eight noblemen, and three lieutenant-generals, and took a place to view the counterescarp: after he had looked a considerable time upon it, he turned about, and looked upon the noblemen and lieutenant-generals, and said, ‘I do not know what to say to you, here is Major-general Morgan has put me out of my wits, for he would have me attempt yonder counterescarp upon an assault.’ None of the noblemen or lieutenants made any reply to him, but Count Schomberg, saying, ‘My lord, I think Major-general Morgan would offer nothing to your lordship but what he thinks feasible, and he knows he has good fighting men.’ Upon this, Marshal Turenne asked Major-general Morgan, How many English he would venture? The major-general said, That he would venture six hundred common men, besides officers, and fifty pioneers. Marshal Turenne said, That six hundred of Monsieur la Ferte’s army, and fifty pioneers; and six hundred of his own army, and fifty pioneers more, would make better than two thousand men: Major-general Morgan replied, ‘They were abundance to carry it, with God’s assistance.’ Then his excellency said, he would acquaint the king and his eminence, that Major-general Morgan had put him upon that desperate design; Major-general Morgan desired his pardon, for it was in his power to attempt it, or not to attempt it: but, in the close, Marshal Turenne said to the major-general, That he must fall into Monsieur la Ferte’s approaches, and that he should take the one half of Monsieur la Ferte’s men, and that he would take the other half into his own approaches. Major-general Morgan begged his pardon, and said, He desired to fall on with the English intire by themselves, without intermingling them. Marshal Turenne replied, He must fall on, and cut off one of the approaches: the major-general replied, That he would fall on in the plain between both approaches. His excellency said, That he would never be able to endure their firing, but that they would kill half his men, before he could

come to the counterescarp; the major-general said, That he had an invention, that the enemy should not perceive him, till he had his hands upon the stockadoes. Next, his excellency said, for the signal, there shall be a captain of Monsieur la Ferte’s, with twenty firelocks, shall leap upon the point, and cry, *Sa la vive le Roy de France*; and, upon that noise, all were to fall on together. But Major-general Morgan opposed that signal, saying, The enemy would thereby be alarmed, and then he should hardly endure their firing. His excellency replied then, That he would give no signal at all, but the major-general should give it, and he would not be persuaded otherwise. Then the major-general desired his excellency, that he would give orders to them in their approaches, to keep themselves in readiness against sun-set, for, at the shutting of the night, he would fall on: he likewise desired his excellency, That he would order a major out of his own approaches, and another out of Monsieur la Ferte’s approaches, to stand by him; and, when he should be ready to fall on, he would dispatch the two majors into each of the approaches, that they might be ready to leap out, when the major-general passed between the two approaches, with the commanded English. Just at sun-set, Marshal Turenne came himself, and told the major-general, He might fall on when he saw his own time. The major-general replied, He would fall on just at the setting of the night, and when the dusk of the evening came on. The major-general made the English stand to their arms, and divided them into bodies; a captain at the head of the pioneers, and the major-general and a colonel, at the head of the two battalions; he ordered the two battalions, and the pioneers, each man to take up a long fascine upon their musquets and pikes, and then they were three small groves of wood. Immediately the major-general commanded the two majors to go to their approaches, and that they should leap out, so soon as they should see the major-general march between their approaches. The major-general did order the two battalions, when they came within threescore of the stockadoes, to slip their fascines, and fall on. But so it happened, that the French never moved out of their approaches, till such time as Major-general Morgan had overpowered the enemy. When the pioneers came within sight of the stockadoes, they slipped the fascines down, and fell on; the major-general and the other two battalions were close to them, and, when the soldiers began to lay their hands on the stockadoes, they tore them down for the length of six score, and leaped pell-mell into the counterescarp amongst the enemy; abundance of the enemy were drowned in the moat, and many taken prisoners, with two German princes, and the counterescarp cleared; the French were in their approaches all this time; then the English fell on upon the half-moons, and immediately the red-coats were on the top of them, throwing the enemy into the moat, and turning the cannon upon the town; thus the two half-moons were speedily taken: after the manning of the half-moons, he did rally all the English, with intention

intention to lodge them upon the counterescarp, that he might be free of the enemy's shot the next morning; and they left the other half-moon for Marshal Turenne's party, which was even before their approaches.

Then the French fell on upon the other half-moon, but were beaten off. The major-general considered, that that half-moon would gall him in the day-time, and therefore did speak to the officers and soldiers, that it was best to give them a little help; the red-coats cried, 'Shall we fall on in order, or happy-go-lucky?' The major-general said, 'In the name of God, at it happy-go-lucky; and immediately the red-coats fell on, and were on the top of it, knocking the enemy down, and casting them into the moat. When this work was done, the major-general lodged the English on the counterescarp; they were no sooner lodged, but Marshal Turenne scrambled over the ditches, to find out the major-general; and, when he met with him, he was much troubled the French did no better, for indeed they did just nothing: then his excellency asked the major-general, to go to his approaches to refresh himself; but the major-general begged his pardon, and said, He would not stir from his post, till he heard a drum beat a parley, and saw a white flag over the walls. Upon that, Marshal Turenne laughed and smiled, and said, They would not be at that pass in six days, and then went to his approaches, and sent the major-general three or four dozen bottles of rare wine, with several dishes of cold meats and sweetmeats. Within two hours after sun-rising, a drum beat a parley, and a white flag was seen over the walls. The major-general ordered a lieutenant with a file of musqueteers, to go and receive the drummer, and to blindfold him, and carry him strait to Marshal Turenne in his approaches. Marshal Turenne came immediately with the drummer's message to the major-general, and was much troubled he would not receive the message before it came to him. The major-general replied, That that was very improper, his excellency being upon the place. The message was to this effect, 'That, whereas his excellency had offered them honourable terms in his summons, they were now willing to accept of them, provided they might have their charter, and the privileges of the city preserved: that they had appointed four of their commissioners, to treat farther with four commissioners from his excellency.' Marshal Turenne was pleased to ask the major-general, whether he would be one of the commissioners; but the major-general begged his pardon, and desired that he might abide at his post, till such time as the city was surrendered up. Immediately then his excellency sent for Count Schomberg, and three other commissioners, and gave them instructions how to treat with the four commissioners from the enemy. Just as Marshal Turenne was giving the commissioners instructions, Major-general Morgan said, That the enemy were hungry, so that they would eat any meat they could have; whereupon his excel-

lency smiled, and shortened their instructions, and sent them away. Within half an hour, the commissioners had concluded, That they should have the city charter preserved, and that they were to receive a French garrison in, and the Prince de Ligny was to march out with all his forces next morning, at nine of the clock, with one piece of cannon, colours flying, bullet in mouth, and a match lighted at both ends, and to have a convoy to conduct him into his own territories. Marshal Turenne was, in the morning betimes, with several noblemen and officers of the army, and Major-general Morgan attending near the gate for the Prince de Ligny's coming out. The prince, having notice that Marshal Turenne was there, came out of his coach. Marshal Turenne, being alighted off from his horse, and the Major-general Morgan, at both their meeting there was a great acclamation, and embracing one another. After a little time, Marshal Turenne told the prince, He very much admired, that he would expose his person to a garrison before a conquering army: the Prince de Ligny replied, That, if Marshal Turenne had left his English in England, he durst have exposed his person into the weakest garrison the king of Spain had in Flanders; and so they parted, and his excellency marched into the town with a French garrison, and the major-general with him. So soon as the garrison was settled, Marshal Turenne writ his letters to the French king, and his eminence the cardinal, how that the city of Ypres was reduced to the obedience of his majesty, and that he was possessed of it; and that Major-general Morgan was instrumental in that service, and that the English did wonders; and sent the intendant of the army with his letters to the king and cardinal. Monsieur Tallon, the intendant, returned back from the king and cardinal to the army within eight days, and brought a compliment to Major-general Morgan, that the king and his eminence the cardinal did expect to see him at Paris, when he came to his winter quarters, where there would be a cupboard of plate to attend him. Major-general Morgan, instead of going for the cupboard of plate, went for England, and his majesty of France had never the kindness to send him his cupboard of plate: so that this is the reward that Major-general Morgan hath had from the French king for all his service in France and Flanders.

Killed at the Battle of Dunkirk.

Lieutenant-colonel Fenwick, two captains, one lieutenant, two ensigns, two serjeants, thirty-two soldiers; and about twenty wounded.

Killed at the Storming of Ypres.

One captain, one serjeant, eight private soldiers, about twenty-five officers of thirty-five; and about six soldiers slightly wounded, after they were lodged upon the counterescarp; Sir Thomas Morgan himself slightly hurt, by a shot in the calf of his leg.

An

An Account of the Burial of King CHARLES the First, and of OLIVER CROMWELL: in which it appears how Oliver's Friends contrived to secure his Body from future Disgrace, and to expose the Corpse of King Charles to be substituted in the Punishment and Ignominy designed for the Usurper's Body.

Amongst other papers, the following MS. was carefully preserved by my Lord Oxford. It contains an extract from the Journal of the House of Commons; which honourable house, resolving to disgrace the name of the late usurper Oliver Cromwell, as far as lay in their power, ordered his body to be taken up, and to be first hanged on the gallows at Tyburn, and then to be burnt.

This order was pursued by the serjeant of that honourable house so far, as to find a coffin with Oliver's name, and usurped title, at the east-end of the middle aisle of Henry the Seventh's chapel, in Westminster-abbey.

This, with an account where the said inscription is, or was, within a few years ago, to be seen, is written in a very fair hand.

Then, in two different hands, there follows the most remarkable account of a Counter-Interment of the Arch-Traytor, as well as the reason and contrivance to secure his body from that expected ignominy, and to continue the revenge of King Charles's enemies, even to the disgrace of substituting the body of the beheaded king, in the punishment intended by a justly enraged people, upon the dead body of the usurper.

SOON after the Restoration, the then serjeant of the house of commons was ordered, by the house, to go with his officers to St. Peter's, Westminster, and demand the body of Oliver Cromwell, buried there, to be taken up, in order to be disposed in the manner the house should adjudge fitting.

Whereupon the said serjeant went, and, in the middle aisle of Henry the Seventh's chapel, at the east-end, upon taking up the pavement, in a vault, was found his corpse; in the inside of whose coffin, and upon the breast of the corpse, was laid a copper-plate, finely gilt, inclosed in a thin case of lead, on the one side

whereof, was engraved the arms of England, impaled with the arms of Oliver; and, on the reverse, the following legenda, viz.

Oliverius Protector Republicæ Angliæ, Scotia, & Hiberniæ, Natus 25.º April. 1599, Inauguratus 16.º Dec. ris 1653, Mortuus 3.º Sept. ris, Anno 1658, Hic Sicus est.

The said serjeant, believing the plate to be gold, took it pretendedly, as his fee; and Mr. Gifford, of Colchester, who married the serjeant's daughter, has now the plate, which, his father-in-law told him, he came by, in the manner above related.

A Counter-Interment of the aforesaid Arch-Traytor, as averred, and ready to be deposed (if occasion required) by Mr. — Barkstead, who daily frequents Richard's coffee-house, within Temple-bar, being son to Barkstead, the regicide, that was executed as such, soon after the Restoration, the son being, at the time of the said Arch-Traytor's death, about the age of fifteen years.

THAT the said regicide Barkstead, being lieutenant of the Tower of London, and a great confident of the usurper, did, among other such confidents, in the time of the usurper's sickness, desire to know where he would be buried: to which, he answered, Where he had obtained the greatest victory and glory, and as nigh the spot as could be guessed, where the heat of the action was, viz. in the field at Naseby,

Co. Northampton; which accordingly was thus performed: at midnight (soon after his death) being first embalmed, and wrapped in a leaden coffin, he was, in a hearse, conveyed to the said field, the said Mr. Barkstead, by order of his father, attending close to the hearse; and, being come to the field, there found, about the midst of it, a grave, dug about nine feet deep, with the green sod carefully laid on one side, and the mould on

on the other ; in which, the coffin being soon put, the grave was instantly filled up, and the green sod laid exactly flat upon it, care being taken, that the surplus mould was clean taken away.

Soon after, like care was taken, that the said field was intirely ploughed up, and sown three or four years successively with wheat.

Several other material circumstances, relating to the said interment, the said Mr. Barkstead relates (too long to be here inserted) and, particularly after the Restoration, his conference with the late (witty) duke of Buckingham, &c.

Talking over this account of Barkstead's with the Reverend Mr. Sm——, of Q——, whose father had long resided in Florence, as a merchant, and afterwards as minister from King Charles the Second, and had been well acquainted with the fugitives after the Restoration ; he assured me, he had often heard the said account by other hands : those miscreants always boasting, that they had wreaked their revenge against the father, as far as human foresight could carry it, by beheading him, whilst living, and making his best friends the executors of the utmost ignominies upon him, when dead. Asking him the particular meaning of the last sentence, he said, that Oliver, and his friends, apprehending the Restoration of the Stuart family ; and that all imaginable disgrace, on that turn, would be put upon his body, as well as memory ; he contrived his own burial, as averred by Barkstead, having all the theatrical honours of a pompous funeral paid to an empty coffin, into which, afterwards, was removed the corpse of the martyr (which, by Lord Clarendon's own account, had never truly, or certainly, been interred ; and, after the Restoration, when most diligently sought after, by the earls of Southampton and Lindsey, at the command of King Charles the Second, in order to a solemn removal, could no where, in the church where he was said to have been buried,

be found) that, if any sentence should be pronounced, as upon his body, it might effectually fall upon that of the king. That, on that order of the commons, in King Charles the Second's time, the tomb was broken down, and the body taken out of a coffin so inscribed, as mentioned in the serjeant's report, was from thence conveyed to Tyburn, and, to the utmost joy and triumph of that crew of miscreants, hung publicly on the gallows, amidst an infinite crowd of spectators, almost infected with the noisomeness of the stench. The secret being only amongst that abandoned few, there was no doubt in the rest of the people, but the bodies, so exposed, were the bodies they were said to be ; had not some, whose curiosity had brought them nearer to the tree, observed with horror, the remains of a countenance they little had expected there ; and that, on tying the cord, there was a strong seam about the neck, by which the head had been, as was supposed, immediately after the decollation, fastened again to the body. This being whispered about, and the numbers that came to the dismal sight hourly increasing, notice was immediately given of the suspicion to the attending officer, who dispatched a messenger to court, to acquaint them with the rumour, and the ill consequences the spreading or examining into it further, might have. On which the bodies were immediately ordered down, to be buried again, to prevent any infection. Certain it is, they were not burnt, as in prudence, for that pretended reason, might have been expected ; as well as in justice, to have shewn the utmost detestation for their crimes, and the most lasting mark of infamy they could inflict upon them. This was the account he gave. What truth there is in it, is not so certain. Many circumstances make the surmise not altogether improbable : as all those enthusiasts, to the last moment of their lives, ever gloried in the truth of it.

The World's Mistake in OLIVER CROMWELL ; Or, a short Political Discourse, shewing, that CROMWELL's Male-administration (during his Four Years and Nine Months pretended Protectorship) laid the Foundation of our present Condition, in the Decay of Trade.

OF all the sins, that the children of men are guilty of, there is none that our corrupt natures are more inclinable unto, than that of idolatry, a sin, that may be towards men, as well as other creatures and things ; for, as that which a man unmeasurably relies, and sets his heart upon, is called his God, even as that which he falls down before and worshippeth ;

so, when one hath the person of another in an excess of admiration, whether for greatness, or richness, &c. which we are subject to adore, we are said to idolise him ; and therefore, the wise Venetians, who, of all men are most jealous of their liberty, considering that, as the nature of man is not prone to any thing more than the adoration of men, so nothing is more destruc-

tive to freedom, have, for preventing the mischiefs of it, made it unlawful, even so much as to mourn for their duke at his death: intimating thereby, that their felicity and safety depends not upon the uncertain thread of any one man's life, but upon the virtue of their good laws and orders well executed, and that they can never want virtuous persons to succeed: and how do such principles in men, led by little more than morality, reprove those who have a great measure of gospel-light, for their senseless excess, in their adoring the remembrance of Cromwell? For as the objects of idolatry are mistaken creatures, or things proceeding sometimes from self-love, as well as other causes, so the undeserved approbation and applause, that Cromwell's memory seems to have with his adherents, amounting to little less than the idolising of him, appears to me to be the product of an excessive veneration of greatness, and a selfish partiality towards him; for that the more honour is given to him, the more praise they think will constantly redound to them who were his favourites; and they fortify themselves herein, with the credit, they say, he hath abroad, though there is little in that, because the opinion that strangers have of him, may well be put upon the account of their ignorance, in the affairs of England, which travellers do find to be so great, even amongst ministers of state, as is to be admired. And now, as this error in idolising Oliver hath two moral evils in it (besides the sin in itself:) the one a reflection upon the present times, as if the former were better than these; and the other, the unjust defrauding the long parliament of that which is due to them, to give it idolatrously to him to whom it doth not belong; I esteem it a duty incumbent upon me to discover the mistake. I am not insensible, that I shall by this, draw the envy of those upon me, who being jealous of their honour, will be angry for touching them in their Diana*; but, knowing myself clear from the vices of envying virtue in any, how contrary soever he may be to me in judgment, as well as from being unwilling to allow every one their due commendations, I will cast myself upon Providence for the success of this paper; and in reference to Cromwell's government, and the present times, make some observations relating to both, and in order thereunto, shew,

First, That the original cause of the low condition that we are now (in relation to trade) reduced unto, had its beginning in Oliver's time, and the foundations of it, laid either by his ignorant mistaking the interest of this kingdom, or wilfully doing it, for the advancement of his own particular interest.

Secondly, That his time, for the short continuance, had as much of oppression, and injustice, as any former times.

Thirdly and lastly, That he never, in his latter days, valued either honour or honesty, when they stood in the way of his ambition, and that there is nothing to

be admired in him (though so much idolised) but that the partiality of the world should make him so great a favourite of ignorance and forgetfulness, as he seems to be.

When this late tyrant, or protector (as some call him) turned out the long-parliament, the kingdom was arrived at the highest pitch of trade, wealth, and honour, that it in any age ever yet knew. The trade appeared, by the great sums offered then for the customs and excise, nine hundred thousand pounds a year being refused. The riches of the nation shewed itself, in the high value that land and all our native commodities bore, which are the certain marks of opulency. Our honour was made known to all the world by a conquering navy, which had brought the proud Hollanders upon their knees, to beg peace of us, upon our own conditions, keeping all other nations in awe. And besides these advantages, the publick stock was five hundred thousand pounds in ready money, the value of seven hundred thousand pounds in stores, and the whole army in advance, some four, and none under two months; so that though there might be a debt of near five thousand pounds upon the kingdom, he met with above twice the value in lieu of it.

The nation being in this flourishing and formidable posture, Cromwell began his usurpation, upon the greatest advantages imaginable, having it in his power to have made peace, and profitable leagues, in what manner he had pleased with all our neighbours, every one courting us then, and being ambitious of the friendship of England; but as if the Lord had infatuated, and deprived him of common sense and reason, he neglected all our golden opportunities, misimproved the victory God had given us over the United Netherlands, making peace (without ever striking a stroke) so soon as ever things came into his hands, upon equal terms with them: and immediately after, contrary to our interest, made an unjust war with Spain, and an impolitical league with France, bringing the first thereby under, and making the latter too great for Christendom; and by that means broke the balance betwixt the two crowns of Spain, and France, which his predecessors, the long-parliament, had always wisely preserved.

In this dishonest war with Spain, he pretended, and endeavoured, to impose a belief upon the world, that he had nothing in his eye, but the advancement of the Protestant cause, and the honour of this nation; but his pretences were either fraudulent, or he was ignorant in foreign affairs (as I am apt to think, that he was not guilty of too much knowledge in them). For he that had known any thing of the temper of the popish prelacy, and the French court policies could not but see, that the way to increase, or preserve the reformed interest in France, was by rendering the Protestants of necessary use to their king, for that, longer than they were so, they could not be free from perse-

* Or, favourite.

cution; and that the way to render them so, was by keeping the balance betwixt Spain and France even, as that, which would consequently make them useful to their king: but by overthrowing the balance in his war with Spain, and joining with France, he freed the French king from his fears of Spain, enabled him to subdue all factions at home, and thereby to bring himself into a condition of not standing in need of any of them; and from thence hath proceeded the persecution that hath since been, and still is, in that nation, against the reformed there; so that Oliver, instead of advancing the reformed interest, hath, by an error in his politics, been the author of destroying it.

The honour and advantage he propounded to this nation, in his pulling down of Spain, had as ill a foundation: for if true, as was said, that we were to have had Ostend and Newport, as well as Dunkirk (when we could get them) they bore no proportion, in any kind, to all the rest of the king of Spain's European dominions, which must necessarily have fallen to the French king's share, because of their joining and nearness to him, and remoteness from us, and the increasing the greatness of so near a neighbour must have increased our future dangers.

But this man, who, through ignorance, is so strangely cried up in the world, was not guilty of this error in state only, but committed as great a solecism, in his designing the ousting of the king of Denmark, and setting up of the king of Sweden: for had the Swedes but got Copenhagen (as in all probability, had Oliver lived, they would have done) they had wanted nothing of consequence, but the cities of Lubeck and Dantzick (which, by their then potency, they would easily have gained) of being masters of the whole Baltick sea, on both sides, from the Sound or mouth down to the bottom of it; by which, together with all Denmark, Norway, and the Danes part of Holstein, which would consequently have been theirs (they then having, as they still * have, the land of Bremen) there would have been nothing, but the small counties of Ouldenburg and East-Friezland, which would easily have fallen into their mouths, betwixt them and the United Netherlands, whereby Sweden would on the one side, to the north and north-east, have been as great as France on the other, to the south and south-west; and they two, able to have divided the western empire betwixt them.

And whereas it had in all ages been the policy of the northern states and potentates, to keep the dominion of the Baltick sea divided among several petty princes and states, that no one might be sole master of it; because, otherwise, most of the necessary commodities for shipping, coming from thence and Norway, any one lord of the whole might lay up the shipping of Europe, by the walls, in shutting only of his ports, and denying the commodities of his country to other states. Cromwell, contrary to this wise maxim, endeavoured to put the whole Baltick sea into the

Swede's hands, and undoubtedly had (though, I suppose, ignorantly) done it, if his death had not given them that succeeded him, the long-parliament, an opportunity of prudently preventing it: for, if he had understood the importance of the Baltick sea to this nation, he could not have been so impolitick, as to have projected so dangerous a design against his new Utopia†, as giving the opening and shutting of it to any one prince. I am not ignorant that this error is excused, by pretending that we were to have had Elsinore and Cronenburg castle (the first, the town, upon the narrow entrance of the Baltick, called the Sound, where all ships ride, and pay toll to the king of Denmark; and the latter, the fortress, that defends both town and ships) by which we should have been masters of the Sound, and consequently of the Baltick; but they that know those countries, and how great a prince the Swede would have been, had he obtained all the rest; besides, these two bawbles, must confess, we should have been at his devotion, in our holding of any thing in his countries: and further, if the dangerous consequence of setting up so great a prince had not been in the case, it had been against the interest of England, to have had an obligation upon us, to maintain places so remote, against the enmity of many states and princes; and that for these reasons:

First, because the ordinary tolls of the Sound would not have defrayed half the charge: and, to have taken more than the ordinary tolls, we could not have done, without drawing a general quarrel upon us, from most of the princes and states of the northern parts of Europe.

Secondly, because the experience of all former times sheweth us, that foreign acquisitions have ever been chargeable and prejudicial to the people of England, as Sir Robert Cotton makes it clearly appear, That not only all those pieces of France, which belonged to us by rightful succession, but also those we held by conquest, were always great burthens to our nation, and cause of much poverty and misery to the people. And it is not our case alone, to be the worse for conquests (though more ours, than other countries, because of the charge and uncertainty of the winds and weather, in the transportation of succours and relief by sea; which contiguous territories, which are upon the main, are not subject to) but the case also of (I think I may say) all other kingdoms. In France their burthens and oppressions have grown in all ages, with the greatness of their kings: nay, even after their last peace with Spain, by which they had given them peace with all the world, besides many places in the Spanish Netherlands, and Catalonia, to boot: upon which the poor people promised themselves, though vainly, an unquestionable abatement of taxes; instead of that, they found their pressures increased daily, and their king, though overgrownly great and rich himself, yet the people so poor, that thousands are said to die in a plentiful year, for want of bread to their water, nothing

* In the year 1658.

† Meaning his own new sort of government.

being free there, but fresh water and air: for, except in some few privileged places, wherever they have the conveniency by their situation of sea-water (lest they should make use of the benefit of that, which God and nature hath given them, for saving the charge of salt) every family is forced to take so much salt of the king, at his own rate (which is above ten times the price it is sold for to strangers, for transportation) as is judged they may spend in a year; *the Lord deliver all other countries from their example.* In Sweden, that king, court, and their military officers are the better for their conquests, in Germany, Denmark, Russia, and some places anciently belonging to Poland; but the commons the worse: Spain is undone, by the great number of people sent thence to the West-Indies, which hath depopulated the country, France reaping more benefit by keeping their people at home to manufactures, than Spain doth by sending theirs abroad for silver and gold; and now, though by these instances it may appear to be the interests of the people of other nations, as well as ours, to live in peace, without coveting additions; yet it is more our true interest, because, by reason of our situation, we have no need of foreign frontier towns, our ships, well ordered, being better than other princes bordering garrisons, than any other kingdoms, to neglect especially European acquisitions, and colonies, and apply ourselves,

First, to the improving of our own land, of which we have more than we have people to manage.

Secondly, to the increasing our home and foreign trades, for which we have natural advantages above any other nation.

Thirdly and lastly, by our strength, which trade will increase. To make use of it, together with the helps that God and nature hath given us in our situation, and otherwise, in keeping the balance amongst our neighbours. For, in the province of Holland, which is but four hundred thousand acres of profitable ground, is, by the benefit of trade, able to do so much as we experienced the last war, what might we do, if trade were improved, who have much more advantages for it, than they have? I ascribe what was done by the Netherlands, in the late war, to the province of Holland; because that, though the provinces are seven in number, Holland's due proportion of all charges is $58\frac{1}{3}$, in a hundred, to all the others $41\frac{2}{3}$, of which $41\frac{2}{3}$, Holland gets little more than 20 honestly paid them, inasmuch that it alone may be reckoned to bear four-fifths in a hundred, to one-fifth that all the other six bear; and how prodigious a thing it is, that Holland, no bigger than as before-mentioned, should be able to cope with England, Scotland, and Ireland; and that though their charges in the late war was abundantly greater than ours, yet, by their good management, to be so little the worse for it, as, at the conclusion of the war, to have their credit so high, that they could have commanded what money they had pleased at three in the hundred, and all this by the mere additional benefit of trade and good order; and how by Cromwell's indiscreet neglecting of trade and choosing war, when

he was in peace, did he miss the true interest of England, as, by his ill-founded designs, he did the interest of the reformed religion: for, if he had succeeded in his unjust invasion of the Spanish territories in the West-Indies (as God seldom prospereth dishonest undertakings) it being intended for a state acquisition, the benefit would not have been diffusive, but chiefly to himself and favourites, and prejudicial to the people in general, though at the expence of their substance, the acquiescence would have been made: for, had he met with so much success in the gaining those countries, and in them, that plenty of gold and silver as he vainly hoped for, we should have been as unhappy in them (in the depopulating of our countries, by the loss of the multitude of people that must have been sent thither, and in impoverishing our nations by the vast charges of a continual war) as Spain is, and to no other end, than the making of him only rich, able to enslave the remaining people, and to make himself absolute over them; for the preventing of which, in such tyrants as Cromwell, surely Moses had an eye, when he said that *they should not greatly multiply silver and gold.* And thus, as Cromwell's designs must, to an impartial judgment, appear to have been laid some dishonestly, others impolitically, and all contrary to the interest of the kingdom, so the issue of them was damageable to the people of England: as,

First, in his sudden making a peace with Holland, so soon as he got the government, without those advantages for trade, as they who beat them did intend to have had as their due, and just satisfaction for their charges in the war.

Secondly, in his war with Spain; by the loss of that beneficial trade to our nation, and giving it to the Hollanders, by whose hands we drove, during the war, the greatest part of that trade, which we had of it, with twenty-five in the hundred profit to them, and as much loss to us.

Thirdly, by our loss in that war with Spain, of 1500 English ships, according as was reported to that assembly, called Richard's Parliament.

Fourthly, in the disgracefullest defeat at Hispaniola, that ever this kingdom suffered in any age or time.

Fifthly and lastly, in spending the great publick stock he found, and yet leaving a vast debt upon the kingdom, as appeared by the accounts brought into Richard's assembly; which had, I believe, been yet much higher, but that they, who under him managed the affairs; were a sort of people, who had been long disciplined, before his time, to a principal of frugality, and against cheating; though at censuring the poorer people, for their master's benefit, some of them were grown as dextrous, as if they had been bred in the court of Spain: for, besides imposing Richard upon the people, after his father's death, by a forged title, according to the very law they took to be in being, when, by his assembly, they were ordered to bring in an account of the receipts, and payments of the kingdom; they made above six thousand pounds spent in intelligence, whereas it cost not above three or four thou-

thousand at most; and calculating the rest by these, it may well be concluded, that they were expert in their trades.

It is confessed, that Oliver's peace and league with France was upon honourable articles; but, as the tottering affairs of France then stood, much more could not have been sooner asked, than had: for Mazarin, being a man of a large and subtle wit, apprehending the greatness of England at that time, which was then dreadful to the world, and the vast advantages France would have in pulling down, by their help, of Spain, grant him, not only any thing for the present that he demanded, but disregarded also his party's making their boasts of the awe he had him under: considering, that when Cromwell had helped him to do his work, in bringing under the house of Austria, and therein casting the balance of Christendom on his side, he should afterwards have leisure to recover what then he seemed to part with: and though nothing is more ordinary, then to hear men brag, how Oliver vapoured over France, I do esteem Mazarin's complying with him, for his own ends, to be the chief piece of all his ministry; for by that means only, and no other, is his master become so great at this day, that no factions at home can disturb his peace, nor powers abroad frighten him. Which is more than any king of France, since Charles the Great, could say: and, when his neighbour nations have, too late I fear, experienced his greatness, they will find cause to curse the ignorance of Oliver's politicks; and therefore, when a true measure is taken of Cromwell, the approbation, that he hath in the world, will not be found to have its foundation in sense, or reason, but proceeding from ignorance and atheism: from ignorance, in those that take all that was done by him, as a servant, and whilst under the direction of better heads, than his own, to be done by him alone; and from atheism, in those that think every thing lawful that a man doth, if it succeed to his advancement. But they that shall take an impartial view of his actions, whilst he was a single person*, and at liberty to make use of his own parts without controul, will find nothing worthy commendations, but cause enough from thence to observe, that the wisdom of his masters, and not his own, must have been that by which he first moved; and to attribute his former performances, whilst a servant, as is truly due, to the judgment and subtlety of the long-parliament, under whose conduct and command he was. And now, from Cromwell's neglecting to live in peace, as, if he had pleased, he might have done with all the world, to the great enriching of this nation: the improvement of our victory over Holland in his peace with them; his being the cause of the loss of our Spanish trade, during all his time; of the loss of 1500 English ships in that war: besides, by it breaking the balance of Europe; of the expence of the publick stock and stores he found, with the contracting a debt of nineteen hundred thousand pounds, according to his

own account (which, for aught I know, he left behind him, but am apt to think the debt was not altogether so great, though made so to his son Richard's assembly, as a means to get the more money from the poorer people:) and lastly, of the dishonourable overthrow we met with at Hispaniola. It may be well concluded, that he laid the foundation of our present want of trade, to what we formerly enjoyed; and that the reason, why his miscarriages were not sooner under observation, is, because our stock of wealth and honour, at his coming to the government, being then unspeakably great, stifled their appearance, until, having since had some unhappy additional losses, they are now become discernible as first losses, to a merchant, who concealedly bears up under them, are afterwards discovered by the addition of second losses, that sink him. When I contemplate these great failings, I cannot but apprehend the sad condition any people are in, whose governor drives on a distinct contrary interest to theirs; for, doubtless, Cromwell's over-weening care to secure his particular interest, against his majesty, then abroad, and the long-parliament, whom he had turned out, with a prodigious ambition of acquiring a glorious name in the world, carried him on to all his mistakes and absurdities, to the irreparable loss and damage of this famous kingdom.

To prove the second assertion, that Oliver's time was full of oppression and injustice, I shall but instance in a few of many particulars, and begin with John Lilburne, not that I think him, in any kind, one that deserved favour or respect, but that equal justice is due to the worst as well as best men, and that he comes first in order of time.

1. John, in 1646, was, by order of the then parliament, tried for his life, with an intent, I believe, of taking him away; but, the jury not finding him guilty, he was immediately, according to law, generously set at liberty by those, that had quarrel enough against him. This example in the parliament of keeping to the laws in the case of one, who was a professed implacable enemy to them, ought to have been copied by Cromwell; but on the contrary, to shew that there was a difference betwixt him and his predecessors (the long-parliament's) principles, when the law had again, upon a second trial, occasioned by Oliver, cleared Lilburne, the parliament's submitting to the law was no example to him: for, contrary to law, he kept him in prison, until he was so far spent in a consumption, that he only turned him out to die.

2dly, Mr. Coney's case is so notorious, that it needs little more than naming: he was a prisoner at Cromwell's suit, and being brought to the King's Bench bar, by a *Habeas Corpus*, had his council taken from the bar, and sent to the Tower, for no other reason, than the pleading of their client's cause; an act of violence, that, I believe, the whole story of England doth not parallel.

3dly, Sir Henry Vane, above any one person, was the author of Oliver's advancement, and did so long

and cordially espouse his interest, that he prejudiced himself, in the opinion of some by it; yet so ungrateful was this monster of ingratitude, that he studied to destroy him, both in life and estate; because he could not adhere to him in his perjury and falseness. The occasion he took was this, He, appointing a publick day of humiliation, and seeking of God for him, invited all God's people in his declaration, to offer him their advice in the weighty affairs then upon his shoulders. Sir Henry, taking a rise from hence, offered his advice by a treatise, called *The Healing Question*: but Cromwell, angry at being taken at his word, seized, imprisoned, and endeavoured to proceed further against him, for doing only what he had invited him to do; and some may think, that Sir Henry suffered justly, for having known him so long, and yet would trust to any thing he said.

4thly, In Richard's assembly, certain prisoners in the Tower, under the then lieutenant, and some sent thence to Jersey, and other places beyond the sea, complained of false imprisonment. The jailor was sent for, and being required to shew by what authority he kept those persons in hold, produceth a paper all under Oliver's own hand, as followeth: *Sir, I pray you seize such and such persons, and all others, whom you shall judge dangerous men; do it quickly, and you shall have a warrant, after you have done.* The nature of this warrant was, by Richard's assembly, debated, and having first Richard's own council's opinion in the case, as Serjeant Maynard, &c. they voted the commitment of the complaints to be illegal, unjust, and tyrannical; and that, first, because the warrant, by which they were committed, was under the hand of the then (as they called him) chief magistrate, who, by law, ought not to commit any by his own warrant. Secondly, because no cause was shewn in the warrant. And, thirdly, in the case of those sent out of the reach of a *Habeas Corpus*, which in law is a banishment, because no Englishman ought to be banished by any less authority than an act of parliament. And therefore, for these reasons, they voted farther, that the prisoners should be set at liberty without paying any fees, or charges, but the turning out, and punishing the lieutenant by the assembly (for obeying so unjust a warrant) was prevented by their sudden dissolution.

5thly, The tyranny, in the decimating a party restored to common privileges with all others, and the publick faith given for it, by a law made to that end, by the then powers in being, is sufficiently shewed in the mentioning of it, only there is this aggravating circumstance in it; that Cromwell, who was the principal person in procuring that law, when he thought it for his advantage not to keep it, was the only man for breaking it: but to the honour of his first assembly, next following, it may be remembered, that they no sooner came together, than, like true Englishmen, who are always jealous of the rights and privileges of the

people, they damned the *Act of Decimation* as an unjust and wicked breach of faith.

The third assertion of Cromwell's knowing no honesty, where he thought his particular interest was concerned, is made good; first, (though therein he mistook his interest) in his odious and unjust war with Spain, without the least provocations, merely out of an ambitious and covetous design of robbing that prince of his silver and gold mines; and because he judged it for his credit to disguise his unlawful desires, he proceeded in it, by employing his creatures in the city, to draw the merchants to complain of injuries done them by Spain, and to petition for reparations; but, by a cross providence, his project had a contrary success; for, instead of answering his seekings, the merchants remonstrated to him the great prejudice that a war with Spain would be to England; and shewed, that that king had been so far from injuring us, that he had done more for compliance, and preventing a breach with England, than ever he had done in favour of any other nation; but, when Oliver saw his method would not take, he called the remonstrators, malignants, and begun the war of his own accord, in which, he was highly ungrateful in designing the ruin of that prince, who all along had been most faithful to his party.

Secondly, his falseness and ingratitude appeared superlatively in turning out his masters*, who had not only advanced him, but made themselves the more odious by their partial affection towards him; and in his doing it, with the breach of a positive negative oath, taken once a year, when made a counsellor of state, besides the breach of all other engagements, voluntary imprecations, protestations, and oaths, taken frequently upon all occasions in discourse and declarations; and yet further (when he had turned them out) and left them void of protection, and exposed them to the fury of the people, and pursuing them with false reproachful declarations, enough to have stirred up the rude multitude to have destroyed them, wherever they had met them.

Thirdly, his want of honour, as well as honesty, appeareth, yet further, in that having, by a long series of a seeming pious deportment, gained, by his dissimulation, good thoughts in his masters, the long-parliament, and, by his spiritual gifts, wound himself into so good an opinion with his soldiers (men, generally, of plain breeding, that knew little besides their military trade, and religious exercises) that he could impose, in matters of business, what belief he pleased upon them; he made use of the credit he had with each, to abuse both, by many vile practices, for making himself popular, and the parliament and army odious to one another; and, because the artifices he used are too many to enumerate, I shall but instance in some few: as his sly complaining insinuations against the army to the parliament, and against them to the army: his being the chief cause of the

* The long-parliament.

parliament's giving rewards to his creatures, and then, whispering complaints among his officers, of their ill husbandry: his obstructing the house in their business, by long drawling speeches, and other ways, and then complaining of them to his soldiers, that he could not get them to do any thing that was good: his giving fair words to every one, without keeping promise with any, except for his own advantage, and then excusing all with forgetfulness: and his deserting his major generals, in their decimations, crying out most against them himself, when he only had set them at work, because questioned by his assembly, is not to be forgotten, &c.

I would not be understood to remember any thing here, in favour of the long-parliament, for what might be wicked in him, might be just as to them: and though, if what he did, had been for the restoration of his majesty, he might have been excused, yet, being for his own single advancement, it is unpardonable, and leaves him a person to be truly admired for nothing but apostasy and ambition, and exceeding Tiberius in dissimulation. I am not ignorant that some think it matter of praise in him, that he kept us in peace, four years and nine months; but that hath little in it, his majesty having done the like, almost double his time, since his return, with one-fifth part of that number of soldiers which he commanded; though he hath also had the trouble of pressing, and sometimes forcing uniformity in religion, which he found under several forms; whereas Oliver kept the nation purposely divided in opinions, and himself of no declared judgment, as the securest way of engaging all several persuasions equally to him; which artifice, together with his leaving the church lands alienated as he found them, were all the true principles of policy that I know of, which he kept unto.

The honesty of these principles I refer to the judgment of every man's conscience; but if we may judge of things by experience and success, they seem to have been very happy in the world: for in comparing the condition of the Protestant countries at present, to what they were in times of popery, we shall find them more considerable now than formerly; for in taking a true survey of the reformed dominions, we shall discover them to bear no proportion at all, in largeness, to the popish; and that there is nothing that keeps the balance betwixt the two parties, but the advantage that the first hath, in being free from the bondage of the church of Rome, and the latter's being under it: for as the church of Rome's mercies are (by their principles) cruelties, so, had they power answerable to the natural richness of the soil of their countries, and extent of their territories, they would long before this have swallowed up the Protestant churches, and made bonfires of their members; but as God in his mercy and wisdom hath, by his over-ruling hand of Providence, preserved his church; so, for the Romish

church's inability to effect that which they have will and malice enough to carry them on to do, there are these natural reasons:

First, There being generally, of the popish countries, above one moiety belonging to Churchmen, Monks, Friars, and Nuns, who, like drones, spend the fat of the land, without contributing any thing to the good of mankind, renders them much the less considerable.

Secondly, Marriage being forbidden to all these sorts and orders, occasions great want of people every where, they being incapable of any children but those of darkness*, except in France, which is an extraordinary case, proceeding partly, by not being so subject to Rome, as other countries of that belief are; but especially from the multitude of Protestants, that are among them.

Thirdly, The blind devotion of these people, carrying them on to vast expences, in the building and richly adorning of many needless and superfluous churches, chapels, and crosses, &c. with the making chargeable presents by the better, and pilgrimages by the meaner sort, to their idols, keeps all degrees under.

Fourthly, The many holydays, upon which, the labouring man is forbidden to work, adds much to their poverty.

But, fifthly and lastly, The vast number of begging Friars, who living idly, and purely upon the sweat of other men's brows, without taking any labour themselves, make it impossible, for the lower sort of people, who think they are bound in conscience, to relieve them, ever to get above a mean condition; now whosoever shall seriously weigh and ponder these circumstances, under which the popish countries lie, and consider the reformed's advantage in being free from them, must confess it the less wonder, that the evangelical† princes and states, with their small dominions, compared to the others great, are able to bear up against them; and now, as the alienation of church-lands, the turning out the Romish vermin, the Priests, Monks, Friars, and Nuns, who devour all countries wherever they come, and freedom from the popish imposition upon conscience, hath mightily increased the greatness of the Protestant princes and states, to what they anciently were, and the not doing the same, in the popish countries, keeps those princes under; so, even amongst the reformed, where the church-lands are most alienated, and liberty of conscience most given, they prosper most, as in Holland, and some parts of Germany, with other places. And, on the contrary, Denmark, where church-lands are least alienated of any of the reformed countries, and the city of Lubeck, where, of all the free imperial cities of Germany, liberty of conscience is least given, they thrive least in both places. And, I think, it will also hold, that, as this famous kingdom, in the times of popery, was, in no measure, so formidable as now it is; so

* Viz. Beggards.

† Protestant, so called, because they take the word of God for their rule of faith.

before the restoration of our hierarchy to their lands, their hoarding up the money, which before went in trade, and their discouraging and driving into corners the industrious sort of people, by imposing upon their consciences, it flourished more, was richer and fuller of trade than now it is; and I dare undertake to be a prophet in this, That, if ever any Protestant country should be so far forsaken of the Lord, as to be suffered to turn unto popery, these observations will be made good in their visible loss of the splendor, riches, power, and greatness, that they now know.

Had Cromwell been a person of an open prophane life, his actions had been less scandalous; but, having been a professor of religion, they are not to be pleaded for; neither can it be consistent with religion to palliate them, which have been of so much offence, and, as may be feared, made so many atheists in the world; and I cannot but stand amazed, when I hear him extolled by some, not ignorant of his practices, knowing in religion, and, as I hope, fearing God.

Now I will suppose, I may be suspected to have been injured, or disobliged by Oliver; but I can with truth affirm, I never received either good or evil from him in all my life, more than in common with the whole kingdom, which I think, may be allowed to render me the more a competent judge in his case; and, that I am so far from being moved unto this, out of any quarrel to him, that, as I have here mentioned some few of many injustices and state-errors,

that he was guilty of in his short time, if I were conscious of any thing more, during his protectorship, worthy applause, than I have here mentioned, I should not envy it him, but freely remember it; and, if any think I have not said enough on this behalf, and too much to his disadvantage, I have this for my buckler, that I wish I could have said more for him, and had known less against him; professing, that besides what I have here hinted, I am wholly ignorant of any one action in all his four years and nine months time, done either wisely, virtuously, or for the interest of this kingdom, and therefore, that I am none of his admirers, I ought to be pardoned by my readers.

Much more might be said upon this subject, but this may suffice to shew, that, if Mazarin, at the hearing of Oliver's death, thought he had then reason for calling him a fortunate fool, if he were now living he would find more cause for it, Cromwell's lot, as to reputation, having been exceedingly much greater since his death, than whilst he was in the world: and that from forgetfulness of his impolitick government, from whose entrance we may date the commencement of our trade's decay; and through want of memory, in men's giving to him the cause of our former wealth and prosperity, which truly belongeth to others. But, what opinion soever Mazarin, may have had of Oliver, he was, without all peradventure, a person of more than ordinary wit, and no otherwise a fool than as he wanted honesty, no man being wise but an honest man.

A Narrative of the late Parliament (so called) their Election and Appearing; the Conclusion of a great Part of them; the Sitting of the Rest: With an Account of the Places of Profit, Salaries and Advantages which they hold and receive under the present Power; with some Queries thereupon, and upon the most material Acts and Proceedings passed by them: All humbly proposed to Consideration, and published for Information of the People, by a Friend to the Common-wealth, and to its dear-bought Rights and Freedom.

IT is not unknown unto all intelligent and observing people what great stickling and underhand dealing was put in practice by the court-party, in driving on interests and designs, about chusing this last pretended parliament; in improving the major-generals to that purpose (who were not wanting in the matter) as also by writing of letters to the sheriffs, who were (some of them) very officious in that service; whereby several worthy patriots had very foul and unequal terms offered them, not being suffered to be put in nomination; justifying their proceedings to be no other, than according to order they had so to do: Middlesex,

Cheshire, Berkshire, and the city of Canterbury, may serve for instances, instead of others: neither were the clergy behind, in endeavours for the advancement of their own interest, as appeared by meetings, held in very many counties, to agree and make choice beforehand among themselves, and then promote their choice against the election-day; and, upon the day appearing, like so many captains, or leaders, cried up the parties, they had chosen before to serve their interest: but what cause the people have to rejoice, and give them thanks for this service, doth already in part appear; and further may, when they shall feel the burthens of excise

excise and customs, with the many fetters and snares attending the same, as also a tax backward, to be paid over again; and another for three years together, never the like in England before, together with a new project to raise money out of all such houses, for ten miles distance without the walls of the city of London, that, from thirty-seven years past to the twenty-ninth of September last, have been built upon new foundations; with other acts serving designs, but not one for the ease of the people, or the punishment of those who have wronged and abused them; by which acts these gentlemen, and those that chose them, make themselves accessory to, and, as much as in them lies, guilty of all this hard bondage, that now is, or may further come upon us.

The gentlemen chosen to sit in this assembly, accordingly, made their appearance, and gave attendance at Westminster, in order to that service, where a great number of them find themselves secluded the house, and not suffered to enter in to do their duty; who having waited a day or two without success, many of them made an address to their fellow-members, sitting in the house, for their admittance. Some of the names of those gentlemen, so kept out of the house, here follow:

Sir Arthur Haslerigg,	John Sicklemore
Thomas Scott	William Doyly
Herbert Morley	Ralph Hare
John Bulkley	John Hubbard
John Birch	Oliver Raymond
Colonel Fenwick	Jeremiah Bentley
Anthony Erby	Philip Woodhouse
Thomas Lister	John Buxton
Thomas Birch	William Bloyse
Thomas Sanders	William Gibbs
Henry Darley	Thomas Southerton
John Weaver	Sir Thomas Bows
Alexander Popham	Edward Harlow
Francis Thorp	John Hanson
Anthony Ashley Cooper	Clement Throgmorton
John Southby	Henry North
Richard Greenvil	Sir John Wittrong
Thomas Adams	George Courthop
Richard Brown	Samuel Gost
Richard Darley	John Buckland
Thomas St. Nicholas	Robert Long
William James	John Northcot
John Boyse	John Young
Charles Hill	John Doddridge
John Jones	Henry Hungerford
William Wolley	Edward Yocker
Richard Radcliff	William Morrice
William Savill	John Haile
Theophilus Biddulph	Edward Tukner
Henry Mildmay	Challen Chute
Harbottle Grimston	Daniel Shatterden
William Welby	Sir Thomas Styles
Charles Hufley	Richard Beale
Edmund Harvey	Walter Moyle

Walter Vincent
John Gell
Henry Arthington
Henry Tempest
James Clavering
John Stanhope
Pen. Whaly
Abel Barker
Samuel More
Thomas Minors
Samuel Jones

Edward Hooper
Richard Winneve
John Fagg
Thomas Rivers
Henry Peckham
Charles Lloyd
John Thurbone
William Fisher
John Gore
Rowland Litton

The answer of the gentlemen in the house to the fore-mentioned address, was to this effect, *viz.* That those gentlemen must address themselves to the council.

Upon the unsatisfactoriness and injustice of which answer these gentlemen, rather than they would yield to so great a violation of parliamentary power, resolved to depart to their own countries again, which accordingly they did.

Upon this breach made in the house, and giving up the rights and interest of the English nation in parliament to be judged without doors, by an inferior power; divers gentlemen then sitting in the house, who being endued with principles of justice and righteousness, and love to the nation's freedom, immediately withdrew, and others would not enter into the house at all, but departed to their several habitations.

Upon all which, it is proposed and queried:

1st. Whether since the conquest there was ever such a blow given (by a people owning themselves a parliament) to the interest and freedom of the English nation, as the suffering to be secluded from them (by an inferior power) so great a number of members chosen by the people to sit, as their representatives in parliament, without any cause shewn for such a proceeding?

2. How this upstart protector and his council, of a little more than three years standing, should come to be impowered to do those things, which a king and his council, of more than four hundred years descent, could not, nor durst not do: and whether the late, together with the former force put upon the house, by excluding so many of their members, be not a crime twenty fold beyond that of the late king's, in going about to seclude the five members, so highly dis-rented in that day by the people, and afterwards attended with so great feud and bloodshed?

3. Whether, till this unworthy generation, there ever were such a company of false-hearted, low-spirited, mercenary Englishmen sitting in that house before, that would at once so easily give up the right, interest, and freedom of this nation, in suffering their fellow-members to be rent from them, and judged without doors? As if there were a just power at present upon earth, higher and greater than the good people's representers in parliament; which, by all well-affected people in the army and elsewhere, was so generally acknowledged the supreme authority.

4. Whether these persons, in thus doing, as also in confirming (as it were) this usurpation by a law, in settling the government in a single person and his council, with a house of lords as it was before; giving him a negative voice, and the power of disposing the militia and navy, things formerly so much * complained of and opposed, as the effects of tyranny and usurpation in the late king, together with many other things done by them, tending to oppress and enslave the people, have not, as much as in them lies, pulled upon themselves, and the three nations, the guilt of all the blood of the late wars, acknowledged by the army and others, to be shed in removing the foresaid evils; as likewise to make void and fruitless the vast sums of money and treasure expended upon that account?

5. Whether the foresaid gentlemen are not therefore to be esteemed, by all true-hearted Englishmen, as † betrayers of, and traitors to the cause of God, and their country's liberties, and a company of salary-men; sons, servants, kinsmen, and lawyers, &c. purposely packed to inthroned their protector's single interest, rather than a parliament of the commonwealth of England, lawfully called and constituted to carry on the good old cause, viz. The promoting of reformation, and vindication of the people's liberties?

6. Whether some of those gentlemen who were secluded, with others that were injuriously hindered from being chosen, have not been more faithful to the cause formerly contended for, and better patriots to their country; and such who less deserve why they should be rejected, than such as Mr. Glyn, Mr. Nicholls, (two of the eleven members, who endeavouring to settle the same things upon the king, they have now pretended to do upon their protector, were counted false to God and the people) Sir Charles Ousley, and Commissioner Fines?

7. And whether Mr. Thomas, St. Nicholas, Colonel Dixwell, &c. were not as capable, and every way more likely to counsel and advise for the good of their country, than the sons of Major-General Desbrow, of Mr. Lawrence, president of the council, and of Sir Hardress Waller, as yet both in years and experience children?

8. Doth not this picking a lukewarm neuter from one place, a cavalier from another, and young youths of no principle from another, and packing them with his kindred, sons, servants, and salary-men, and a sort of conquered Scotchmen, a thing formerly so much ‡ feared and complained of in the late king, now plainly declare, that his pretence in dissolving the old parliament, for not making provision in their

act for a new representative to || keep our presbyters and neuters, was false; and that it was rather done as a farther step, whereby he might ascend into this present greatness, than for the preservation of the cause, which, at that time, was so highly pretended to?

9. Or is this practice, in the least measure, agreeing with that spirit pretended unto in the choice of the little parliament, or with that profession made by him in his speech to them, viz. That they had not allowed themselves, in the choice of one person, of whom they had not this good hope, there was § faith in Jesus Christ, and love to all the saints: and that they judged it their duty to chuse none but godly men of principles, men knowing and fearing the Lord; who had made observations of his marvellous dispensations; such as he had formed for himself, because he expected not praises from others, and these the only fit men to be entrusted with the cause, and no others; and therefore went in that extraordinary way, and not in the way of the nation, because, till the spirit was more poured forth, the people would not be in a capacity to chuse such men, &c. Now whether the late picking and chusing, as is before expressed, a party of men of such a spirit, and under such qualifications, as this present parliament, so called, is of, be not a notorious destroying of that profession and principle then owned, and seemingly practised? Let all honest and unbiaised men judge.

Here follows the truest and best account, that as yet can be gotten, of the names of those gentlemen, who continued in the house, and have places of profit, offices, salaries, and advantages, in the commonwealth: together with the names of the sons, kinsmen, servants, and others, who are under engagements unto, and have dependence upon the protector, so called, who, being so well seasoned with the salt of his palace, according to Ezra iv. 14. must needs be devoted to his interest, wherein their own is wholly involved.

OF THE COUNCIL.

MR. Lawrence, as president, one thousand pounds per annum.

Major-general Lambert, as one of the council, one thousand pounds per annum; as Major-general of the army, three hundred and sixty-five pounds; as colonel of horse, four hundred and seventy-four pounds ten shillings; as colonel of foot, three hundred and sixty-five pounds; and, as it is reported, had the general's pay, three thousand, six hundred, and forty pounds per annum; as major-general of some coun-

* See a representation of the army, and large petition, in a book called Looking-Glass, p. 5, 11, 12, 13. And in Alb. Remonst. p. 25, 26. A Letter, p. 40. An Act of Parliament, after beheading of the king, p. 44 of the same book; and a Declaration 19 July, 1650, p. 47. and Declaration 1 August following, p. 49, 50. And a Declaration after the old parliament was dissolved, p. 54 of the same book, all procured in that day by the now protector, so called, and the then honest part of the army.

† See Looking-Glass, p. 47; in a Declaration, July 19, 1650; the army confesses so much themselves.

‡ See Looking-Glass, p. 22. in Remonstrance at Alban's.

|| See p. 58, of the same book, in his Speech to the Little Parliament.

§ See Looking-Glass, p. 59, 61, and 63. in the Speech he made to them, in his own and officers names.

tries, six hundred sixty-six pounds, thirteen shillings, and four-pence; in all, six thousand, five hundred, and eleven pounds, three shillings, and four-pence. These places he had, but whether he hath the conscience to receive thus for them, or gives any away to those that act under him, is best known to himself; he is also a lord of the Cinque Ports.

Lieutenant-general Fleetwood, as one of the council, one thousand pounds per annum; as lord-deputy of Ireland, three thousand, six hundred, and forty pounds per annum; as colonel of horse in Ireland, four hundred, seventy-four pounds, ten shillings; as colonel of foot there, three hundred sixty-five pounds; as colonel of horse in England, four hundred, seventy-four pounds, ten shillings; as major-general of some counties, six hundred, sixty-six pounds, thirteen shillings, and four-pence; in all, six thousand, six hundred and twenty pounds, thirteen shillings and four-pence: it is said, he remained lieutenant-general of the horse in England. It is supposed he hath all these places, but whether he receives all the pay, or gives any to those that act under him, himself best knows: he married the protector's daughter.

Major-general Desbrow, as one of the council, one thousand pounds per annum; as general at sea, one thousand, ninety-five pounds; as colonel of horse, four hundred, seventy-four pounds, ten shillings; as major-general of the western countries, six hundred, sixty-six pounds, thirteen shillings, and four-pence; in all, three thousand, two hundred, thirty-six pounds, three shillings, and four-pence per annum: it is said, he is one of the Cinque Port lords. He married the protector's sister, whereby he is doubly engaged to serve his brother's interest.

Colonel Montague, as one of the council, one thousand pounds per annum; commissioner of the treasury, one thousand pounds; as general at sea, one thousand, ninety-five pounds; in all, three thousand, ninety-five pounds per annum.

Colonel Sydenham, as one of the council, one thousand pounds per annum; one of the commissioners of the treasury, one thousand pounds; in all, two thousand pounds per annum; besides the government of the Isle of Wight.

Colonel Fines, as one of the council, one thousand pounds per annum; commissioner of the great seal, one thousand pounds; as keeper of the privy-seal, supposed worth one thousand pounds more; in all, three thousand pounds per annum.

Sir Charles Ousley, as one of the council, one thousand pounds per annum.

Mr. Strickland, as one of the council, one thousand pounds per annum; and is captain of the gray-coat foot-guard at Whitehall.

Sir Gilbert Pickering, as one of the council, one thousand pounds per annum; chamberlain at court, and steward of Westminster.

Major-general Skippon, as one of the council, one thousand pounds per annum; as major-general of the city, it is supposed he hath six hundred, sixty-six

pounds, thirteen shillings, and four-pence, according to his brethren, major-generals of the counties.

Mr. Rouse, as one of the council, one thousand pounds per annum; as provost of Eaton-college, five hundred pounds; in all, fifteen hundred pounds.

Colonel Philip Jones, as one of the council, one thousand pounds per annum: he either is, or was his Master Cromwell's steward, or overseer, of his lands in Wales, and is Custos Rotulorum of two or three counties there.

Mr. John Thurloe, secretary of state, and chief post-master of England, places of a vast income; he may justly be said to have a great hand in bringing all this abominable wickedness, slavery, and oppression, that hath been for above these three years, to this very day, upon the nation.

Here follow the names of those lawyers that continued in the house, who have advantages from the state, who are placed in the van of the soldiers, as the more honourable persons; their General having lately laid aside, and delivered up his sword, to put on the gown.

SIR Thomas Widdrington, as speaker of the house, thirty-five pounds a week, which is one thousand, eight hundred and twenty-nine pounds per annum; as commissioner of the treasury, one thousand pounds per annum; in all, two thousand, eight hundred and twenty-nine pounds per annum; and hath besides, for every private act, five pounds, and for every stranger that is naturalised, or made a free denison; and hath gotten for that already, as is supposed, near one thousand five hundred pounds; he is recorder of York. Having these great engagements upon him, he can do no other, if it be required, than put on the king's old robe upon his lord protector.

Lord Whitlock, as commissioner of the treasury, one thousand pounds per annum; his son is a captain in the army, and lately made a knight; he must needs serve the court interest.

Lord Lisle, one of the commissioners of the great seal, one thousand pounds per annum.

Mr. William Lenthall, speaker of the old parliament formerly, as master of the rolls, supposed worth two thousand pounds per annum.

Mr. Prideaux, as attorney-general to the state, five pounds for every patent, and five pounds for every pardon; and by the liberty of pleading within the bar, together with two thousand pounds he gets by great fees, it is supposed to amount to, in all, near six thousand pounds per annum.

Mr. Glyn, one of the eleven members formerly impeached by the army of treason, now lord chief justice of England; for which he hath one thousand pounds per annum, besides other advantages; a man of principles fitted for the interest of monarchy.

Mr. Ellis, as solicitor-general to the state, hath, as is supposed, near three thousand pounds per annum.

Mr. Parker, as one of the barons of the exchequer, one thousand pounds per annum.

Baron Nicholas, the same place and salary.

Baron Hill, the same place and salary.

Mr. Lechmere, attorney of the duchy; his advantage thereby is not well known.

Mr. Nathaniel Bacon, as one of the masters of requests, five hundred pounds per annum.

Mr. Francis Bacon, the like place and salary.

Lislebone Long, lately one of the masters of requests; and, the better to carry on his master's interest among the low-spirited mayor, aldermen, and common-council in the city, is now made recorder of London, supposed worth two thousand pounds per annum, and is also a new knight to the new court.

Miles Fleetwood, one of the clerks of the privy-seal, supposed worth between three and four hundred pounds per annum.

Mr. Robert Shapcot, one of the commissioners for executing that abominable, oppressive, wicked act for the new buildings; his salary is as yet unknown.

Thomas Bamfield, recorder of Exon.

Thomas Westlake, town-clerk.

Mr. Lister, recorder of Hull.

Guibbon Goddard, recorder of Lynn.

Lambert Godfrey, recorder of Maidstone.

Colonel Matthews, recorder of Malden.

The names of the officers belonging to the armies of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and their garrisons, and such as are of the country troops, and the late created major-generals.

OF THE ARMY IN ENGLAND.

COLONEL Whaley, as commissary-general of the horse, one hundred, seventy-three pounds, fifteen shillings and four-pence per annum; as colonel of horse, four hundred, seventy-four pounds, ten shillings, besides other advantages in the regiment; as one of the major-generals of the counties, six hundred, sixty-six pounds, thirteen shillings, and four-pence; in all, one thousand, four hundred, and fourteen pounds, eighteen shillings, and four-pence per annum.

Colonel Grosvenor, as quarter-master-general, four hundred, nineteen pounds, ten shillings per annum; and, it is said, hath captain of horse's pay: and, the better to carry it in the choice at Westminster, the soldiers were bid pull off their red coats, and put on others, and to give their vote for him; which is contrary to article the eighteenth of the old decayed instrument of government, which allows none, that is not worth two hundred pounds, to choose parliament men.

George Downing, as scout-master-general, three hundred and sixty-five pounds per annum; as one of the tellers in the exchequer, five hundred pounds; in all, eight hundred and sixty-five pounds per annum: it is said, he hath the captain's pay of a troop of

horse; formerly scout-master against cavaliers and moss-troopers, but now against the saints, and sends spies amongst the churches.

Mr. Marieth, as judge-advocate of the army, two hundred, seventy-three pounds, fifteen shillings per annum.

Captain Blackwell, as treasurer of the army, six hundred pounds per annum.

Colonel Ingoldsbey, as colonel of horse, four hundred and seventy-four pounds, ten shillings, per annum, besides other advantages in the regiment; he is protector's (so called) kinsman, and will make no scruple to do whatever he will have him.

Colonel Hacker, as colonel of horse, the same pay, and advantages in the regiment.

Colonel Winthrop, of horse, the same.

Colonel Robert Lilburn, as colonel of horse; and six hundred, sixty-six pounds, thirteen shillings and four-pence, as one of the major-generals; in all, one thousand, one hundred, and forty-one pounds, three shillings, and four-pence.

Colonel Berry, as colonel of horse, and one of the major-generals, the like pay.

Major Packer, as colonel of horse, and major-general, the like advantage.

Colonel Goff, as colonel of horse, and major-general, the like: this is he that, with Colonel White, brought the soldiers, and turned the honest party, remaining behind in the little parliament, out of doors.

Colonel Bridget, as colonel of horse, and a major-general, the same advantage with the others. This is he, who, it is reported, dealt treacherously with his Colonel Okey, to get his place.

Major Hains, as major of Fleetwood's regiment of horse, three hundred, fifty-eight pounds, eighteen shillings, and four-pence; and, as a major-general, six hundred, sixty-six pounds, thirteen shillings, and four-pence; in all, one thousand, twenty-five pounds, eleven shillings, and eight-pence per annum.

Major Butler, of horse, and, as major-general, the same advantage.

Major Waring, if not major of horse, he is captain of the county troop, and a farmer of the excise in the country.

Captain Baines, as captain of horse, two hundred, seventy-three pounds per annum, besides other advantages in the troop; as one of the committee of preservation of the excise and customs, three hundred pounds; in all, five hundred, seventy-three pounds per annum.

Captain Fox, captain of horse, and governor of Pendennis castle; he married the protector's (so called) kinswoman.

Captain Scotten, captain of horse, two hundred, seventy-three pounds per annum, besides other advantages in the troop.

Captain Lilburn, of horse, the like advantage.

Major Jenkins, so called, captain of a troop of horse, the like advantage.

Officers belonging to the regiments of horse in Ireland.

COLONEL Reynolds, as commissary-general of horse, two hundred, seventy-three pounds per annum; as colonel of horse, four hundred, seventy-four pounds, ten shillings; in all, seven hundred, forty-seven pounds, ten shillings per annum; and is now general of the English army under the dispose of the protector's brother and confederate, Cardinal Mazarine in France, and is one of the new made knights.

Colonel Zanchy, as colonel of horse, four hundred, seventy-four pounds, ten shillings per annum, besides other advantages, and lives much in Fleetwood's house.

Sir Theophilus Jones, as major of horse, three hundred, fifty-eight pounds, eighteen shillings, and four-pence per annum, besides other advantages.

Major Morgan, of Fleetwood's regiment, the same.

Major Owen, as major of horse, the same.

Major Redman, as major of horse, the like.

Colonel Abbot, colonel of dragoons.

Officers belonging to the regiments of foot in England, that sat in the house.

COLONEL Baxter, as captain of a foot company, one hundred, forty-six pounds per annum, besides other advantages in the company; as major-general of Middlesex, six hundred, sixty-six pounds, thirteen shillings, and four-pence; as lieutenant of the Tower, two hundred and fifty pounds. The benefit of ten warders pay, who had a livelihood by it; he having so procured, that, as they die, or are otherwise laid aside, the two hundred pounds per annum, which paid them, comes into his pocket, besides a fee, or fine, imposed upon all persons brought as prisoners into the Tower, according to their quality; and hath the benefit of the wharf, and letting of houses in the Tower, and several other advantages, which are oppressive, amounting to in all, as is conceived, about two thousand pounds per annum. He is one of the new made knights, and one of the commissioners for suppressing the printing-presses, as the bishops panders in the king's days; one that makes men offenders, and casts them into prison, for words he hath drawn forth from them in examining against themselves: a liar, one that deals more injuriously with the Lord's people, keeping many times their nearest relations and friends from coming to them, witness that faithful friend to the cause of God and his people, Major-general Overton, amongst others, then heathens, *Acts* xxiv. 23. and yet, since this, is he taken in to be a member of Mr. Griffith's church.

Colonel Pride, as colonel of foot, three hundred, sixty-five pounds per annum, besides other advantages; and hath also great advantage by brewing for the state; one of the simple and new made knights, and his daughter married to the protector's nephew.

Colonel Clark, as colonel of foot, three hundred, sixty-five pounds per annum; as a commissioner of the admiralty, five hundred pounds per annum; in all, eight hundred, sixty-five pounds per annum; and one of the committee of the army; he married Thurlow's sister, and is deeply engaged to uphold the court interest.

Colonel Salmon, as of foot, and commissioner of the admiralty, eight hundred, sixty-five pounds per annum.

Lieutenant-colonel Kelsey, as commissioner of the admiralty, five hundred pounds per annum; as one of the major-generals, six hundred, sixty-six pounds, thirteen shillings, and four-pence; in all, one thousand, one hundred, sixty-six pounds, thirteen shillings, and four-pence, besides the government of Dover castle.

Colonel Biscoe, as of foot, three hundred, sixty-five pounds per annum; this is he who stood at the parliament-door, with Colonel Mills; to keep all the members out who had not tickets.

Colonel White, of foot, the like pay, besides other advantages in the regiment, as the other; this is he who, with Colonel Goff, brought soldiers, and turned the members, left behind in the little parliament, out of doors.

Captain Howard, formerly captain of the life-guard, as colonel of foot, three hundred, sixty-five pounds per annum; and, as captain of a county troop, one hundred pounds: in all, four hundred, sixty-five pounds per annum; besides the government of Berwick, Carlisle, and Tinnmouth; a printed book says, he is a major-general.

Major Sanders, of foot, and governor of Plymouth-fort, and Island.

Captain Wagstaff, as captain of foot, one hundred, forty-six pounds, besides the advantage of his company, and as captain of a county troop, one hundred pounds; in all, two hundred, forty-six pounds per annum.

Officers belonging to the regiments of foot in Scotland, that sat in the house.

COLONEL Fitz, as colonel of foot, three hundred, sixty-five pounds per annum, and governor of Inverness.

Colonel Mitchel, the like pay, besides other advantages in the regiment.

Colonel Talbot, colonel of foot, the like.

Colonel Cooper, as colonel of two regiments of foot, one in Scotland, the other in Ireland, seven hundred and twenty pounds per annum, besides other advantages in the regiment; and the government of Carrickfergus, and a great part of the country in the north of Ireland; it is reported he hath three or four places.

Judge-advocate Whaly, of the army in Scotland, two hundred, seventy-three pounds, fifteen shillings per

per annum, besides other advantages; he is Commissary-general Whaly's brother.

Officers belonging to the regiments of foot in Ireland, who either did, or might sit in the house; and such as are in civil employment there.

SIR Hardress Waller, as major-general of the army, three hundred, sixty-five pounds per annum; as colonel of foot, three hundred, sixty-five pounds; in all, seven hundred, thirty pounds per annum, besides other advantages.

Colonel Hufon, colonel of foot, and governor of Dublin, with other advantages.

Colonel Fooke, colonel of foot, and governor of Drogheda.

Colonel Henry Ingoldsbys, a colonel of foot, besides other advantages, and is the protector's (so called) kinsman.

Colonel Sadler, colonel of foot, besides other advantages.

Sir Robert King, commissary of the musters, a place of good advantage; he is lately deceased.

These following persons for Ireland, but one, have the names of officers, but are none.

COLONEL Bridges, captain of a foot-company.

Lieutenant-colonel Newbrough.

Lieutenant-colonel Berrisford.

Lieutenant-colonel Treyle.

Major Asten.

Captain Halsie.

Persons not thought meet to be in command, though they much desire it; and are of such poor principles, and so unfit to make rulers of, as they would not have been set with the dogs of the flock, as Job speaks in another case, Job xxx. 1. if the army, and others, who once pretended to be honest, had kept close to their former good and honest principles.

COLONEL Jephson, a man of no better principles than the former; but, for his good service in voting for a king, is lately sent ambassador to Sweden.

Mr. Vincent Gookin, one of the letters of land in Ireland, three hundred pounds per annum.

Mr. Ralph King, the like place and salary.

Mr. Bice, recorder of Dublin.

The names of those colonels, lieutenant-colonels, majors, captains, and governors of towns, that are not of the marching army, which sat in the house.

COLONEL Norton, a regiment, or some companies of foot, and governor of Portsmouth.

Colonel Rogers, governor of Hereford, captain of a county troop; what company of foot, and other advantages, it is not certainly known.

Colonel Bingham, governor of Guernsey.

Colonel Coppleston hath a county regiment, made high-sheriff for three years together, supposed worth to him three or four hundred pounds per annum, one of the new made knights, and a great cavalier formerly.

Colonel Cox, captain of a county troop, for that one hundred pounds per annum.

Colonel Ireland, captain of a county troop.

Colonel John Gorges, captain of a county troop.

Major Hawksfworth, governor of Warwick castle, one or two companies of foot, besides other advantages.

Major Bowreman, deputy-governor of the Isle of Wight; he hath command of Sandown and Weymouth castles, one or two companies of foot; his other advantages not certainly known.

Captain Fiennes hath a county troop.

William Braddon, the same command and pay.

Captain Crofts, the like.

Captain Whitegrave, the like.

Captain Ludlow, the like.

James Heely, lieutenant to that troop.

Captain Mafon, lieutenant to Hereford troop, and would get higher if he could; a poor inconsiderable creature, that says, His lord must bestow some good place upon him, or else he cannot serve him.

The names of the governors of towns, castles, and commanders of the militia forces in Wales, and such as have civil employments, who sat in the house.

COLONEL Dawkins, governor of Caermarthen, one of the deputy major-generals, captain of a militia troop.

Evan Lewis, captain of a county troop.

Hugh Price of Guernsey, captain of a militia troop, and governor of Red castle.

John Price, receiver-general of South-Wales, and a great treasurer formerly, now one of the admiralty, or a commissioner of appeals.

Bennet Hoskins, deputy, or puny judge in Pembroke, Caermarthen, and Cardigan shires.

Griffith Bedward hath a great place in the wine-office at Westminster.

Colonel John Carter, by Judge Glyn's interest, had lately three thousand pounds voted him by the house, for old arrears, to be paid out of the prize-goods.

Colonel James Phillips, one of the committee of the army; what other place is not known at present.

The names of such, who did or might sit in the house, that belong to the admiralty and navy.

GENERAL Blake, as general at sea, one thousand, ninety-five pounds per annum, besides other advantages; lately deceased.

Mr. Hopkins, one of the commissioners of the admiralty, five hundred pounds per annum; lately deceased.

Major

Major Beak, of Coventry, as commissioner of the admiralty, five hundred pounds per annum.

Captain Hatfell, as commissioner of the navy at Plymouth, three hundred pounds per annum.

Mr. Smith, as commissioner of the navy, the like.

Colonel Rouse, vice-admiral of the north and south coasts of Cornwall, a place of good value.

Charles George Cock, as one of the judges of the admiralty, five hundred pounds per annum; and as commissioner of the prerogative-court, three hundred pounds; in all, eight hundred pounds per annum.

Major Gudley, as an officer of the ordnance, near three hundred pounds per annum; as captain of a county troop, one hundred pounds per annum; and deputy major-general to Kelsey.

The names of such, who have civil employments, who serve for Scotland.

LORD Broghill, as president of the council there, one thousand pounds per annum, besides other advantages; as colonel of horse in Ireland, four hundred, seventy-four pounds, ten shillings; in all, one thousand, four hundred, seventy-four pounds, ten shillings; he was formerly not thought meet to be trusted with the government of a town in Ireland, because looked upon as an old Protestant, and no thorough friend to the honest interest, yet, through the late defection, is received into this great trust.

Colonel Whetham, as one of the council in Scotland, it is supposed five hundred pounds per annum.

Sir William Rhodes, as one of the council, the like.

Mr. Desbrow, Major-general Desbrow's brother, as one of the council, the same salary.

Mr. Smith, a judge in Scotland, six hundred pounds per annum.

Mr. Swinton, the like place and salary.

Judge Lawrence, the like.

Sir James Mackdowell, one of the commissioners at Leith, about three hundred pounds per annum.

Colonel Henry Markham, one of the commissioners for letting lands in Ireland, three hundred pounds per annum.

Sir John Weimes, tenant to the state of the salt-pans near Leith, and hath a good advantage thereby.

Others serving for England, sitting in the house, that have civil employments and salaries from the state.

SIR William Roberts, as one of the committee for preservation of excise and customs, three hundred pounds per annum; as comptroller of the exchequer, six hundred pounds; in all, nine hundred pounds per annum. He is a commissioner at the wine-office, and one of the committee of the army.

Dennis Bond, as comptroller of the receipts of the exchequer, five hundred pounds per annum.

Captain Stone, as teller in the exchequer, five hundred pounds per annum, and great fees besides; as

receiver-general of the taxes, three hundred pounds; as comptroller of the excise and customs, four hundred pounds; in all, twelve hundred pounds per annum; he is a commissioner at the wine-office, and one of the committee of the army besides.

Gervis Bennet, one of the committee for preservation of excise and customs, three hundred pounds per annum; hath also a great place in the wine-office, and is one of the committee of the army.

Mr. Upton, as one of the commissioners of the customs, supposed worth near eight hundred pounds per annum.

Mr. Nowell, scrivener, partner with Thurloe in the post-office, supposed of great advantage, and is deeply engaged with the court interest.

Colonel Blake, receiver of the revenues, three hundred pounds per annum.

Mr. Bedford, the like place and salary.

Mr. Butler, the like.

Mr. Hildlie, commissioner of the prerogative-office, three hundred pounds per annum, and one of the committee of the army.

Mr. Lucy, the like places and salaries.

Christopher Lister, one of the tellers of the exchequer, five hundred pounds per annum.

Colonel Thomas Gorges, one of the commissioners for the new building: his advantage thereby cannot yet be known, till he and his brethren have racked the consciences, flayed off the skins, and broken the bones of the poor people, making them swear against themselves.

Sir John Thoroughgood, one of the trustees for disposing augmentations towards ministers maintenance: his salary is not well known.

Colonel James Chadwicke, one of the judges of the peverell-court, at Nottingham, an old oppressive office, lately revived.

Mr. Cary, of Westminster, commissioner of haberdashers-hall, and deputy-steward of Westminster, lately deceased.

Anthony Smith, master of an hospital and a register, supposed worth two hundred pounds per annum.

Robert (or William) Fenwick, master of an hospital.

Mr. Thomas Mackworth, farmer of the excise in Lancashire, by special order.

Master Clud, one of the committee of the army.

John St. Aubin, a salary-man; but what place he hath I cannot learn.

The names of the protector (so called) his sons, kindred, servants, and others, who have received favours from him, and are thereby engaged for his interest.

MR. Richard Cromwell, his eldest son, chancellor of Oxford.

Mr. Claypole, his son-in-law: he married his daughter, and is master of the horse; a place of great advantage.

Colonel

Colonel John Jones married the protector's sister, and is governor of the Isle of Anglesey.

Captain Nicholas married the protector's niece, and is governor of his castle at Chepstow; hath one or two companies of foot, besides other advantages; is also captain of a militia troop, and treasurer-general of all South-Wales.

Captain Blake married his niece, and is captain of his life-guard of horse; five hundred and eleven pounds per annum.

Sir Francis Russel, whose daughter the protector's second son married, was chamberlain of Chester, formerly by the earls of Derby; supposed to be worth five hundred pounds per annum.

Edmund Giles married his kinswoman, and is one of the masters of the chancery in ordinary; a place of great value.

The names of his servants sitting in the house.

MR. Maidstone, steward of the house; a place of great advantage.

Mr. Waterhouse, steward of his lands; a place of great profit.

Sir Edward Herbert, intrusted as an overseer or bailiff of his lands in Wales.

The names of the Protector (so called) his kinsmen, not known to have any place as yet, that sat in the house.

MR. Desbrow, Major-general Desbrow's son.

Mr. Henry Cromwell.

Mr. Gobert Barrington.

Mr. Richard Hampden.

Sir John Trevor.

Mr. Trevor, his son.

Mr. Francis Ingoldsbey.

Mr. Edw. Dunch.

Mr. Dunch, who and the protector's eldest son married two sisters.

Sir Richard Everard, a good huntsman.

Mr. Robert Williams, of Wales.

Not one of these such men of principles, as was formerly pretended to be endeavoured after; neither indeed are the greatest part of the whole convention any better: for which carriage of things, I am confidently persuaded, the Lord, by one dispensation or other, will make the man in power, and his counselors hereunto, ashamed. For, if this practice be good, the former (wherein the Lord set to his seal of approbation, by his eminent and glorious presence with them, which was contrary hereunto) was evil.

The names of others, sitting in the house, having engagements from the protector upon them.

ALDERMAN Pack, one of the new made knights, for the good service he did the protector and his family, by his presenting the bill for kingship: it is

said, he obtained from the protector, by his petition or request, a discharge from an account of sixteen thousand pounds, which he and the rest of the then commissioners were liable to make good, for so much run-out-of cash, in the time of their commission for the customs.

Alderman Foot, a new made knight.

Alderman Dickinson, of York, one of the new made knights.

Anthony Nichols, one of the eleven members, high-sheriff of Cornwall, and, as is reported, lately received a reward from O. P.

Mr. Kiffin, who, having received former courtesies, by means of O. P. and his confederates, as to prohibited goods, and in other respects, is thereby engaged to become his vassal, and to command a company of foot in the new militia, to support his tyranny, whilst the saints and others are imprisoned for opposing it.

Mr. Lawrence, the president of the council's son, who must do as his father.

Mr. Waller, Sir Hardress Waller's son, and is naturally engaged to support his father's interest.

Mr. Keeling, one of the masters of the trinity-house, and his relations at court.

In all, one hundred eighty-two.

If there be any mistakes (as it is very probable there are) in the computation of the forementioned offices, places, or salaries, you may please to understand, there was not in the least a desire, or design, to do any thing untruly thereby, to make the men, or things, appear worse than in truth they are; there having been all the ways and means, that with honesty, wisdom, and safety, might be used, to attain a right understanding in every particular: but if, through any failure therein, those who are most concerned, do find themselves aggrieved, knowing they are not, in every punctilio, dealt right with; the only way, for their own vindication, and satisfaction of others, will be, to give a more perfect and brief account hereof themselves; which with much ease they may do in a little time; these things, thus laid down, being reported of them.

Upon the foregoing premises it is further proposed and queried,

1. Whether the self-denying ordinance, made by the long parliament, were in force, or minded by these gentlemen? A thing some of them so approved of, and were instrumental, in that day, to promote and carry on. May it not be desired they would better consider, and put it in practice, when they meet again, seeing they have revived all acts and ordinances, not contrary to their model of government, *alias*, instrument of bondage to the English nation?

2. Whether men, standing under such mercenary and self-interested obligations and dependencies upon a single person, as these men do, and who, like so many horse-leeches, have sucked and drawn into themselves the expected fruit of all the blood and treasure expended in the late war, against less tyranny and oppression

pression in the king, than they have now settled in their protector, are fit persons to be legislators, law-makers, framers of governments and oaths, and leviers of money on the people? And whether, in the eye of reason, any other can be expected from them, but that they will endeavour, all they can, to uphold that interest they are hired to serve, and whereby their own incomes and salaries may be continued? For, doth not the scripture say, *Deut. xvi. 18. That a gift blinds the eyes of the wise, and perverts the words of the righteous.* And, *Prov. xvii. 8. A gift is a precious stone in the eyes of him that hath it, and, whithersoever it turns, it prospers.* And, *Prov. xviii. 16. A man's gift maketh way for him, and brings him before great men.*

3. Whether, for more than one hundred years last past, it hath been heard, or known, that any number of Englishmen, sitting in that house, did in any wise consent (especially in a time of peace) as these unworthy persons have lately done, to levy a tax, for three years together, upon the people; and, as if that were not enough, to order a three months tax to be paid twice over? Together with the excise (a tax so much abhorred, and created only by the necessity of war) which, with the customs, is imposed in *perpetuum* upon the nation, and made an hereditary and standing revenue to the crown?

4. What equality, or justice, is there in that act of Union, whereby the Scots nation comes to be incorporated with this nation, so as to have equal privileges and power, by their interested mercenary men (as their present trustees are) to become lawgivers, framers of governments and oaths, and leviers of taxes of the free people of the English nation, who were lately at so great cost and charges in reducing and bringing them under, that they might not be in a capacity to hurt or damage them? And whether these gentlemen, sent from the aforesaid nation, have not so far over-ruled, as to save themselves, by putting the burthen on the English? Having raised upon the English nation the three years tax, from thirty thousand pounds per month, to thirty-five thousand; whereby the Scottish nation is reduced, from ten thousand pounds per month, to six. Is the dividend equal? Is not the Scottish nation undervalued, as of little worth, which formerly bore so high? Do not the English lose and suffer by that nation? And were it not better to be without it? And all such gentlemen in parliament, that have no more sense or resentment, what burthens they lay on this nation, so they may keep their places and salaries?

5. Whether the judges and commissioners of the Chancery, together with such who have great places in administering of law to the people, and very great advantages and profits thereby, be not likewise to be excepted against, as to parliamentary trust? It being most sure, that they will hardly be disposed to make such laws and governments, as may diminish the

splendor or mercenariness of their profession, seeing they are known to be men who, from time to time, have always advanced their own trade, as their present height doth witness; who, to the great dishonour of the nation, while they profess themselves the ministers of justice and righteousness to the people, do, under that pretence, greaten and enrich themselves in the oppressions and miseries of the people.

6. And why is it, that the dispensers of the law, as well as the * teachers of the gospel, should not be made incapable to sit and act in parliament, seeing there also is an old musty act to prohibit them so to do? But, it seems, their envy at the free dispensing of the gospel on the one hand, and their gain by the law on the other, hinder them that they cannot see, or take notice of it.

7. The like may be queried concerning the swordsmen's capacity to sit, whilst in pay; especially to decree and vote in levying of money, for three years together, and of other unheard-of oppressive ways, devised and practised for no other use, than to pay themselves their wages and salaries, now they do no work, unless it be to undo what they did before, and to reduce the well-affected people of this nation unto their first condition of slavery, to be ruled by mere will and pleasure.

Here follows a catalogue of the kinglings, or the names of those persons, who voted for † a king; the trust that has yet can be gotten, with the names of the several counties for which they serve.

Bedfordshire.	Mr. Briscoe
Mr. Samuel Bedford	Derbyshire.
Berkshire.	Gervas Bennet
Edmund Dunch	Devonshire. o
John Dunch	Dorsetshire.
Mr. Trumball	Attorn. Gen. Prideaux
Mr. Hide	Dennis Bond
Buckinghamshire.	Colonel Bingham
Ld. Commis. Whitlock	Colonel Fitz-James
Colonel Ingoldsbey	Durham County.
Mr. Richard Hampden	Capt. Thomas Lilburn
Mr. Francis Ingoldsbey	Mr. Anthony Smith
Cheshire.	Yorkshire.
Mr. Richard Leigh	Doctor Bathurst
Mr. Peter Brook	Essex. o
Cambridgeshire.	Gloucestershire.
John Thurloe, Secretary	Captain Stone
Sir Francis Russel	Herefordshire.
Mr. Robert West	Captain Mason
Cornwall.	Hertfordshire.
Mr. Richard Carter	Earl of Salisbury
Mr. John Buller	Sir Richard Lucy
Cumberland.	Huntingdonshire.
Captain Howard	Colonel Mountague
George Downing	Mr. Henry Cromwell

* Free preaching the gospel and knowledge of God is become a crime, rendering men incapable to sit in the parliament.

† Or that the crown and title of king should be offered to Oliver Cromwell.

Kent.	Worcestershire.	Sir Theophilus Jones	army and navy in pay 20
Leicestershire.	Sir Thomas Rouse	Colonel Jephson	
Colonel Hacker	Mr. Edward Pitt	Colonel Bridges	Others receiving salaries,
Lincolnshire.	Wiltshire.	Colonel Fouke	and lying under other
Captain Fiennes	Mr. Gabriel Martin	Lieut. Colonel Berisford	engagements 33
Middlesex.	Lancashire.	Major Aston	
Sir William Roberts	Colonel Ireland	Captain Halfey	In all 70
Westminster.	Westmoreland.		
Colonel Grosvenor			
London.	Not known to what coun-	In all 120. Whereof,	The other fifty are Scots
Alderman Foot	ties they belong.	of the council with the	and Englishmen, of
Alderman Pack	Sir Thomas Wrath	secretary 5	flight, low, and incon-
Monmouthshire.	Colonel Bret	Of his kindred 12	fiderable principles, and
Norfolk.	Major Beak, life-guard	Officers belonging to the	will turn any way their
Colonel Wood	Mr. Lawrence, the presi-		master will have them.
Colonel Wilton	dent's son		
Major Burton	Mr. Walter, Sir Har-		
Northamptonshire.	dress's son		
Nottinghamshire.	Alderman Stevens		
Northumberland.	Mr. Thelwell		
Oxfordshire.			
Col. Nathaniel Fiennes	Wales.		
Mr. William Lenthal	Colonel Philip Jones		
Mr. Miles Fleetwood	Mr. Claypole, called lord		
Sir Francis Norris	Mr. Trevor		
Mr. Jenkinson	Mr. Williams		
Mr. Crook	Judge Glyn		
Rutlandshire.	Griffith Bedwerda		
Shropshire.	Colonel Phillips		
Mr. John Ashton	Mr. Upton		
Staffordshire.	Mr. Hugh Price		
Sir Charles Ouseley	Mr. Lloyd		
Mr. Nowell, Scrivener	Mr. Heibert		
Captain Whitgreave	Col. George Twisleton		
Somersetshire.	Col. John Carter		
Recorder Long	For Scotland.		
Colonel John Gorges	Lord Cockram		
Mr. Robert Aldworth	Sir Alex. Wedderbone		
John Ash, junior	Mr. Ramsay, provost of		
Southampton.	Edinburgh		
Lord Commissioner Lisle	Sir John Weimes		
Mr. Smith, Commissioner	Lord Tweedale		
of the navy	Doctor Douglas		
Major Bowreman	Mr. Barclay		
Suffolk.	Mr. Woolley		
Mr. Francis Bacon	Commissary Lockhart		
Mr. Nathaniel Bacon	Mr. Godfrey Rhodes		
Mr. Robert Brewster	Mr. Lockhart		
Surry.			
Sir Richard Onslow	Englishmen in Scotland.		
Mr. John Goodwin	Colonel Henry Markham		
Mr. Duncomb	Lord Broghill		
Mr. Drake			
Mr. De la noy Southwark	For Ireland.		
Sussex.	Recorder Bice		
Sir John Trevor	Mr. Vincent Gooking		
Warwickshire.	Alderman Tigh, mayor		
Mr. Clem. Throgmorton	Colonel Raynolds		
Mr. Lucy	Major Owen		
Major Beake	Major Morgan		

It is reported, that several of these persons, because their protector judged it not safe for him, at that time, to accept of their unworthy offer, being either really, or seemingly, dissatisfied, went away, and would not give their vote for this new government, now pretended to be settled, called the *Humble Petition and Advice*; which, as is commonly spoken, was carried but by three voices, fifty-three against fifty; and is also against the desire and approbation of the good people of the nation. The names of which fifty-three persons should also have followed in the next place, could a true catalogue thereof have been obtained.

Nor are they hereby excused, who gave not their vote for one or the other, but seem to be dissatisfied with the present proceedings; because, by their sitting in the house, they pretend, as representatives of the people (for whom they serve) to preserve their rights and freedom free from the violence, tyranny, and oppression of all arbitrary powers whatsoever: yet notwithstanding, as by suffering their fellow-members to be kept from them, and judged without doors; sitting and adjourning at the protector's pleasure, as if they were his servants; with many other unworthy things, which already have been, and further might be mentioned: so when they were endeavoured to be violated by the kinglings; and being now really trampled upon, and given away, by the above-mentioned fifty-three persons (who like so many slaves or vassals, with ropes about their necks, came bowing, and beseeching him to take the sole government of the three nations upon him, and to chuse his successors) they do not cry out, protest, declare against, and withdraw from them (which either is or ought to be at their liberty) in the doing whereof, these unparalleled wickednesses (the fruit of this late apostasy) must of necessity fall to the ground; but, through love to their self-interest, unbelief, and not trusting the Lord with their outward concerns, in bearing a thorough testimony against them, and in standing for the good of the people, they go on with them, stilling their own consciences, and simply endeavouring to quiet and satisfy their oppressed brethren, by saying, he hath not the title of king; as if all the evil,

evil, oppression, and arbitrariness lay in that, whenas he hath the same, and no less power, than if he had the title, and were called king: yea, a far greater power (as was said before) than what cost so much blood and treasure to oppose in the late king. Surely these slight pretences will not sufficiently excuse them in the day of their account, for thus doing.

Thus far the description and narrative; a few general queries are further proposed for a close to the whole. And it is humbly offered to the consideration of all ingenious people, and queried, Whether the aforementioned persons, who seem to dissent from the present proceedings, and their brethren the kinglings, together with the fifty-three new government-men, who also, in time, may be more publick, fall not under some of these following characters? Such as know them may judge.

First, Whether they are not those who worship the rising sun?—Or, such as have advanced great estates by the publick, and may be in fear of being called to an account—Or, such as are under hopes and expectations to raise themselves by the present interest—Or, as are lovers of popularity, and to be in high places—Or, as are of low and timorous spirit, not approving their hearts to God, or redeemed from men, and so are fearful to give offence by their dissenting—Or, such as had some design to drive either for themselves, relations, or the * clergy—Or, at best, were such as thought, by their continuance there, they might so balance proceedings, as to prevent the running of things into that extremity, as otherwise they would? Not considering they did much more hurt in countenancing them with their presence, than they could do good by their opposition, which was but laughed at.

2. How the people of this nation should come to be concluded by, take notice of, or be subject to this new government, framed and made by these men; seeing they never chose them to any such purpose, nor † petitioned them about any such thing? If they could assume a liberty to alter the government from what they found it: Why might it not have become them to have attempted rather the reducing of it to such a form, as might have answered the just ends and expectations of those that sent them, than such a heightening as this, of an interest, formerly so much complained of? That an attempt to change the government should be cause sufficient to dissolve his last parliament; and not be an offence in this? Is there not cause to say, that having served the end for which they at first were chosen, viz. The advance of their protector's interest, and his providing for his designs (which neither the old parliament, little parliament, nor his former parliament would do) they are still con-

tinued, and kept as a reserve against the next opportunity to bring further slavery and oppression upon the nation?

Whether the government by the keepers of the liberties of England, the people's (who have not forfeited their liberties) representers, and a council of state was not, or may not be more successful for the good of the nation, and a great deal less burthen some and chargeable to the people than the instrument of protectoral government, or the present government, of the humble petition and advice? Though the former of these was so highly boasted of, as if it came from heaven, and as if one *ista* of it might not be parted with; and that ‡ other foundations could no man lay; yet in three years time, it is found utterly useless, destroying itself, so as that, by the humble petition and advice, the idea and desire of Mr. Thurloe, and his master, rather than the invention and free proposal of his mercenary juncto, it must, by their pretended authority, be changed for something that is likely to prove as useless as that was, if not more.

4. Whether those gentlemen, sitting in the house, who were chosen by the instrument of protectoral government, which they have now cast out, and introduced their new government of the humble petition and advice, in the room thereof, were not in all reason to have ceased, and gone out, with the government that chose them, rather than without the good people's consent, and a new choice (by this new device of adjournment) continued themselves as lords over the nation, in this their new erected government?

5. Whether the good old cause, formerly contended and bled for, and which cost so much treasure in the hands of other instruments, in the long and little parliament, be not, in a very great degree and measure (if not altogether) changed, and put into the hands of such, as sometimes were accounted either neutrals, or malignants, or not so fit for so great a trust?

6. Whether the lawyers, or gentlemen of the long robe, having gained their protector over to their interest and party (as was learnedly and wittingly intimated by the speaker, at the late inauguration, when he had divested him of his sword, and put on the king's robe, *That now he might speak without offence, that his highness was become a gown-man*) are not in a fairer and more likely way, and capacity, to hang up the soldiers belts and swords in Westminster-hall, by the Scottish colours, than the soldiers are, to hang up the lawyers gowns there? As they have oftentimes threatened they would: alas poor England, is not the law, and the administering of it, as corrupt, dilatory, burthen some, and vexatious as ever? Dost the striving of these two great interests produce any good to thee? (which the

* A gentleman of this juncto swore he would go help to settle the church, that, in matters of religion, scarce knows the right hand from the left.

† Not one petition from any county or town in England, or dominions thereunto belonging.

‡ See the Protector's (so called) speech to his parliament, after the old and little parliament were dissolved.

soldiers once so highly pretended to) Or rather, Is there not hereby an increase of thy pressures and burthens?

7. Whether the proceedings in the late convention, particularly the votes for another house, a standing army, a perpetual tax for customs to be let to farm, the hot attempts to build again the cursed ruins of kingship: also resolutions to bring in publick profession of faith, and tie up the publick maintenance to conformity thereunto, with the endeavours that were used to have imposed a catechism upon us, do not clearly shew what a spirit is raised up again? And whether does not the tendency of these transactions (according to human probability) threaten a *rendivation of civil and ecclesiastical tyranny; against which a most solemn and signal testimony hath been borne amongst us by the spirit of God in his people, the blood of the saints, and the dreadful effects of providence?

8. Whether the great and high concerns, formerly the travel, the hopes and aims of many amongst us, were at all upon the hearts of those in power, or their late assembly; to wit, A farther reformation of things, in the regulation of law; the desolation of oppressive courts, and committees; the abrogation of tythes, and supernumerary offices; the removal of all unnecessary burthens and public grievances, with all such laws, customs, and proceedings, as were calculated for the interest of mere will and power of anti-christian and arbitrary greatness? But, on the contrary, hath not the result of late proceedings been such, as hath already, in part, healed the wound that these had received, and holds out a clear intendment to restore them again to their former power, splendor, and exaltation, to the making void, as much as in them lies, the dear effect of all the blood, prayers, appeals, and glorious deliverances, which have been laid out upon that account?

9. Whether the hard proceedings against James Nailor, in his usage and punishment (although his principle be not hereby owned) doth not, in a great measure, very nearly concern many godly, sober, and peaceable people in the three nations? Have they any good assurance, they may not hereafter be dealt withal after the like manner? And whether the several professions amongst us, that, by the national faith, shall be concluded unorthodox, may not, from these beginnings, and other foundations already laid, expect to receive the like entertainment at the hands of this generation; as the godly and faithful followers of Christ have at the hand of the worldly powers, and national church, in times past?

10. Whether the oath *ex officio*, used by the bishops, in their court of high commission, judging the opi-

nions, and racking the consciences of good people formerly, be not like to come in use again; seeing swearing begins to grow so much into request, and to be so common, not only at court amongst great men, but also in their parliaments, appointing commissioners (together with the excise and customs) to let it to farm; for do they not give power (as appears in their act for new buildings) to cause men to swear, who, sometimes, it is to be feared, forswear themselves? Whether the land hath not formerly mourned, because of oaths? And is it not by this means likely to do so again?

11. Whether the spirit of the star-chamber and council-board did not also rise up, and act vigorously in the house, putting them upon the project of punishing persons for building new houses, for new families, which the Lord hath been pleased to multiply? As if his blessing, of increasing the people in and near London, were a judgment or curse; and the increasing of dwellings for them, a crime to be punished by a [†] mulct or fine: and, if the Lord shall be pleased to withhold the sword and pestilence, for seven years to come, as he hath done the last seven or ten years past, and continue the like increase of new families, must not the aforesaid families either supplant the old, or go build new houses at Jamaica? Such being the present case already, that a house is hardly to be gotten for a family to live in. Which things being considered, might it not be desired, that those gentlemen of the long robe, and the great swordsmen their brethren, who have had such a fellow-feeling of the conditions and estates of the poor tradesmen and artificers, as to impose this burthen upon them, would lend them their Inns of Court and Chancery, Whitehall, St. James's, and other great houses, before the poor new families should lie out of doors, or have no houses to dwell in?

12. Whether extreme necessity did not at first introduce that so much abhorred tax (by the English) of excise, only to maintain the war, wherein they were then engaged, for justice and freedom, against a negative voice in the late king? And his claiming the sole power of the militia, as of right belonging to him? And whether the said tax was not intended to be continued for so long time only, till that necessity was over, and no longer, and the nation then to be reduced to its freedom again? And if so, Whether there be not greater reason that that burthen should cease, and be taken off the people, than now in a time of peace (together with the customs) be made perpetual, and a standing revenue to hold up and maintain those very usurpations, and grievances, *viz.* a negative voice over the people's representers in parliament: and the sole power of the militia in the hands and disposal of

* See Provision for tender Consciences in the Humble Petition and Advice, Article 11. See their Act for Catechising, and that for the Lord's Day. See Bacon and Tate's Ordinance against Blasphemy, now seemed to be revived.

† All houses within the walls of the city, for ten miles distance

round, that, from 37 years past, to the 29th of September, 1657, have been built upon new foundations, are, by the late act, to pay a full year's rent to the protector, as they may be let at a rack rent; in execution whereof so much oppression hath been exercised already, as would take up too much room to declare it.

a protector, for the extirpation whereof it was first employed?

13. Whether the excise be not a tax far more burthensome than ship-money in the days of the king? And whether the late * continuing of it for two or three years on the people, without the least shew of parliamentary authority, was not an act as criminal and obnoxious to justice, as was the levying of ship-money in that day? And surely had this late convention been of English spirits, and not basely unworthy; would they not rather have broken this yoke to pieces, and freed them from that devouring oppressing tax, than made it † heavier, and, by a law, bound it upon their shoulders for ever?

14. Were not these late acts for continuance of excise and customs for ever, with the delegated powers therein contained, to swear, fine and imprison persons at pleasure, together with the act of farming out the same, with that of the new buildings, calculated and designed on purpose against the merchants, tradesmen, artificers, and the whole city of London, with the parts adjoining, to bring them down, and make them poor and low, that so, like a great tame ass, subdued to the yoke, they may be ridden at pleasure; and, as fit for nothing else but to bear the burthen of the whole nation? And, whether they be well rewarded by these new law-makers, for their former forwardness in the good old cause; in lending their money, and adventuring their lives at Gloucester, Newport Pagnel, Aulton, and other places, for the delivering their country from those very yokes, which are now, by a law, re-established, and imposed upon us?

15. Whether these pretended law-makers had not more of a selfish, than a publick spirit, in declining the way of subsidy, and advancing their nineteen hundred thousand pounds per year, for the support of their new government, by laying two-thirds of the same on the merchants, tradesmen, and artificers; and the other third on the real and personal estates of the nation? Have they not hereby slipped their own shoulders from under the burthen; and unworthily laid it heavy on the industrious people; whilst the lawyers great places and fees, with the swordmen's salaries, and land purchased with the price of other men's blood, pay little or nothing at all?

16. Whether the gentlemen of this convention be not the very offspring of the old courtiers, and their dependants, the late patentees suppressed and turned out of the long parliament, at their first sitting, as unworthy to come there; in that they have bought and sold the people of this nation, by letting, and taking to farm their rights and properties? Did ever any company of men before abuse parliamentary authority so, as these men have done; in making an act to let to farm the good people of this nation, their pro-

perties and goods, to such as will bid most; and authorising their members to become like panders, to give entertainment to all comers, who have a mind to become patentees, and contract with them for power, to use the English free people as they please?

17. Whether the pretence, of advancing a revenue to the state, be a plea sufficient to warrant their oppressing, impoverishing, and enslaving the people of this nation, to fill the state's coffer; or rather the lusts of some great statesmen? And whether such, as buy dear, must not sell dear, and use such means to raise their money again, as will eat up the people to the very bones? Were not Sir Abraham Daws, Sir John Worfenham, and Sir Nicholas Crisp, counted criminal, and fined accordingly, for being such farmers? And whether the gentlemen that do, and shall now adventure to farm, may not, in time, come to be subjects of like justice, as was deservedly executed upon Empson and Dudley, with their confederates, for their raking and peeling the people of this nation formerly?

18. Whether the raising up again the ruins of the fallen courts and monarchy, and the giving up the grand interests of the people, so lately redeemed with the price of much precious blood, out of the clutches of tyranny, into the hands of one single person again; and this done without the advice and consent, and against the hopes and expectations of the most faithful and honest part of the nation, be not an act highly unworthy the day that is upon us, and a fundamental ground of dissatisfaction to all, in whom there yet remains any sense of the late most honourable cause, and of the experiences and appearances that attended us, while we abode uncorrupted in the faithful and fervent prosecution thereof?

Upon the whole: whether these things, brought forth of late, be the natural issue of those noble beginnings formerly amongst us; or rather the degenerate fruits of that bitter root of apostasy that hath sprung up since, and of late more effectually manifested itself, under the face of authority; in an assembly of men, made up of persons ridden by the clergy, and acted by principles of self-security, and advancement of sons and kinsmen, servants, of low-spirited conquered Scots, curbed cavaliers, and young boys; of corrupt lawyers, and others; who prostitute their light and principles to their Diana; to uphold their gain and profits; and of a declined sort of Independent, baptized, ranting, and mercurial divinity professors; and lastly, of mercenary soldiers and swordsmen, who have, out of fear, or covetous ends, apostatised, and unworthily betrayed as honourable and precious a cause as ever was on foot since the world began, of all which this juncto was made up and constituted.

* Which was done by the Protector, (so called) and his council, no parliament sitting; as the king and his council formerly raised ship-money.

† Can any other be expected from mercenary soldiers, lawyers, salary-men, and other court-parasites?

POSTSCRIPT.

Reader,

THIS had come sooner into thy hands, had not providence hindered: what is wanting, either for matter or form, thou art desired (who art capable hereof) to make a supply in this or some other manner, more for the discovery of wickedness, and pleading for righteousness; and however the apostates of the day (with their protector) may be displeased and rage thereat; yet, consider the encouragement our lord protector gives thee hereunto, Isa. ix. 16. *Who complains (that in a day of transgressing, flying and departing away from God, of oppression; yea, when truth failed, and he that departed from evil made himself a prey, and there was no judgment) that none called for justice, nor any man pleaded for truth, &c. and wondered there was no intercessor; let not that lively active spirit, that once appeared for God, against tyranny and wickedness in the late*

king's days, now die; when the same spirit and wickedness is again revived and acting, even by them who were so instrumental to destroy the late generation, for these very things. Your friend, who, having in some measure been instrumental herein, hath no other apprehensions in his own spirit, but that he may before long be known, and dealt withal as others have been formerly upon the like account; yet the matter, herein contained, being such as (if justice could take place) might not only be signed to, pleaded for, but would certainly overcome; he is so far from being discouraged, or in the least dam'd in his spirit from the publishing hereof, that he had much rather (the Lord assisting) be exposed to a state of imprisonment all his days, yea, to death itself, than withdraw his assistance in the least measure, in this or any other thing, wherein he apprehends he may be useful to witness against the apostasy of this day, to revive the good old cause, and bring in justice and righteousness to the people.

A second Narrative of the late Parliament (so called). Wherein, after a brief reciting some remarkable Passages in the former Narrative, is given an Account of their second Meeting, and Things transacted by them. As, also, how the Protector (so called) came swearing, *By the living God*, and dissolved them, after two or three Weeks sitting. With some Queries sadly proposed thereupon. Together, with an Account of Three and Forty of their Names, who were taken out of the House, and others that sat in the Other House, intended for a House of Lords; but, being so unexpectedly disappointed, could not take Root, with a brief Character and Description of them. All humbly presented to publick View. By a Friend to the good Old Cause of Justice, Righteousness, the Freedom and Liberties of the People, which hath cost so much Blood and Treasure, to be carried on in the late Wars, and are not yet settled.

Cursed be the man before the Lord that riseth up and buildeth the city Jericho, he shall lay the foundation thereof in his first-born, and in his youngest son shall he set up the gates of it. JOSH. vi. 26.

I have seen the foolish taking root; but suddenly I cursed his habitation: his children are far from safety, and they are crushed in the gate, neither is there any to deliver them. JOB v. 3, 4.

He disappointeth the devices of the crafty, so that their hands cannot find their enterprise. JOB v. 12.

His confidence shall be rooted out of his tabernacle, and it shall bring him to the king of terrors. JOB xviii. 14.

Printed

Printed in the fifth Year of England's Slavery, under its new Monarchy, 1658.

THE late parliament (so called) having made their new model of government, called, *The Humble Petition and Advice*, before they had well licked their golden calf, or given the brat of their brain a name, were called upon to adjourn, and break up: and so, making more haste than good speed, they left things very raw and imperfect, which afterwards occasioned great contests; and, in fine, their dissolution.

According to the time they adjourned unto, they assembled again, being January 23, 1657, where, after the usual solemnities of devotion performed, they repaired to the house, where they found some of their number commissioned, and empowered by the protector, to swear them. The copy of which oath here follows:

THE OATH.

'I Do in the presence, and by the name of God Almighty, promise and swear, That, to the utmost of my power in my place, I will uphold and maintain the true Reformed Protestant Christian Religion in the power thereof, as it is contained in the holy scriptures of the Old and New Testament, and encourage the profession and professors of the same: and that I will be true and faithful to the lord* protector of the commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the dominions and territories thereunto belonging, as chief magistrate thereof: and shall not contrive, design, or attempt any thing against the person, or lawful authority of the lord protector: and shall endeavour, as much as in me lies, as a member of parliament, the preservation of the rights and liberties of the people.'

Which having taken, and coming into the house, they find not only some of their fellow members, but their old servant and clerk, Mr. Scobell, gone, and a new one put in his room, whose name is Smith, which, with biting a little the lip, and something in way of compliment, as with a salvo of their rights and privileges, they for quietness sake vote him (so put upon them) to be their clerk, and then settled themselves in a posture for their future work. And the first thing they undertake, is to keep a day of prayer in their house, which accordingly they did; and with great prudence, plowing with an ox and an ass together, the Presbyters and Independents being both called to officiate.

* Can those be faithful to the rights and liberties of the people, who swear to be faithful to the government in a single person, which, our too sad experience tells us, so naturally tends to destroy them? Do not those, who so swear, undertake to uphold that in the protector, which cost so much blood and treasure to oppose, as antichristian and tyrannical in the king? Or is that a lawful authority, which, contrary to all precedents and privi-

The other house, who would fain have the honour to be called Lords, or rather, a House of Lords, did likewise, in their house, pray at the same time, with much devotion, and did afterwards agree to send to the parliament (or, as they would have them again called, the House of Commons) by Baron Hill and Serjeant Windham (after the manner of the house of peers formerly) to declare their message, viz. 'That the house of lords, or the lords of the other house, had sent unto them, to desire their joining with them, in a petition or message to the protector, that a day of prayer† and humiliation might be appointed through the whole commonwealth.'

Which message begat very high debates, and sharp speeches from many that were not at the making this lame and imperfect model, so as the aforesaid messengers were fain to wait a long time; but at length got this answer, viz. 'That they would return an answer by messengers of their own.'

The house sitting daily, and many of those that had been secluded in the former session coming in, the face of things in the house was in a great measure changed, another spirit appearing in them, than before, inso-much that many made question of the things that were formerly done; some speaking at a high rate in behalf of the rights of the English free people, and against the wrongs and injuries that hath been done unto them. This being done day by day, and the house not agreeing what to call that other house, which was as it were a nameless infant, and fain would be named the House of Lords, was the greatest part of their work, save that, now and then, some little matters came under debate, as the reviving and perfecting their committees, and reading some former bills. The Lord Craven's case also was taken in, and the council on both parts heard at the bar of the house, with some other little matters that passed; but the greatest part of the time that was spent in the house, whilst sitting, was in considering and debating what they should call the other house.

Towards the end of their sitting, there came another message from the other house, after the same manner as before, 'Desiring their joining with them, in moving the protector to order, that the papists, and such as had been in arms under the late king, might be exiled the city, and put out of the lines of communication, &c.' This message being also designed as a shoeing-horn, to draw on their owning of them, received a like answer as did the former.

leges of parliament, was carried but by three voices of them that were permitted to sit, there being at the same time at least eighty of the members purposely kept out, till that act was passed? Ought not things to be searched into, and set right upon this account? For that (Matt. vi. 24.) *No man can serve two masters.*

† To the other house they were gone for greater preferment.

‡ *In nomine Domini incipe omne malum.*

As for the other house, who called themselves the House of Lords, they spent their time in little matters, such as choosing of committees, and among other things, to consider of the privileges and jurisdiction of their house, good wise souls, before they knew what their house was, or should be called.

About which time also, a petition was preparing, by some faithful friends to the good old cause, in and about the city of London, which was afterwards printed, and signed with many thousand hands; which petition makes mention of the several particulars that were the grounds of contest between the late king, and parliament, and the good people of the nation. And prayeth, 'The settling those good things fought for, as the reward and fruit of the blood and treasure so greatly expended in the late wars, &c.' This petition was ready to be presented to the parliament, in a peaceable way, by the hands of about twenty in the name of the rest, desiring to submit the issue thereof to God, and the wisdom of that assembly. The court, hearing of it, were so affrighted, that they began to consider how they might quell, and put a stop to, that honest spirit, which so appeared against them; the protector, in the mean while, calling them *traitors*, and *sedition persons*, &c. threatening to cut their skulls, and to tread them down as mire in the streets, &c. and, turned * Major Packer, and most of the honestest officers of his regiment of horse, for refusing to serve his lust therein. And apprehending that nothing could do it, but a speedy dissolving the parliament, they put on resolutions accordingly, only waiting for a convenient opportunity. But, something happening that morning, that put the protector into a rage and passion, near unto madness, as those at Whitehall can witness, he gets into a coach, and to the other house he comes, and sends for his son Fleetwood, Mr. Nathaniel Fines, and some others, acquainting them what his purpose and resolution was, and what he came to do, who, as it is said, earnestly endeavoured to dissuade him from it; but he refused to hearken, and in great passion swore, *By the living God he would dissolve them*. And so going into the house, and sending the black rod, with a message, to call the parliament to come unto him, he, with laying great blame upon them, and charging them with great crimes, and magnifying of himself, as his manner is, dissolved them. And this was the fourth parliament broken by him, in five years.

Thus the two houses fell, and perished together; their father, their good father, knocking his children on the head, and killing of them, because they were not towardsly, but did wrangle one with another; but what hath he gained thereby? Solomon the wise saith, Prov. xiv. 1. *Every wise woman buildeth her house, but the foolish plucketh it down with her own hands*.

* As Major Packer, Mr. Kiffin, and others, by endeavouring to promote the apostasy at its first rise, have occasioned many baptised persons, and others, simply to wander after the beast. They, now seeing their error, ought they not to declare it to the people, as also to stir them up to keep close with more refined-

Upon the whole, it is humbly queried as follows, viz. First, Whether there may not very plainly be read and perceived a hand of displeasure from the Almighty, blinding the eyes, and infatuating the understandings of those unworthy persons, who, † Hiel like, would have built Jericho again, to wit, fallen monarchy in a single person, and a house of lords, with their negative voices over the good people of these lands, so as to cause, or suffer them to do their work by halves, and to rise and leave so lame, nameless, and insignificant, their new model of the humble petition and advice, *alias*, instrument of bondage to the English nation. Let the curse of confusion, that attended the builders of Babel ‡ be considered of.

Secondly, Whether those so very wise gentlemen, who saw it so necessary, and ventured so high, and took so much pains, to bring in again, and anew restore fallen monarchy and kingship in these lands, could, according to the rules of common reason and understanding of men, imagine and conclude, that the gentlemen, who had formerly been so wronged, abused, and exasperated by them, in being kept out of the house, would be so easy and tame, as presently, without any more ado, address themselves to lick their new golden calf, and nurse up that Babylonish, antichristian brat, they had no hand in, but were against the begetting of? And whether it doth not speak out a very great weakness in their counsels, and a marvellous shallowness in the protector, his council, and whole number concerned in that design, in making no better provision before-hand, and seeing no further into the ensuing danger, so likely to attend their whole device, and the nameless infant of the other house, which they would have to be christened, and called by the name of Lords?

Thirdly, Whether the good people of this nation have not cause for ever, as to abhor the memory of the fore-mentioned backsliding persons, so that parliament (so called) in the first session of it, before their adjourning, that, of their own heads, and contrary to their engagement to the § instrument of government, by virtue whereof they sat at first, and without consulting the respective counties for whom they served, or so much as one petition delivered to them for that purpose, changed the government, and made one worse, harder, and more grievous to be born, than that they put away; so fastening their new iron yoke upon the necks of the good people of this land, settling great taxes, with the customs and excise for ever, to keep this yoke upon them?

Fourthly, Whether those gentlemen kept out in the first sitting, when those hard things were transacted, and afterwards coming in; and being present in the second meeting, notwithstanding the so great reproach and dirt cast on them by the court, are not

ness in their spirits to the good old cause, and to be for no single person whatsoever, till he comes, whose right it is, Ezek. xxi. 26.

† 1 Kings xvi. 34.

‡ Gen. xi. 7, 9.

§ The first instrument is not hereby owned, but abhorred as much as the latter, though I thus speak.

highly

highly to be honoured and esteemed, for appearing and standing, so far as they did, for right and freedom, against the bondages, which, contrary to engagements, covenants and promises, were put upon the good people of this land? As well as to be blamed, not only for not declaring at their first seclusion, to inform the people of the wrong and injury done unto them, but also, when afterwards they were so arbitrarily and tyrannically dissolved, with the rest of their unworthy brethren, they took it so patiently, and went so tamely home, and did not, in the very time of the action, protest and declare against the tyrant, and then retire into their places (from whence they ought not to have stirred at first) and call him to the bar, or otherwise proceed against him for so doing? Had it not been suitable to, and well becoming that noble commonwealth spirit (so much pretended to) thus to have assayed, though they had fallen in it? And whether the army in honesty, conscience and duty, their former declarations and engagements considered, ought not to have assisted them therein, as well as they did the long-parliament against the king and his courtiers, upon the like account? Do not the like cries of the souls of the saints * under the altar, slain for the testimony which they held in their day, as also the blood of the saints, and others, slain in the late wars, and the sufferings of our dear brethren in prisons and banishment, call for this their testimony also? If so: Ought not this honest word of reproof for what is past, and of excitation for the future, to take place?

Fifthly, But since things were as they were, and, as it seems, could be no better, Whether all good people, in these nations, have not great cause exceedingly to bless and praise the Lord? (Though they owe little to the instrument, who, Ashur-like, had other ends) that the late parliament (so called) was dissolved; who were many of them, such mercenary, salary, and self-interested men, as, in all probability, had they continued much longer, would have over-voted the lovers of freedom, and so have perfected their instrument of bondage, and riveted it on the necks of the good people for ever by a law, and thereby made them vassals and slaves perpetually. But, hitherto, the Lord hath, in a great measure, frustrated their wicked designs, blessed be his holy name.

Sixthly, Whether the protector, so called, be not a great destroyer of the rights and liberties of the English nation? For hath he not engrossed the whole power of the militia into his own hand? The right also of property? Power of judging all matters of the highest and greatest concernment? And doth he not take on him to be sole judge of peace and war, of calling and dissolving parliaments? Raising money without consent in parliament? Imprisoning persons without due form of law, and keeping them in durance at pleasure; using the militia in his own hand against the good people, in these fore-named things, and against their representers in parliament.

Seventhly, Whether the protector, and the great men his confederates, be not rather to be termed fanatic, whimsical, and sick-brained, than those (who remaining firm to, and being more refined in their former good, and honest principles, will upon no account be drawn to desert the good old cause) they account and call so? And whether this unsettledness in their government, and changing both it and their principles, in so short a time; and going so diametrically contrary to their former honest protestations, declarations, sermons, and actions, doth not in the view of all the world, declare them to be so?

Eighthly, Whether the protector (so called) be not that himself, which he untruly charged upon the members turned out of the little parliament (so called) viz. *A destroyer of magistracy and ministry?* Of magistracy, in breaking four parliaments in five years; and pulling up by the roots, what in him lieth, the very basis and foundation of all just power, to wit, the interest of the good people of this commonwealth; making himself and his own will and lust, the basis and foundation thereof? And doth he not at his pleasure suppress and destroy all military and civil power, and governors that submit not thereunto? Is he not likewise a great destroyer of ministry, in taking from them their religious, or divine capacities, putting them into that of lay or common? And accordingly, in a professed way, preferring them to places of advantage by the triers?

Ninthly, Whether the protector be so wise and understanding, so tender and careful of the common interest (as is pretended to) above all others whatsoever? Yea, above and beyond the four parliaments he hath dissolved? And may it not be enquired how he came to this great height of knowledge and absolute understanding, seeing there are very many worthy patriots, sometimes his equals, at least, of as high a descent, of as good breeding, of as great parts, of as fair an interest, as also as well versed in government as himself? Whether it may not be wondered at, that he should be so exceeding wise, and tender above all, even above parliaments themselves?

Tenthly, Whether Sir Henry Vane, Major-General Harrison, the late President Bradshaw, Sir Arthur Haslerigg, Lieutenant-General Ludlow, with hundreds more of worthy patriots, that have ventured far in their country's cause, for justice and freedom, may not rationally be thought to be as careful and tender of the good of their country, as the protector?

Eleventhly, Whether it doth not rankly favour of high pride and arrogancy in the protector, so called, to set up his sense and judgment, as the standard for the whole nation, even parliaments themselves? And whether thus to do be not the sad fruit of enthusiasm, one of the great errors of this day and time?

Twelfthly, Whether the protector, being so highly conceited of his own understanding, so changeable and uncertain in his principles and resolutions, so given

* Rev. vi, 9, 10.

up to his passion and anger, as against all advice and counsel, in a condition near unto madness, to swear by the living God he would dissolve the parliament, and accordingly did so, though the doing of it tended to the hazard of the commonwealth: whether he, according to reason, can be thought a person capable, and fit to rule and govern this great, so wise, and noble a people?

Thirteenthly, Whether, since the protector assumed the government, the state and condition of this nation be not very greatly impaired? Their land-forces wasted and consumed at Hispaniola, Jamaica, Marylande, and elsewhere? Their shipping lessened and diminished; their stores and provisions for sea and land expended and consumed without profit; their magazines emptied; their treasures wasted; their trade in a great measure lost and decayed, and very great new debts contracted, little of old being satisfied? And whether all this be not the bitter fruit of postasy and treachery, and setting up a single person, as chief magistrate, contrary to the engagements: and the casting away of that religious cause of freedom, justice, and righteousness, this land was so engaged in?

Lastly, Whether the protector, so called, will not in all likelihood, dissolve the next parliament also, if they begin to question, and make debates of former transactions, and do not presently, without any disputing, proceed to perfect the new model, of the humble petition and advice? What assurance shall be given to the counties and cities that shall chuse, or to the gentlemen chosen, that they shall not be served as those before-were? And whether, if the honest citizens shall begin to make ready their former sober, and very worthy petition, or one of the like nature, it will not be looked at again, as a crime little less than treason at the court, and become a means of sudden dissolution to the next parliament also? Alas for poor England! What will become of thee in the end? How hast thou lost thyself, and thy good old cause? And whither will these masters of bondage carry thee?

*A list of their names who were taken out of the house, and others, being * forty-three in number, that sat in the other house, so greatly designed for a house of lords; with a brief description of their merits and deserts: whereby it may easily appear, how fit they are to be called, as they call themselves, lords: as also being so very deserving, what pity it is they should not have a negative voice over the free people of this commonwealth.*

1. **R**ichard Cromwell, eldest son of the protector (so called) a person of great worth and merit, and well skilled in hawking, hunting, horse-racing, with other sports and pastimes; one whose undertakings, hazards, and services for the cause cannot well be numbered or set forth, unless the drinking of King

Charles's, or, as is so commonly spoken, his father's landlord's health; whose abilities in praying and preaching, and love to the sectaries, being much like his cousin Dick Ingoldsby's, and, he so very likely to be his father's successor, and to inherit his noble virtues, in being the light of the eyes, and breath of the nostrils of the old heathenish popish laws and customs of the nation, especially among the learned, the university of Oxford have therefore thought fit, he being also no very good scholar, to chuse him their chancellor. And though he was not judged meet, not having a spirit of government for it, to have a command in the army, when there was fighting, or honest and wise enough to be one of the little parliament, yet is he become a colonel of horse, now fighting is over; as also taken in to be one of the protector's council, and one of the other house, and to have the first negative voice over the good people of this commonwealth, being in so hopeful a way to have the great negative voice over the whole after his father's death.

2. Commissioner Fiennes, son of the Lord Say, a member sometime of the long-parliament, and then a colonel under the earl of Essex, had the command and keeping of Bristol, but gave it up cowardly, as it is said, for which he had like to have lost his head; he, being a lover of kingship and monarchy, as well as his father, was taken in by the protector at his first setting up, to be one of his council, and made commissioner of the great seal, as also keeper of the privy-seal, whereby his interest and revenue is raised, from two or three hundred per annum, to two or † three thousand, and more: and for his merits and greatness, being after the old mode, he was taken out of the late parliament, to be the mouth of the protector in that other house, and so is fit, no question, to have the second negative voice over the good people of these lands.

3. Henry Lawrence, a gentleman of a courtly breed, and a good trencher-man; who, when the bishops ruffled in their pride and tyranny, went over to Holland, afterwards came back and became a member of the long-parliament; fell off at the beheading the late king, and change of the government, for which the protector, then lieutenant-general, with great zeal declared, 'That a neutral spirit was more to be abhorred than a cavalier spirit, and that such men as he were not fit to be used in such a day as that, when God was cutting down kingship root and branch;' yet came in play again, upon design, in the little parliament, and contributed much to the dissolving of them, as also setting up the protector, and settling the instrument of government and a single person, affirming, 'That other foundation could no man lay.' For which worthy services, and as a snare or bait to win over, or at least quiet the baptised people, himself being under that ordinance, he was made and continued president of the protector's council, where he hath signed many an arbitrary and illegal warrant for the

* All of them, but four, are salary-men, sons, kinsmen, and otherwise engaged to the protector, and allied to his confederates.

† As saith the book of Rates, or former Narrative.

carrying of honest faithful men to prisons and exile without cause, unless their not apostatising with them from just and honest principles. His merits are great and many, being every way thorough-paced, and a great adorer of kingship; so as he deserveth, no doubt, and is every way fit, to be taken out of the parliament, to have the third place of honour, and negative voice in the other house over the people of these lands.

4. Lieutenant-General Fleetwood, a gentleman formerly of the long-parliament, and a colonel of their army; then lieutenant-general, afterwards married honest Ireton's widow, the protector's eldest daughter: Major-General Lambert being put by, by the parliament, from going over to Ireland as lord lieutenant, it favouring too much of monarchy, and being not willing to accept of a lower title, he was sent over thither under the title of lord deputy in his room, where he continued about three years; and, to put a check upon those godly men there, who are no friends to monarchy, he was sent for over again, and cajoled in to be one of the protector's council, as also major-general of divers counties in England; his salary supposed worth * 6600 pounds, per annum, by all which he is become advanced to a princely interest and revenue; he is one of good principles, had he kept them, and of good words like his father-in-law, whereby he hath deceived many an honest man, and drawn them from the good old cause, and by that way hath greatly served the protector's designs. His merits therefore are such, as he, no question also, deserves to be taken out of the house, and made a peer, and to have a negative voice in the other house, when it shall be named Lords; notwithstanding he so helped in the army and long-parliament to throw down the house of lords, and to destroy their negative voice, and did fight against it in the king.

5. Colonel Desborough, a gentleman or yeoman of about sixty or seventy pounds, per annum, at the beginning of the wars; who being allied to the protector by marriage of his sister, he cast away his spade, and took a sword, and rose with him in the wars, and in like manner, upon the principles of justice and freedom, advanced his interest very much; if he were not of the long parliament, he was of the little one, which he helped to break. Being grown considerable, he cast away the principles by which he rose, and took on principles of violence and tyranny, and helped to set up the protector, for which he was made one of his council, and one of the † generals at sea, and hath a princely command at land, being major-general of divers counties in the west, as also one of the lords of the Cinque Ports. His interest and greatness being so far advanced, his merits must needs be great, and he every way fit to be taken out of the house, and put

into the other house, with a negative voice over the good people, for that with his sword he can set up that again in the protector and himself, which before he cut down in the king and lords.

6. Lord Viscount Lisle, eldest son of the earl of Leicester, was of the long parliament to the last, and at the change of government, and making laws of treason against a single person's rule, and, no question, concurred with the rest therein; he was also of the little parliament, and of all the parliaments since; was all along of the protector's ‡ council, and was never to seek; who having learned so much by changing with every change, and keeping still, like his father-in-law, the earl of Salisbury and Peter Sterry, on that side which hath proved trump, nothing need farther be said of his fitness, being such a man of § principles, to be taken out of the parliament, to have a settled negative voice in the other house, over all the good people of these lands, he being a lord of the old stamp already, and in time, so likely to become a peer.

7. Sir Gilbert Pickering, knight of the old stamp, and of a considerable revenue in Northamptonshire, one of the long parliament, and a great stickler in the change of the government from kingly, to that of a commonwealth; helped to make those laws of treason against kingship, hath also changed with all changes that have been since; he was one of the little parliament, and helped to break it, as also of all the parliaments since; is one of the protector's § council; and, as if he had been pinned to his sleeve, was never to seek; is become high steward of Westminster; and, being so finical, spruce, and like an old courtier, is made lord chamberlain of the protector's household or court; so that he may well be counted fit and worthy to be taken out of the house, to have a negative voice in the other house, though he helped to destroy it in the king and lords. There are more besides him, that make themselves transgressors, by building again the things which they once destroyed.

8. Walter Strickland, sometime agent, or ambassador to the Dutch in the Low-Countries, from the long parliament, and a good friend of theirs; at length became a member of that parliament; was also of the little parliament, which he helped to break; was of the parliament since, and is now of the protector's ** council; he is one that can serve a commonwealth and also a prince, so he may serve himself and his own ends by it; who having so greatly profited by attending the *Hogan Mogans*, and become so expert in the ceremony postures, and thereby so apt like an ape, with his brother Sir Gilbert, and the president, to imitate or act the part of an old courtier in the new court, was made captain-general of the protector's magpye, or gray-coated foot-guard in Whitehall, as the earl of

* See the former Narrative.

† His salary three thousand two hundred and thirty-six pounds per annum. See the former Narrative, or book of Rates.

‡ His salary one thousand pound per annum.

§ Ask his late wife's sister, the Lady Sands.

§ His salary one thousand pound per annum, besides his other places.

** His salary one thousand pound per annum, besides his other places.

Holland formerly to the king; who, being every way of such worth and merits, no question can be made, or exceptions had, against his fitness to be taken out of the parliament to exercise a negative voice in the other house over the people of this commonwealth.

9. Sir Charles Ousely, a gentleman who came something late into play on this side, being converted from a cavalier in a good hour. He became one of the little parliament, which he helped to break, and to set the protector on the throne; for which worthy service, he was, as he well deserved, taken in to be one of his council; was also of the parliaments since; a man of constancy and certainty in his principles, much like the wind; and, although he hath done nothing for the cause whereby to merit, yet is he counted of that worth, as to be every way fit to be taken out of the parliament, to have a negative voice in the other house, over such as have done most, and merited highest in the cause, the protector and his negative men excepted, and over all the commonwealth besides.

10. Mr. Rouse, one of the long parliament, and by them made provost or master of Eton college; he abode in that parliament, and helped to change the government into a commonwealth, and to destroy the negative voice in the king and lords; was also of the little parliament, and their speaker; who, when the good things came to be done which were formerly declared, and for not doing of which the old parliament was pretendedly dissolved, being an old bottle, and so not fit to bear that new wine, without putting it to the question, left the chair, and went with his fellow Old Bottles to Whitehall, to surrender their power to the general; which he, as speaker, and they, by signing a parchment or paper, pretended to do. The colourable foundation for this apostasy, upon the monarchical foundation being thus laid, and the general himself, as protector, seated thereon, he became one of his * council, good old man, and well he deserved it, for he ventured hard; he was also of the parliaments since, and being an aged venerable man, all exceptions set aside, may be counted worthy to be taken out of the house to have a negative voice in the other house, over all that shall question him for what he hath done, and over all the people of these lands beside, though he would not suffer it in the king and lords.

11. Major-General Skippon, sometime called *The honest English captain in the Netherlands*, was afterwards captain of those of the artillery ground, in London; who, refusing to attend the king at York, when he sent unto him, and adhering to the parliament, was by them made major-general under the earl of Essex, under whom many an honest man lost his life in fighting for the cause of freedom and justice, and against the negative voice of the king and lords, whose blood surely will lie at somebody's door and cry. He was of the long parliament, and helped to change the govern-

ment, and made the law of treason against a single person's rule, and was outed with them. After the little parliament, for endeavouring to bring forth what the old parliament was turned out for not doing, was dissolved, he was brought in play again, by means of Philip Nye, metropolitan trier of Whitehall, and made one of the protector's † council, and major-general of the city in the decimating business; hath been of all the parliaments since, who being so grave and venerable a man, his error, in leading men to fight against the king's negative voice, may be forgiven him, and he admitted, as fit to be taken out of the house, to have a negative voice in the other house himself, not only over those who have fought along with him, but all the people of these lands besides; the rather, for that he is very aged, and not likely to exercise that power long.

12. Colonel Sydenham, a gentleman of not very much per annum at the beginning of the wars, was made governor of Malcomb Regis, in the west; became one of the long parliament, and hath augmented his revenue to some purpose; he helped, no question, to change the government, and make those laws of treason against kingship; was also of the little parliament, and of those that were since; one also of the protector's ‡ council, hath a princely command in the Isle of Wight, is one of the commissioners of the treasury; by all which he is grown very great and considerable: and although he hath not been thorough-paced for tyranny in time of parliaments, yet, it being forgiven him, is judged of that worth and merit as to be every way fit to be taken out of the house, to have a negative voice in the other house over all his dependants, and all the people of these lands besides; hoping thereby he may be so redeemed, as never to halt or stand off for the future against the protector's interest.

13. Colonel Montague, a gentleman of Huntingdonshire, of a fair estate, a colonel formerly in the association-army, under the earl of Manchester, where he, for some time, appeared, whilst Colonel Pickering lived, to be a sectary, and for laymen's preaching, as also a lover of the rights and freedom of the people, rather than of the principle he now acts by; but, that honest colonel dying, some other things also coming between, he became of another mind; he gave off being a soldier about the time of the new model, it is likely upon the same account with Colonel Russel; did not greatly approve of beheading the king, or change of the government, or the army's last march into Scotland, as the protector, then general, may witness; yet, after the war was ended at Worcester, and the old parliament dissolved, he was taken in, though no change appearing from what he was before, to be of the little parliament, which he helped to break, and to set up monarchy a-new in the protector, which he designedly was called to do; for which worthy service he was made one of the council, ¶ a commissioner of the trea-

* His salary, for both places, fifteen hundred pounds per annum.

† His salary, for both places, one thousand six hundred sixty-six pounds, thirteen shillings, and four-pence.

‡ His salary, for both places, two thousand pounds per annum.

¶ His salary, three thousand ninety-five pounds per annum.

fury, and one of the generals at sea; he was of the parliaments since; all which considered, none need question his fitness to be a lord, and to be taken out of the house to have a negative voice in the other house, not only over the treasury and sea-men, but all the good people of these lands besides.

14. Colonel Philip Jones, his original is from Wales; at the first of the wars he had about seventeen or twenty pounds per annum, and improved his interest upon the account of the cause; first was an agent for some parliamenters to London, were gaining acquaintance, and making good use of them, he became governor of a garrison, then a colonel, as also steward of some of the protector's lands in Wales, and one of the long parliament, after of the little parliament, which he helped to break, and to advance the general, his master, to be protector; for which goodly service, himself was advanced to be one of his council, afterwards comptroller of his household or court; he made hay while the sun shined, and hath improved his interest and revenue in land, well *gotten, no question, to three thousand pounds per annum, if not more; he is also very well qualified with self-denying principles to the protector's will and pleasure, so as he is fit, no doubt, to rise yet higher, and to be taken out of the house to be a lord, and to have a negative voice in the other house over all the good people in Wales, if they please, and over all the commonwealth besides, whether they please or not: all have not lost by the cause, though some have.

15. Commissioner Lisle, sometime a counsellor in the Temple; one of the long parliament, where he improved his interest to purpose, and bought state lands good cheap; afterwards became a commissioner of the great seal, and helped in parliament to change the government from kingly to parliamentary, or of a commonwealth; changed it again to kingly, or of a single person; and did swear the protector at his first installing chief magistrate, to the hazard of his neck, contrary to four acts of parliament, which he helped to make, with others, that make it treason so to do. He hath lately retired for sanctuary into Mr. Rowe's church, and is still commissioner of ‡ the seal; and, being so very considerable in worth and merit, is also fit to be taken out of the house to have a negative voice in the other house over the good people, and all such who shall any way question him; he is since made president of the high court, so called, of justice.

Treason never prospers: What's the reason?
For, when it prospers, none dare call it treason.

* If part of the purchase-money was not paid with the great bribe of about three thousand pounds, for which, as it is credibly reported, he hath been privately questioned, he would do well to clear himself, being very much suspected, having gotten so great an estate in so short a time.

† See these acts in a book called, *The Looking Glass*, p. 43, 44.

‡ Salary, one thousand pound per annum.

16. Chief Justice Glyn, sometime a counsellor at law, and steward of the court at Westminster, formerly one of the long parliament, and that helped to bait the earl of Strafford, and bring him to the block; was recorder of London, and one of the eleven members impeached by the army of ¶ treason, and by that parliament committed to the Tower; the protector, through apostacy, assuming the government, took him up and made him a § judge; and, finding him so fit for his turn, did also make him chief justice of England; so that, of a little man, he is grown up into a great bulk and interest, and of complying principles to the life; who, being so very useful to advance and uphold the protector's great negative voice, is thereby, questionless, in his sense, fit to be taken out of the house, and to have a negative voice himself in the other house, not only over the people, but over the law he is to be chief judge of, and in a capacity to hinder that no good law, for the future, be made for the ease of the people, or hurt of the lawyers trade.

17. Bullstrode Whitlock, formerly a counsellor at law, one of the long parliament, profited there, and advanced his interest very greatly; became one of the commissioners of the great seal, one that helped to change the government, and make laws against a single person's rule: in the time of the little parliament, he went ambassador to Sweden in great state; that parliament being dissolved, he agitated there for the protector, then came over; and, when some alteration and pretended reformation was made in the chancery, he stood off from being any longer a commissioner of of the seal, and became one of the supervisors of the treasury at one thousand pounds per annum ** salary; he is one who is guided more by †† policy than by conscience, and being on that account the more fit for the protector's service, there is no question to be made of his worth and merit to be taken out of the house to have a negative voice in the other house over the people there, though he helped to put it down in the king and lords.

18. William Lenthal, a counsellor at law, made speaker of the long parliament by the late king, sat it out in all changes, weathered many a storm and high complaint made against him, and was too hard and wieldy for all his opposers; his policy and good hap carried him on so, that he ended his being speaker with the ending of that parliament. For the time of his sitting, he advanced his interest and revenue very much; became master of the rolls; purchased lands in other names, as well as in his own, for fear of the worst. He was to be sure at the change of the govern-

¶ He helped to raise the city against the army, and made the speaker fly to the army for shelter, and chose another speaker in his room, in the king's behalf, and a great deal more.

§ His salary, one thousand pound per annum.

** See book of Rates.

†† Ask George Cockain.

ment from kingly, or of a single person and a house of lords, as useless, * chargeable, and dangerous; as likewise at the making those laws of treason against a single person, for the future (not yet repealed.) The little parliament, where some of his law-judicature was questioned, being dissolved, and the protector taking the government upon him, he adventured to comply with the rest, notwithstanding the danger, that so he might keep his place and interest, and avoid a new storm or frown from the present power. Men need not seek far, or study much to read him, and what principles he acts by. All things considered, he may, doubtless, be very fit to be lord of the rolls, being master already, and to be taken out of the parliament to be made a lord, and to have a negative voice in the other house over the people, as well as over the causes in the rolls, being so thoroughly exercised in negatives at his own will and pleasure, as too many have sadly felt.

19. Mr. Claypole, son of Mr. Claypole in Northamptonshire, now Lord Claypole: he long since married the protector's daughter; a person, whose qualifications not answering those honest principles, formerly so pretended to, of putting none but godly men into places of trust, was a long time kept out; but, since the apostasy from those principles, as also the practice brake in, and his father-in-law (the head thereof) came to be protector, he was then judged good enough for that dispensation, and so taken in to be † master of his horse, as Duke Hamilton to the king. Much need not be said of him; his relation, as son-in-law, to the protector is sufficient to bespeak him every way fit to be taken out of the house, and made a lord; and, having so long time had a negative voice over his wife, Spring-garden, the ducks, deer, horses, and asses in James's Park, is the better skilled how to exercise it again in the other house, over the good people of these nations, without any gainfaying or dispute.

20. Lord Faulconbridge, a gentleman, whose relations are most cavaliers (his uncle formerly governor of Newark for the king against the parliament) was absent over the water, in the time of the late wars; a neuter at least, if not disaffected to the cause; came back, the wars being over, and hath lately married one of the protector's daughters, and was in a fair way, had things hit right, to have been one of his council, as well as his son-in-law; however, suitable to the times, he is lately made a colonel of horse: his relation, both to the old and new monarchy, may sufficiently plead his worth and merits, not only to have his daughter, but also a negative voice in the other house, over all that adventured their lives in the cause formerly, and over all the people of these lands besides.

21. Colonel Howard: his interest, which is confi-

derable, is in the north; his relations there are most papists and cavaliers, whom he hath courted and feasted kindly, and served their interest to purpose ‡; it is no matter who lost by it: in favour to Sir Arthur Haslerigg, was made captain of the general's life-guard, when he was in Scotland; wherein he continued for some time in England, after he was protector; but, not being a kinsman, or a person further to be confided in, in that place, was shuffled out from thence, and, to stop his mouth, made a colonel, and, as the book says, a major-general, and had power of decimation; as also made governor of Berwick, Tinnmouth, and Carlisle; hath also tasted with the first of that sweet fountain of new honour, being made a viscount: he was of the little parliament, and all the parliaments since; is a member of Mr. Cockain's church, and of very complying principles (no question) to the service of the new court, from whence he received his new honour; and having with his fellow, Lord Claypole, so excellent a spirit of government over his wife, family, and tenants in the country, to be taken out of the house to have a negative voice in the other house might seem of right to belong unto him, being also lorded beforehand.

22. Lord Broghil: his rise and relation, for means, is Ireland; a gentleman of good parts and wit, able to make a romance, but was not looked on formerly, by those of the good old cause, as a person fit to be trusted with the command of one town or castle in Ireland; yet is he now, by this happy change, become a goodly convert to be confided in, and is made ¶ president of the protector's council in Scotland: he was of the latter parliaments, a great kingling, and one that, in the last parliament (so called) put on hard that way: wherefore it were great pity, he being also a lord of the old stamp, and so well gifted, if he should not be one to have a negative voice in the other house over the people of England and Scotland, as well as of Ireland, it being a good while since, and almost forgotten, that the protector said, 'It would never be well, and we should never see good days, whilst there was one lord left in England, and until the earl of Manchester was called Mr. Mountague.'

23. Colonel Pride, then Sir Thomas, now Lord Pride, some time an honest brewer in London, went out a captain upon the account of the cause, fought on, and in time became a colonel; did good service in England and Scotland, for which he was well rewarded by the parliament; with cheap debentures of his soldiers and others, he bought good lands at easy rates; gave the long parliament a purge, fought against the king and his negative voice, and was against the negative voice of his brethren, the lords spiritual and temporal, being unwilling to have any in the land; but hath now changed his mind and principles with

* See two declarations of parliament, one against the lords, the other against kingship.

† His salary is not well known.

‡ An honest man told some of the council worse things of him than these.

¶ His salary, one thousand four hundred and seventy-four pounds per annum.

the times, and will fight for a negative voice in the protector, and also have one himself, and be a lord, for he is a knight of the new order already, and grown very bulky and considerable: it is hard to say how the people will like it. However, his worth and merits, rightly measured, will, no question, render him fit to be taken out of the house to be one of the other house, and to have a negative voice, not only over the bears, but all the people of these lands, though he did formerly so oppose and fight against it; and the noble lawyers will be glad of his company and friendship, for that there is now no fear of his hanging up their gowns by the Scottish colours in Westminster-hall, as he formerly so greatly boasted and threatened to do.

24. Colonel Hewson, then Sir John, now Lord Hewson, some time an honest shoe-maker or cobbler in London, went out a captain upon the account of the cause, was very zealous, fought on stoutly, and in time became a colonel; did good service, both in England and Ireland; was made governor of Dublin, became one of the little parliament, and of all the parliaments since; a knight also of the new stamp. The world being so well amended with him, and the sole so well stitched to the upper leather, having gotten so considerable an interest and means, he may well be counted fit to be taken out of the house to be a lord, and to have a negative voice in the other house, over all of the gentle craft, and Cordwainers company in London, if they please. But, though he be so considerable, and of such merit in the protector's, as also in his own esteem, not only to be a knight, but also a lord, yet it will hardly pass for current with the good people of these lands, it being so far beyond the last: neither will they think him fit (saving the protector's pleasure) to have a negative voice over them, though he formerly fought so stiffly against it in the king and lords, in order to set them free.

25. Colonel Barkstead, then Sir John, now Lord Barkstead, some time a goldsmith in the Strand of no great rank, went out a captain to Windsor castle, was some time governor of Reading, got at length to be a colonel, then made lieutenant of the Tower by the old parliament. The protector (so called) finding him fit for his turn, continued him there, and also made him major-general of Middlesex, in the decimating business, and assistant to Major-General Skippon, in London. He is one to the life to fulfil the protector's desires, whether right or wrong, for he will dispute no commands, nor make the least demur, but in an officious way, will rather do more than his share. His principles for all arbitrary things whatsoever being so very thorough, let friends or foes come to his den, they come not amiss, so he gets by it; yea, rather than fail, he will send out his armed men to break open other men's houses, and seize their persons, and bring them to his jail, and then at his pleasure turns them out: he hath erected a principality in the Tower, and

made laws of his own, and executes them, in a martial way, over all comers; so that he hath great command, and makes men know his power: he was of the latter parliaments; is one of the commissioners, like the bishops panders in the king's days, for suppressing truth in the printing-presses, an oppression once the army so greatly complained of; is, for sanctuary, gotten in to be a member of Mr. Griffith's church; is also knighted after the new order, and the better to carry on the protector's interest among the ear-bored slavish citizens, is lately become an *alderman; so that he hath advanced his interest and revenue to purpose. His titles and capacities, emblazoned, will sufficiently argue his worth and merits, and speak him out fully to be a man of the times, and every way deserving to be yet greater, and, Haman-like, to be set higher. All which considered, it would seem a wrong not to have taken him out of the house, and made him a lord of the other house, with a negative voice there, as well as where he is; the rather, for that he knows so well how to exercise the same, having used it so long a season, as likewise that he may obstruct and hinder whoever shall question, or desire justice against him for his wicked doings.

26. Colonel Ingoldsby, a gentleman of Buckinghamshire, allied to the protector; he betook himself to the wars on the right side, as it happened, and in time became a colonel: a gentleman of courage and valour, but not very famous for any great exploits, unless for beating the honest inn-keeper of Aylesbury in Whitehall, for which the protector committed him to the Tower, but was soon released: no great friend of the sectaries (so called) or the cause of freedom then fought for, as several of his then and now officers and soldiers can witness: and, although it be well known, and commonly reported, that he can neither pray nor preach, yet, complying so kindly with the new court, and being in his principles for kingship, as also a colonel of horse, and the protector's kinsman, he may well be reckoned fit to be taken out of the house, and made a lord, and to have a negative voice in the other house, over the good people of this land; the rather, for that he, as a gentleman, engaged and fought only for money and honour, and nothing else.

27. Colonel Whaly, formerly a Woollen-draper, or petty merchant, in London; whose shop being out of sorts, and his cash empty, not having wherewithal to satisfy his creditors, he fled into Scotland for refuge, till the wars began; then took on him to be a soldier, whereby he hath profited greatly; was no great zealot for the cause, but happening on the right side, he kept there, and at length was made commissary-general of the horse: he was of these latter parliaments, and being so very useful and complying to promote the protector's designs, was made †major-general of two or three companies: he is for a king, or protector, or what you will, so it be liked at court; is, with his

* His salary, two thousand pounds per annum.

† His salary, eleven hundred and forty-one pounds, three shillings and three pence per annum.

little brother Glyn, grown a great man, and very considerable, and wiser, as the protector saith, than Major-General Lambert; who having, with his fellow lords, Claypole and Howard, so excellent a spirit of government over his wife and family, being also a member of * Thomas Goodwin's church, no question need be made of his merit of being every way fit to be a lord, and to be taken out of the house, to have a negative voice in the other house over the people, for that he never, as he saith, fought against any such thing, as a negative voice.

28. Colonel Goff, now Lord Goff that would be, some time Colonel Vaughan's brother's apprentice (a falter in London) whose time being near or newly out, betook himself to be a soldier, instead of setting up his trade; went out a quarter-master of foot, and continued in the wars till he forgot what he fought for; in time became a colonel, and, in the outward appearance, very zealous and frequent in praying, preaching, and pressing for righteousness and freedom, and highly esteemed in the army on that account, when honesty was in fashion; yet, having, at the same time, like his general, an evil tincture of that spirit, that loved and sought after the favour and praise of man, more than that of God (as, by woeful experience in both of them, hath since appeared) he could not further believe, or persevere, upon that account, but by degrees fell off: and this was he, who, with Colonel White, brought musqueteers, and turned the honest members, left behind in the little parliament, out of the house. Complying thus kindly with the protector's designs and interest, he was made † major-general of Hampshire and Sussex; was of the late parliament; hath advanced his interest greatly, and is in so great esteem and favour at court, that he is judged the only fit man to have Major-General Lambert's place and command, as major-general of the army; and, having so far advanced, is in a fair way to the protectorship hereafter, if he be not served as Lambert was. He, being so very considerable a person, and of such great worth, there is no question of his deserts and fitness to be taken out of the house to be a lord, and to have a negative voice in the other house; the rather, for that he 'never, in all his life, as he saith, fought against any such thing, as a single person, or a negative voice, but only to put down Charles, and set up Oliver;' and hath his end.

29. Colonel Berry: his original was from the iron-works, as a clerk or overseer; betook himself to the wars, on the parliament-side; profited greatly in his undertaking, and advanced his interest very far; who, though he wore not the jester's coat, yet, being so ready to act his part, and please his general, in time he became a colonel of horse in the army, afterwards a major-general of divers counties, a command fit for

a prince; wherein he might learn to lord it in an arbitrary way, before-hand at his pleasure. That he is of complying principles with the court, his preference sufficiently speaks out; neither ought any other to be believed of him, or any other of his brethren, without a real demonstration to the contrary; so that he may well pass for one to be a lord, and to be taken out of the house to have a negative voice over the people, being so far advanced, and gotten out of the pit above them; and, if he did formerly fight against a negative voice and lording it over the people, it may be forgiven him.

30. Colonel Cooper, some time a shopkeeper, or falter, in Southwark, a member of Thomas ‡ Goodwin's church, one formerly of very high principles for common justice and freedom, like his brother Tichborn. The army, then in Scotland, sending into England for faithful, praying men, to make officers of, the honest people in the Borough recommended him to the general, in order to have a command; who accordingly went down, but left his principles behind him, and espoused others; was made a colonel at the first dash, and though he began late, yet hath so well improved his interest, that he hath already gotten as many hundreds per annum, as he had hundred pounds, when he left his trade. He hath a regiment of foot in Scotland, and another in Ireland, where he is major-general of the North, in Venables's room, and governor of Carrickfergus, so as he is in a very hopeful way to be a very great man indeed. He was of the latter parliaments, and there is full proof, that he is every way thorough-paced and true to the new court-interest; so that, upon the whole, he also may be counted fit to be a lord of the other house, and to have a negative voice over the good people in Southwark, if they please, and all the people of these lands besides, it being the protector's pleasure; the rather, he being the mirror of the times for thorough change of principles, Alderman Tichborn and O. P. excepted.

31. Alderman Pack, then Sir Christopher, now Lord Pack; his rise formerly was by dealing in cloth; near the beginning of the long parliament, was made an alderman, was then very discreet, and meddled little, more like a neuter, or close malignant, than a zealot for the cause; was a commissioner of the customs, also sheriff and lord-mayor of London, next after Alderman Viner. The protector taking on him the government, the sunshine of the new court pleased him, and brought him in full compliance; he was one of the last parliament, and zealous to re-establish kingship in the person of the || protector, and judged the only meet man to bring the petition into the house, praying him to accept of, and take it upon him; which, though he then refused, yet, as is reported, hath since repented his then refusal: however, the now

* Note that man for what you may read in the postscript.

† His salary, eleven hundred and forty one pounds, three shillings, and three pence, besides major-generalship.

‡ Note him for the goodly speech he made to his new protector.

|| For which good service, upon his petition to the protector, he discharged him from an account of sixteen thousand pounds, which he and others were liable to make good to the treasury of the customs.

Lord Pack deserves well at his hand for that good service, who being a true kingling, and of right principles to the court interest, having also been a lord (to wit, mayor) once before, may, upon the whole, be counted very worthy to be again so called, and to have a negative voice in the other house over London, and all the people of these lands besides.

32. Alderman Tichborn, then Sir Robert, knight of the new stamp, now Lord Tichborn; at the beginning of the long parliament, when a great spirit was stirring for liberty and justice, many worthy petitions and complaints were made against patentees, the bishops, and the earl of Strafford; he being the son of a citizen, and young, fell in, and espoused the good cause and principles then on foot, and thereby became very popular, and was greatly cried up by the good people of the city, &c. His rise was first in the military way, where he soon became a colonel; and, by the parliament, made lieutenant of the Tower of London; and, though he was a colonel, yet never went out to fight, but became an alderman very timely, and then soon began to cool, and lose his former zeal and principles, and left off preaching, as his pastor, Mr. Lockyer, did the church, to his brother George Cockain. He was afterwards sheriff, and lord-mayor in his turn; was also of the committees for the sale of state lands, whereby he advanced his interest and revenue considerably; out of zeal to the publick, he offered the parliament to serve them freely, as a commissioner of the customs, whereby he supplanted another, and planted himself in his room, and then, with the rest of his brethren, petitioned the committee of the navy for a salary, and had it; notwithstanding he was so well rewarded for his pains, after he had pretended to serve them for nothing, yet, with his brother, Colonel Harvy, and Captain Langham, came off bluely in the end. He was of the little parliament, and helped to dissolve it; one of the late parliament also: he hath, by degrees, sadly lost his principles, and forgotten the good old cause, and espoused and taken up another; being so very officious for the new court interest, and such a stickler for them, he is become a great favourite; it is not hard to read his change, it being in so great letters. All things considered, he is, no question, fit to be called Lord Tichborn, being also so willing to receive and resolve to own that title, whoever maligns it, as also of the judgment, That whatever passes from him, in any other name, will be void in law; wherefore, to have a negative voice in the other house over London, and all the good people of these lands, is very suitable to him; and, what though he was so great an opponent to those things formerly, it is no matter; then was then, and now is now.

33. Sir William Roberts, a gentleman who, in the time of the bishops ruffling, went into Holland, and lived there for a season; the parliament ruling, and in war with the king, came over again, and, after

the then mode, found favour, having, upon the fore-mentioned account, been out of the land, and was made a great committee-man, and in much employment, whereby he well advanced his interest, and is grown a great man. He was of the little parliament, and helped to break it, and then, according to *Revel. xi. 10.* rejoiced, and made merry with the rest of his brethren in Colonel Sydenham's chamber, &c. as the lawyers, and other wild persons, made bonfires, and drank sack at the temple, and elsewhere: but if ever a spirit of life from God, which is not far off, comes in to raise up that honest spirit by which some of them were acted, will not he, his brethren, and the rest of that earthly rout, the false spirit of magistracy and ministry, be tormented and afraid? He was of the parliaments since, and, no doubt, of right principles to the court interest, wherein his own is bound up: is one that helps on the bondage in divers great committees where he sits, and is therefore, no question, the more fit to be called Lord Roberts, and to be taken out of the house to have a negative voice in the other house over the people, being so greatly experienced in that way already, having continued in the aforesaid committee so long.

34. Colonel John Jones, a gentleman of Wales, one of the long parliament, was a commissioner in Ireland for governing that nation under the parliament. One of good principles for common justice and freedom, had he kept them, and not fallen into temptation; he helped to change the government, and make those laws of treason against a single person's rule; hath a considerable revenue, and, it is likely, did not lose by his employment; he is governor of the Isle of Anglesey, and lately married the protector's sister, a widow: by which means he might have become a great man indeed, did not something stick which he cannot well get down: he is not thorough-paced for the court proceedings, nor is his conscience fully hardened against the good old cause; but there is great hope, no question, that in time he may be towardly; however, for relation sake, he may be counted fit, with his namesake and countryman Philip, to be called Lord Jones, and to be taken out of the house to have a negative voice in the other house over the people; and all his being against such things formerly may be forgiven, and not once remembered against him.

35. Mr. Edmund Thomas, a gentleman of Wales, of considerable means, a friend of Philip Jones's, and allied to Walter Strickland, both of the council, and brought in upon their account; and of complying principles, no question, to say no more of him, not having been long in play, being none of the great zealots or high sectaries, so called, in Wales, may doubtless be counted wise and good enough to make a simple lord of the other house, and to be called Lord Thomas, and to have a negative voice over all the good people of Wales, with his countrymen John

* His salary, nine hundred pounds per annum, though he hath a good estate.

and Philip, and over all the people of these lands besides.

36. Sir Francis Ruffel, knight baronet of the old stamp, a gentleman of Cambridgeshire, of a considerable revenue. In the beginning of the wars was first for the king, then for the parliament, and a colonel of foot under the earl of Manchester; a man, like William Sedgwick, high flown, but not serious or substantial in his principles; he continued in his command till the new model, then took offence, and fell off, or laid aside by them; no great zealot for the cause, therefore not judged honest, serious, or wise enough to be of the little parliament, yet was of these latter parliaments: is also chamberlain of Chester, at about five hundred pounds per annum; he married his eldest daughter to Henry Cromwell, second son of the protector, then colonel of horse, now lord-deputy, so called, of Ireland; another to Colonel Reynolds, a new knight, and general of the English army in France, under Cardinal Mazarine, since, with * Colonel White and others, cast away coming from Mardyke: there is no question but his principles are for kingship and the new court, being so greatly concerned therein; wherefore it were great pity if he should not also be taken out of the house to be a lord of the other house, his son-in-law being so great a lord, and have a negative voice over Cambridgeshire, and all the people of these lands besides.

37. Sir William Strickland, knight of the old stamp, a gentleman of Yorkshire, and brother to Walter Strickland; was of the parliament a long time; but hath now, it seems, forgotten the cause of fighting with, and cutting off the late king's head, and suppressing the lords, their house, and negative voice: he was of these latter parliaments, and of good compliance, no question, with the new court, and settling the protector anew in all those things for which the king was cut off; wherefore he is fit, no doubt, to be taken out of the house and made a lord; the rather, for that his younger brother, Walter, is so great a lord, and by whom, in all likelihood, he will be steered to use his negative voice in the other house over Yorkshire, and the people of these lands, to the interest of the court.

38. Sir Richard Onslow, knight of the old stamp, a gentleman of Surrey, of good parts, and a considerable revenue; he was of the long parliament, and with much ado, through his policy, steered his course between the two rocks of king and parliament, and weathered some fore storms. Was not his man taken in his company, by the guard of Southwark, with commissions of array in his pocket from the king, and scurrilous songs against the roundheads? Yet, by his interest, rode it out till Colonel Pride came with his purge, then suffered loss, and came no more in play till about Worcester fight, when, by the help of some friends in parliament, he was empowered to raise, and lead as colonel, a regiment of Surrey-men

against the Scots and their king, but came too late to fight, it being over. Being popular in Surrey, he was of the latter parliaments, is fully for kingship, and was never otherwise, and stickled much among the seventy kinglings to that end; and, seeing he cannot have young Charles, old Oliver will serve his turn, so he have one; so that he is very fit to be Lord Onslow, and to be taken out of the house, to have a negative voice in the other house over Surrey, if they please, and all the people of these lands besides, whether they please or not.

39. Mr. John Fiennes, son of the Lord Say, and brother to Commissioner Fiennes; brought in, it is likely, for one upon his score, is, in a kind, such a one as they call a sectary, but no great stickler; therefore, not being redeemed from the fear and favour of man, will, it is probable, follow his brother, who is, as it is thought, much steered by old subtlety, his father, that lies in his den, as Thurloe by his Mr. St. John, and will say No with the rest, when any thing opposes the interest of the new court, their power and greatness; and may therefore pass for one to be a lord, and to have a negative voice in the other house over all in Oxfordshire, the university men only excepted, and over all the people of these lands besides.

40. Sir John Hubbard, knight baronet of the old stamp, a gentleman of Norfolk, of a considerable estate, part whereof came lately to him by the death of a kinsman; he was of these latter parliaments, but not of the former; had meddled very little, if at all, in throwing down kingship, but hath stickled very much in helping to re-establish and build it up again; and a great stickler among the late kinglings, who petitioned the protector to be king: his principles being so right for kingship and tyranny, he is in great favour at court as well as Dick Ingoldsbey, and, no question, deserves to be a lord, and to be taken out of the house to exercise a negative voice in the other house over all the good men in Norfolk, and all the people of these lands besides, being become so very tame and gentle.

41. Sir Thomas Honeywood, knight of the old stamp, a gentleman of Essex, of a considerable revenue; he was a committee-man in the time of the long parliament, and also a military man, and led, as colonel, a regiment of Essex men to the fight at Worcester; came in good time, and fought well against kingship and tyranny in the house of the Stewarts; was of the last parliament: he is not so wise as Solomon, or so substantial and thorough in his principles for righteousness and freedom, as Job, chap. xxix. but rather soft in his spirit, and too easy, like a nose of wax, to be turned on that side where the greatest strength is; being therefore of so hopeful principles for the new court interest, and so likely to comply with their will and pleasure, no doubt need be made of his fitness to be a lord, and to be taken out of the

* White, who assisted Colonel Goff to turn the honest members, left behind, out of the house. Let Goff look to it.

house to have a negative voice in the other house over all the good men in Essex, the now lord of Warwick, the protector's brother-in-law excepted, and all the people of these lands besides.

42. Lord Ewre, a gentleman of Yorkshire, not very bulky or imperious for a Lord; he was once well esteemed of for honesty, and therefore chosen to be one of the little parliament; hath also been of all the parliaments since: the Yorkshire men happily may like his being new lorded, and that he should have a negative voice over them; the rather, because they never chose him to any such thing: the protector being so well satisfied with his principles and easiness, like his fellow-lord Honeywood, to be wrought up to do whatever their will and pleasure is, and to say No, when they would have him; it is very meet he also passes for one to be taken out of the house to have a negative voice in the other house, not only over Yorkshire, but all the good people of the commonwealth besides, being a lord of the old stamp already.

43. Mr. Hampden, now Lord Hampden, a young gentleman of Buckinghamshire, son of the late Colonel Hampden, that noble patriot and defender of the rights and liberties of the English nation, of famous memory, never to be forgotten, for withstanding the king in the case of ship-money; being also one of the five impeached members, which the said king endeavoured to have pulled out of the parliament, whereupon followed such feud, war, and shedding of blood. This young gentleman, Mr. Hampden, was the last of sixty-two, which were added singly by the protector, after the choice of sixty together; it is very likely that Colonel Ingoldsby, or some other friend at court, got a cardinal's hat for him, thereby to settle and secure him to the interest of the new court, and wholly take him off from the thoughts of ever following his father's steps, or inheriting his noble virtues; as likewise, that the honest men in Buckinghamshire, and all others that are lovers of freedom and justice, that cleaved so cordially to, and went so cheerfully along with his father, in the beginning of the late war, might be out of all hopes of him; and give him over for lost to the good old cause, and inheriting his father's noble spirit and principles, though he doth his lands. He was of the latter parliament, and found right, saving in the design upon which he was made a lord after all the rest, and the protector's pleasure. It is very hard to say how fit he is to be a lord, and how well a negative voice over the good people of this land, and his father's friends in particular, will become the son of such a father, and how well the aforesaid good people, now called sectaries, will like of it; but seeing it is as it is, let him pass

for one as fit to be taken out of the house with the rest, to have a negative voice, and let him exercise it in the other house over the good people for a season.

44. Sir Arthur Haslerigg. Lord? No; stop there! not Lord Haslerigg, a knight of the old stamp, a gentleman of a very large estate and revenue, was one of the long parliament, and one of the five impeached members, whom the king endeavoured to have pulled out of the house with the other, but was hindered from doing of it; was a colonel in the army; and adventured far in the wars, continued of that parliament till the dissolution thereof; was also chosen of these latter parliaments, but not permitted to sit at the first; he was, by the protector, as may be seen in the printed list, cut out for a lord of the other house, and to have a wooden dagger, to wit, a negative voice with the rest; but he missed his way, and, instead of going into the other house, among the simple negative men, the * offspring of the bastard of William, the sixth duke of Normandy, he went into the parliament-house among his fellow Englishmen, and there spake freely, bearing a good witness in behalf of the good old cause, the rights and liberties of the people of England; at which the court were vexed and sore displeased. However, for all this losing of his way, and the loss sustained by it, his fame and name, amongst all true English spirits, will be higher and more honourable than the simple title of a new lord could make him; and instead of a negative voice in the other house, he will be honoured by after-ages as a rare Phoenix, that of forty-four was found standing alone to his principles, and the good old cause so bled for: Oh sad and wonderful! but one of forty-four to be found standing firm to so noble a cause as ever was on foot since the world began! Let all true English spirits love and honour him, and that will be better than a feather in his cap, or a wooden dagger. His name for ever in the chronicles will live, as one that was a true patriot of his country's liberties; which noble action (if he persevere, and be more refined in that honest spirit) may deservedly obliterate all human frailties and miscarriages of his, during the sitting of the long parliament, and the free people of England may, doubtless, for ever bury them in oblivion. No question, the protector found he was mistaken in him, and that he was not fit to be a lord, or to have a negative voice, being of no more complying principles to his interest and designs, and the then new model of government, and will scarcely adventure to give him a second invitation to that great honour and dignity he so ungratefully and disdainfully slighted.

There were one or two more of the new champions, that with their wooden daggers went into the other house to fight against the rights and liberties of

* See *Army's Declaration in a Looking-Glass*, p. 5. (say they) The first ground and rise of tyranny over the free people of this nation, did proceed from the bastard of William, the sixth duke of Normandy, who, to prevent the English of all relief by their parliaments, created lords by his patent and prerogative, to sit by succession in the parliament, as representatives of his conquest and tyranny over us, and not by election of the people, as the repre-

senters and patrons of the commonwealth; and to make his usurpation firm and inviolable, he subdued the law-giving power of the free people in parliament, to the negative voice of himself and posterity; and under the yoke of this Norman captivity and villainage, we have been held by that succession to this very day, &c. See *large Petition*, p. 11, 12, of that book.

the good people of these lands; but, their names being wanting, and not worthy the enquiring after, nothing can be said of their noble virtues, save that in all likelihood they were of such worthy principles as their fellows were of, and such as would concur to carry on any design or interest they should be put upon, and would say No with the rest, when any thing came in question that seemed to be against the protector's height and absoluteness, or interest of the new court; which he that hath but half an eye may see, was the only design of calling them thither, as a balance of government to the parliament, so greatly, though falsely, pretended for the good of the people.

There were also, of this chosen number of sixty-two, some of the old earls and lords, called peers, which stood off, viz. three earls, Warwick, Mufgrave, and Manchester, and two lords, Say and Wharton, and sat not at all, disdaining, as some thought, to sit with these new upstart lords; though others again apprehend, that this their forbearance was only out of their old state policy, till they saw whether a house of lords formerly so abominated, and thrown down (by the consent and desire of the good people) would again be resumed and established, and then intended to come in; but I shall leave it. Some were in Scotland, viz. General Monk, Earl of Cassils, Lord Warriston, and Sir William Lockhart; which persons may also discover to him that hath but half an eye, what a pitiful, carnal, low design they were carrying on. Some in Ireland, viz. Henry Cromwell lord deputy (so called) Recorder Steel, and Colonel Tomlinson: some, it may be, had no great mind to it, to wit, Colonel Popham, Mr. Pierrepont: others, it is probable, were lettered by political or state-illness, or other occasions, viz. Chief-Justice St. John, Mr. John Crew, Sir Gilbert Gerrard, so as they also appeared not, there being not above forty-four or forty-five of that worthy choice of sixty-two, that appeared and sat there; and it is very likely, some think there were too many of them.

Thus far *The Description and Narrative*.

Three or four general queries are further proposed for a close to the whole; and it is humbly offered to all ingenious people, and queried,

First, Whether if it should come to pass (as how soon we know not) that that noble spirit should, like a lion raised from sleep, rise again in the English people, such as it was in forty-one, or forty-two, or about that time, whether these champions, with their feathers in their caps, and their wooden daggers, and those fifty-three persons, who pretended to settle the government by the *Humble Petition and Advice*, would be able to fight with, stand against, and overcome the same, any otherwise than their predecessors the lords temporal, and the bishops the lords spiritual, did then? And whether it would not in all likelihood fare with them and their dependents, the patentees of the excise, and all others employed by them, that so

oppress and impoverish the nation, as formerly it did with them, if not far worse? They may please to think of it at their leisure.

Secondly, Whether in these five years now passed of the protectoral government, that blessed reformation which the protector, then general, and other grantees of the army, so often promised, and for not bringing forth of which, they pretend they dissolved the old parliament, hath so been set upon, as to make any the least proceed therein? Or rather, hath there not been a gradual and an apparent relapsing into those very evils and enormities formerly so greatly shaken, and in some degree broken, but now healed again of their wound, and flourishing afresh with open face; the spirit of wickedness and prophaneness being risen very high, even among professors, like the unclean spirit cast out, and entering again? And, in particular, that abominable corruption and abuse in the law, and administration of justice, touching which the protector, so called, sometime said, *It was not to be endured in a Christian commonwealth, that some should so enrich and greatness themselves in the ruin of others*. So, likewise, that often complained of grievance of tythes, touching which he also said, as was lately attested in an open court of judicature, several standing by to witness the truth thereof, to whom the words were spoken, *That if he did not take away tythes, by the third of September next, to wit, 1654, or such a time, they should call him the greatest juggler that ever was, and would juggle in all things else*. Yet is there any thing done in either of these? Or any thing gone about tending thereunto, now in these five years? As if it were so, that no fruit would ever grow upon such a tree, viz. the monarchical foundation, which the Lord hath pulled up and cursed, as *the barren fig-tree* was: only there is one goodly amendment, to wit, a confirmation of the act for treble damages, to the undoing of many an honest man, that, upon conscientious grounds, do scruple the payment of them. And as for the law and the lawyers, they are as before, if not much worse; and is there any ground of hope, that the next five years, should he continue so long, will produce any better fruit than the five that are already past?

Thirdly, Whether this calculation of these ignoble lords of the new stamp, being of several complexions, and standing in the afore-mentioned capacities and relations, having also such dependence upon, and lying under so great engagements unto the protector, so called, as his sons and kindred, flattering courtiers, corrupt lawyers, degenerated swordsmen, and a sort of lukewarm indifferent country knights, gentlemen, and citizens, most of them self-interested salary-men, be not likely, according to the very specious pretence, to prove a brave balance of government? And whether the good people of this land are likely to have their just rights and freedoms, or religious men the liberty of their consciences by this constitution, any otherwise than according to the pleasure of the protector

restor and the court? Or than they had in the time of the late king? And whether this calculation were made to any other end than so?

Lastly, Whether, all things soberly weighed and considered, the times be now so happy and blessed, as some do loudly bespeak them to be? And whether, for the future, we are likely to have such prosperity, success, and good days, as some so largely promise

themselves? And others it may be expected? Or whether such smiling upon old wickedness, and frowning and turning the back upon righteousness, suppressing its growth, be any comfortable ground of such hope and expectation? Or whether, upon the whole series of things, as they now appear, there be not rather to be expected some sadder matter, if the Lord in mercy prevent not? Let the wise in heart consider.

England's Joy: Or a Relation of the most remarkable Passages, from his Majesty's
(CHARLES II.) Arrival at Dover, to his Entrance at Whitehall, London.

BEING come aboard one of the fairest of those ships, which attended at Sluys, for waisting him over from the Hague in Holland; and, therein having taken leave of his sister the princess royal, he set sail for England on Wednesday evening, May 23, 1660. And having, during his abode at sea, given new names to that whole navy, (consisting of twenty-six goodly vessels) he arrived at Dover on the Friday following (*viz.* May the 25th) about two of the clock in the afternoon. Ready on the shore to receive him, stood the Lord General Monk, as also the earl of Winchelsea, constable of Dover castle, with divers persons of quality on the one hand, and the mayor of Dover, accompanied by his brethren of that corporation, on the other, with a rich canopy.

As soon as he had set foot on the shore, the lord general, presenting himself before him on his knee, and kissing his royal hand, was embraced by his majesty, and received divers gracious expressions of the great sense he had of his loyalty, and in being so instrumental in this his restoration.

There also did the corporation of Dover, and the earl of Winchelsea, do their duties to him in like sort; all the people making joyful shouts; and the great guns from the ships and castle telling aloud the happy news of this his entrance upon English ground.

From thence, taking coach immediately, with his royal brothers, the dukes of York and Gloucester, he passed to Barham-down (a great plain lying betwixt Dover and Canterbury) where were drawn up divers gallant troops of horse, consisting of the nobility, knights, and gentlemen of note, clad in very rich apparel, commanded by the duke of Buckingham, earls of Oxford, Derby, Northampton, Winchelsea, Litchfield, and the Lord Viscount Mordaunt: as also several foot regiments of the Kentish-men. Being entered the Down on horseback, where multitudes of the country people stood, making loud shouts, he rode to the head of each troop (they being placed on his left hand, three deep) who, bowing to him, kissed

the hilts of their swords, and then flourished them above their heads, with no less acclamations; the trumpets, in the mean time, also echoing the like to them.

In the suburb at Canterbury stood the mayor and aldermen of that ancient city, who received him with loud musick, and presented him with a cup of gold, of two hundred and fifty pounds value. Whence, after a speech made to him by the recorder, he passed to the Lord Camden's house, the mayor carrying the sword before him.

During his stay at Canterbury (which was till Monday morning) he knighted the Lord General Monk, and gave him the ensigns of the most honourable order of the garter: and Garter, principal king at arms, sent the like unto the Lord Admiral Montague, then aboard the navy, riding in the Downs. There likewise did he knight Sir William Maurice, a member of the house of commons, whom he constituted one of his principal secretaries of state.

From Canterbury he came, on Monday, to Rochester, where the people had hung up, over the midst of the streets, as he rode, many beautiful garlands, curiously made up with costly scarfs and ribbands, decked with spoons and bodkins of silver, and small plate of several sorts; and some with gold chains, in like sort as at Canterbury; each striving to outdoe others in all expressions of joy.

On Tuesday, May the 29th, (which happily fell out to be the anniversary of his majesty's birth-day) he set forth of Rochester in his coach; but afterwards took horse on the farther side of Black-heath, on which spacious plain he found divers great and eminent troops of horse, in a most splendid and glorious equipage; and a kind of rural triumph, expressed by the country swains, in a morrice-dance, with the old musick of tabor and pipe; which was performed with all agility and chearfulness imaginable.

And from this heath the troops marched off before him, *viz.* Major-general Brown's, the merchant-adventurers,

adventurers, Alderman Robinson's, the Lord Maynard's, the earls of Norwich, Peterborough, Cleveland, Derby, duke of Richmond's, and his majesty's own life-guard.

In this order proceeding towards London, there were placed in Deptford, on his right hand (as he passed through the town) above an hundred proper maids, clad all alike, in white garments, with scarfs about them; who, having prepared many flaskets covered with fine linen, and adorned with rich scarfs and ribbands, which flaskets were full of flowers and sweet herbs, strowed the way before him as he rode.

From thence, passing on, he came into St. George's Fields in Southwark, where the lord-mayor and aldermen of London, in their scarlet, with the recorder, and other city council, waited for him in a large tent, hung with tapestry; in which they had placed a chair of state, with a rich canopy over it. When he came thither, the lord-mayor presented him with the city sword, and the recorder made a speech to him; which being done, he alighted, and went into the tent, where a noble banquet was prepared for him.

From this tent the proceeding was thus ordered, viz. first, The city-marshal to follow in the rear of his majesty's life-guard; next the sheriffs trumpets; then the sheriffs men in scarlet clokes, laced with silver on the capes, carrying javelins in their hands; then divers eminent citizens well mounted, all in black velvet coats, and chains of gold about their necks, and every one his footman, with suit, cassock, and ribbands of the colour of his company; all which were made choice of out of the several companies in this famous city, and so distinguished; and, at the head of each distinction, the ensign † of that company.

After these followed the city council ‡, by two and two, near the aldermen, then certain noblemen and noblemen's sons. Then the king's trumpets, then the heralds at arms.

After them, the duke of Buckingham; then the earl of Lindsey, lord high chamberlain of England, and the Lord General Monk; next to them Garter, principal king of arms; the lord-mayor on his right hand, bearing the city sword, and a gentleman usher on his left, and, on each side of them, the serjeants at arms with their maces.

Then the king's majesty, with his equerries and

footmen on each side of him, and, at a little distance, on each hand, his royal brothers, the dukes of York and Gloucester; and, after them, divers of the king's servants, who came with him from beyond sea; and, in the rear of all, those gallant troops, viz. the duke of Buckingham, earls of Oxford, Northampton, Winchester, Litchfield, and the Lord Mordaunt; also five regiments of horse belonging to the army.

In this magnificent fashion his majesty entered the borough of Southwark, about half an hour past three of the clock in the afternoon; and, within an hour after, the city of London at the bridge; where he found the windows and streets exceedingly thronged with people to behold him; and the walls adorned with hangings and carpets of tapestry, and other costly stuff; and in many places sets of loud musick; all the conduits, as he passed, running claret wine; and the several companies in their liveries, with the ensigns belonging to them; as also the trained bands of the city standing along the streets as he passed, welcoming him with joyful acclamations.

And, within the rails where Charing-crofs formerly was, a stand of six hundred pikes, consisting of knights and gentlemen, as had been officers of the armies of his late majesty § of blessed memory; the truly noble and valiant Sir John Stowell, knight of the honourable order of the Bath, a person famous for his eminent actions and sufferings, being at the head of them.

From which place, the citizens, in velvet coats and gold chains, being drawn up on each hand, and divers companies of foot soldiers; his majesty passed betwixt them, and entered Whitehall at seven of the clock, the people making loud shouts, and the horse and foot several vollies of shot, at this his happy arrival; where the house of lords and commons of parliament received him, and kissed his royal hand. At the same time likewise the reverend bishops of Ely, Salisbury, Rochester, and Chichester, in their episcopal habits, with divers of the long oppressed orthodox clergy, met in that royal chapel of King Henry the Seventh at Westminster; there also sung *Te Deum*, &c. in praise and thanks to Almighty God, for this his unspeakable mercy, in the deliverance of his majesty from many dangers, and so happily restoring him to rule these kingdoms, according to his just and undoubted right.

† Or arms of the company painted or embroidered.

‡ Common-council.

§ King Charles I.

The Trial and Condemnation of Colonel Adrian Scroope, Mr. John Carew, Mr. Thomas Scott, Mr. Gregory Clement, and Colonel John Jones, who sat as Judges upon our late Sovereign Lord King CHARLES. Together with their several Answers and Pleas, at the Sessions-house in the Old-Bailey, Friday the Twelfth of October, 1660, before the Commissioners of Oyer and Terminer, appointed by his Majesty for that Purpose.

For he shall have Judgment without Mercy, that shewed no Mercy. JAM. ii. 13,

THIS day, being Friday the twelfth of October, 1660, the king's lords justices, for trial of several persons, who had a hand in the death of our late sovereign, sat in the Sessions-house in the Old-Bailey, and called to the bar the persons following, viz.

Colonel Adrian Scroope
John Carew
Thomas Scott

Gregory Clement
John Jones.

Colonel Adrian Scroope was first called to his trial; who, having excepted against several of the jury, at last had such a one as he agreed to.

Proclamation being made, and silence commanded, the indictment was read, and one of the king's council stood up, and spoke to this effect:

Gentlemen of the jury,

You have heard by the indictment of several that did assemble themselves together, to compass and take away the life of the king our late sovereign, among which persons the prisoner at the bar was one, who, under his hand and seal, did consent to the said murder: first, By setting hand to the commission, which gave being to that bloody court, and afterwards by signing that bloody warrant, which occasioned the severing his head from his body, which we can prove by several witnesses.

The court calls for the warrant of the king's execution, and went to shew it to one of the witnesses; which, when Colonel Scroope saw, he said, *My lord, let me see it; if it be my hand, I will not deny it.*

[The warrant is carried to him.]

Scroop. My lord, I do not deny but it is my hand.

Mr. Masterton, one of the witnesses, is sworn.

King's Council. Whether did you see this gentleman sitting amongst the judges of the king?

Masterton. My lord, I was at the high court of justice so called, several times, and I saw the prisoner at the bar sitting amongst them, and particularly on the twenty-seventh of December, being the day on which sentence was given.

Scroope. My lord, pray ask this gentleman whether he and I were ever in company together, that he should know me so well, for I never saw him in my life before to my knowledge.

To which it was answered, That he in person answered to that name, and was the man.

Several other witnesses were sworn to the same purpose.

Colonel Scroope desired that one might be asked, if he could tell whereabouts he sat; to which the witness answered,

My lord, I cannot say that positively; I cannot remember such a circumstance so long; but, to the best of my remembrance, he was the uppermost judge on the right hand.

Sir Richard Brown was sworn, to give evidence concerning several treasonable words that he should speak about the king's murder.

The act for constituting the high court of justice was likewise read; and Colonel Scroope owned that to be his hand which subscribed thereunto; saying, He did not desire that witnesses should be sworn to more than was needful.

The king's council then spoke to the jury, and told them, That they had heard by six several witnesses, that the prisoner had sat amongst the king's judges; and by three, that he sat the day which was by them called, *The day of judgment.*

The prisoner said, That he had a great disadvantage in answering to such learned men, who were to plead against him, and said, That he would not undertake to justify his person, but desired time and council to answer to matter of law.

The Judge. That is where you have matter of law.

The prisoner answered, My lord, I was not of the parliament, I beseech you take notice of that; and that which was done, my lord, was by a high court of justice, who had a commission from the parliament. My lord, it was that authority which was then accounted the supreme authority, that the generality of the nation submitted to; having received command from that authority, it was, in obedience to the same, that I sat; I was promoted thereunto by that command; I have not time to bring these matters to a head, because I have been these six weeks close prisoner in the Tower, that I could not get council to prepare myself: therefore, my lord, let me have some time, and council, to provide myself to plead. My lord, I was no contriver of that business, only executed the command.

To which was answered, That that, which he called the parliament, was no parliament; that there was no colour of authority to justify them; and that, if the whole house of commons had been sitting, as these pretending that authority were not a sixth part, yet they could not act against the life of the least cripple at the gate, without the king, much less against himself.

Col. Scroope. I say, my lord, I am but a single person; and, if there be mistakes, I am not the only person that have been misled; I hope that an error in judgment will not be accounted an error in will, and shall not be accounted malice: truly, my lord, I must say this, and I desire your lordship to take notice of me, that I am without any malice at all.

After several things of the like nature, hoping the authority of the rump parliament would clear him, and be taken as a sufficient plea for his aforefaid treasonable conspiracy. The judge asked him, If he had any thing further to offer in the case? Which he being not able to do, the charge was given to the jury, who never went out of the court to give in their verdict; and being asked, according to the form, Whether the prisoner at the bar was guilty of the high treason whereof he stood indicted, or not guilty?

The foreman said, *Guilty*; and so they said all.

Whereupon the prisoner was taken from the bar, and shackled with chains.

The next who was called to the bar, was Mr. John Carew, who, after the formalities of the court were passed as aforefaid, and the indictment read, he was charged by the king's council as followeth:

The prisoner at the bar stands indicted for (not having the fear of God before his eyes) imagining, contriving, and compassing the death of our late sovereign of blessed memory; for the proof of this, there are several things in the indictment which do discover their private imaginations, which is, that they did meet and consult, &c. there is a statute of the twenty-fifth of Edward the Third, against imagining, designing, or compassing the death of the king, which ye are to enquire after.

There was a thing called the High Court of Justice, in which bloody court our sovereign was tried, and this gentleman was one of those miscreants that had the confidence, nay, the impudence to sit amongst them, and afterwards sealed to that bloody roll whereupon he was executed.

Several witnesses, being examined, spoke to this effect:

That they saw him several days in that court, sitting amongst those who were called the king's judges, and particularly on the twenty-seventh day of January, 1648, on which day the sentence was passed; also knew that to be his hand, which was to the warrant for the king's execution, and for establishing a high court of justice.

Whereupon the prisoner was asked, What he had to say for himself? Who answered, That he came

not there to deny any thing that he had done; that whereas what was done in the case, was ushered in with these words [*Not having the fear of God before his eyes*] he did declare it was not done in such a fear, but in the fear of the holy and righteous Lord, the judge of the earth.

Whereat the court was much troubled and disturbed, that he should make God the author of their treason and murder.

But he went on to this purpose:

When this came about, there was an ordinance wherein my name was set, which, when I saw, I struck it out; I leave it to the Lord to judge, I thought not well of it, and so was very unwilling to appear in it, there being, as I thought, enough besides me to be employed in it, and therefore I speak the truth, as it is in Jesus, to shew how I had the fear of the Lord before me; I say, as to what I did was upon this account; I did it, first, in obedience to the then supreme authority of England, and after the Lord gave answer to solemn appeals.

Running on after this rate, the court was wearied with his discourse, and put him on to plead to his indictment.

He desired he might declare the grounds whereupon the parliament proceeded, and give the grounds and reasons of the fact.

To which the king's council said, Then you must needs confess it. Whereupon he acknowledged, that he was there, and proceeded according to the act of parliament: but was told, as the court had often said before, That neither the lords nor the commons, jointly or severally, had any power without the king; and that the power then in being had not the least colour of authority for what they did; and that it was not a thing to be debated without denying our allegiance, that the subject can hold up his hand against his sovereign.

After, the Lord Annesley made a learned speech, declaring the illegality of their proceedings; that when a treaty was concluded with the king, and accordingly all things like to be settled, he and some other had contrived and designed to keep the far greater part of the members out against their allegiance, the laws of the land, and against the privileges of parliament, &c. making themselves an arbitrary parliament, and driving away the rest, &c.

But Mr. Carew being not able to say any thing in defence of his high charge, the jury never went out for it, but presently brought him in *Guilty*.

Mr. Scott was brought next, and, after all the formalities of the court were over, he first pleaded the privilege of a parliament-man; several witnesses were produced against him, That he so gloried in the death of the king, as to say, *That he desired it might be written upon his tomb-stone, to the end all the world might know it*; as also other things, which expressed his malicious forwardness in that horrid murder. The main part of his pleading, was to justify the authority of the rump-

rump-parliament, which, being so often answered before, need not here be inserted. The jury soon concluded with him likewise, and found him *Guilty*.

Mr. Gregory Clement petitioned the court to wave his plea of *Not Guilty*; which the court granting, he confessed the indictment.

Colonel John Jones confessed, that he was present at giving sentence against the king, only denied the form of the indictment; whereupon a jury was, without his excepting against any, quickly sworn, and, according to his own confession, found him *Guilty*.

The judge, in a very learned speech, endeavoured to make them sensible of the heinousness of the sin, and, persuading them to repentance, prayed God to

have mercy upon them, and read their sentence upon all together:

You shall go from hence to the place from whence you came, and from that place shall be drawn upon a hurdle to the place of execution, and there shall hang by the neck till you are half dead, and shall be cut down alive, and your privy members cut off before your face and thrown into the fire, your belly ripped up and your bowels burnt, your head to be severed from your body, your body shall be divided into four quarters, and disposed as his majesty shall think fit.

All were shackled with fetters, and carried to the pres-yard.

Two Letters written by the Right Honourable EDWARD, Earl of Clarendon, late Lord High Chancellor of England: One to his Royal Highness the Duke of York: The other to the Duchess, occasioned by her embracing the Roman Catholick Religion.

As these Letters serve to rescue the Memory of the worthy Earl, their Author, from all Imputation of Popery, or of being Popishly affected, and, as I can find, no where recorded, they are deservedly thus preserved from the Injury of Time, in the Vindication of that noble Personage.

S I R,
I HAVE not presumed in any manner to approach your royal presence, since I have been marked with the brand of banishment; and I would still with the same awe forbear this presumption, if I did not believe myself bound by all the obligations of duty to make this address to you. I have been too much acquainted with the presumption and impudence of the times, in raising false and scandalous reproaches upon innocent and worthy persons of all qualities and degrees, to give credit to those bold whispers, which have been too long scattered abroad, concerning your wife's being shaken in her religion: but when those whispers break out into noise, and publick persons begin to report that the duchess is become a Roman Catholick: when I heard that many worthy persons, of unquestionable devotion to your royal highness, are not without some fear and apprehension of it; and many reflections are made from thence, to the prejudice of your royal person, and even of the king's majesty; I hope it may not misbecome me, at what distance soever, to cast myself at your feet, and beseech you to look to this matter in time, and to apply some antidote to expel the poison of it. It is not possible your royal highness can be without zeal, and intire

devotion for that church, for the purity and preservation whereof, your blessed father made himself a sacrifice; and to the restoration whereof you have contributed so much yourself, and which highly deserves the king's protection and yours, since there can be no possible defection in the hearts of the people, whilst due reverence is made to the church. Your wife is so generally believed to have so perfect duty, and intire resignation to the will of your highness, that any defection in her, from her religion, will be imputed to want of circumspection in you, and not using your authority: or to your connivance. I need not tell the ill consequence that such a mutation would be attended with, in reference to your royal highness, and even to the king himself, whose greatest security (under God) is in the affection and duty of his Protestant subjects. Your royal highness well knows how far I have always been from wishing that the Roman Catholicks should be prosecuted with severity; but I less wish it should ever be in their power to be able to prosecute those who differ from them, since we well know how little moderation they would or could use.

And if this, which people so much talk of, I hope without ground, should fall out, it might very probably raise a greater storm against the Roman Catholicks

licks in general, than modest men can wish; since, after such a breach, any jealousy of their presumption would seem reasonable. I have written to the duchess, with the freedom and affection of a troubled and perplexed father. I do most humbly beseech your royal highness, by your authority, to rescue her from bringing a mischief upon you and herself, that never can be repaired; and to think it worthy your wisdom to remove and dispel those reproaches, how false soever, by better evidence than contempt; and hope you do believe that no severity I have, or can undergo, shall in any degree lessen or diminish my most profound duty to his majesty, or your royal highness; but that I do, with all imaginable obedience, submit to your good pleasure in all things.

God preserve your royal highness, and keep me in your favour.

S I R,

Your royal highness's most humble
and obedient servant,

CLARENDON.

The Earl of Clarendon's letter to the Duchess of York.

YOU have much reason to believe that I have no mind to trouble you, or displease you, especially in an argument that is so unpleasant and grievous to myself; but as no distance of place that is between us, in respect of our residence, or the greater distance in respect of the high condition you are in, can make me less your father, or absolve me from performing those obligations which that relation requires from me: so when I receive any credible advertisement of what reflects upon you, in point of honour, conscience, or discretion, I ought not to omit the informing you of it, or administering such advice to you, as to my understanding seems reasonable, and which I must still hope will have some credit with you: I will confess to you, that what you wrote to me many months since, upon those reproaches which I told you were generally reported concerning your defection in religion, gave me so much satisfaction, that I believed them to proceed from that ill spirit of the time that delights in slanders and calumny; but I must tell you, the same report increases of late very much, and I myself saw a letter, the last week, from Paris, from a person who said the English ambassador assured him, the day before, that the duchess was become a Roman Catholick; and which makes greater impression upon me, I am assured that many good men in England, who have great affection for you and me, and who have thought nothing more impossible, than that there should be such a change in you, are at present under much affliction, with the observation of a great change in your course of life, and that constant exercise of that devotion which was so notorious; and do apprehend, from your frequent discourses, that you have not the same reverence and

reverence, which you used to have, for the church of England, the church in which you were baptized, and the church the best constituted, and the most free from errors of any Christian church this day in the world; and that some persons, by their insinuations, have prevailed with you to have a better opinion of that which is most opposite to it, the church of Rome, than the integrity thereof deserves. It is not yet in my power to believe that your wit and understanding, with God's blessing upon both, can suffer you to be shaken further, than with melancholick reflections upon the iniquity and wickedness of the age we live in, which discredits all religion, and which, with equal licence, breaks into the professors of all, and prevails upon the members of all churches, and whose manners will have no benefit from the faith of any church.

I presume, you do not intangle yourself in the particular controversies between the Romanists and us, or think yourself a competent judge of all difficulties which occur therein: and, therefore, it must be some fallacious argument of antiquity and universality, confidently urged by men, who know less than many of those you are acquainted with, and ought less to be believed by you, that can raise any doubts and scruples in you; and if you will, with equal temper, hear those who are well able to inform you in all such particulars, it is not possible for you to suck in that poison, which can only corrupt and prevail over you, by stopping your own ears, and shutting your own eyes. There are but two persons in the world, who have greater authority with you than I can pretend to, and am sure they both suffer more in this rumour, and would suffer much more, if there were ground for it, than I can do; and truly I am as unlikely to be deceived myself, or to deceive you, as any man who endeavours to pervert you in your religion; and, therefore, I beseech you, let me have so much credit with you, as to persuade you to communicate any doubts or scruples, which occur to you, before you suffer them to make too deep an impression upon you. The common argument, that there is no salvation out of the church, and the church of Rome is that only true church, is both irrational and untrue; there are many churches in which salvation may be attained, as well as in any one of them; and were many even in the apostles time, otherwise they would not have directed their epistles to so many several churches, in which there were different opinions received, and very different doctrines taught. There is, indeed, but one faith in which we can be saved, the steadfast belief of the birth, passion, and resurrection of our Saviour; and every church that receives and embraces that faith, is in a state of salvation: if the apostles preached true doctrine, the reception and retention of many errors does not destroy the essence of a church; if it did, the church of Rome would be in as ill, if not in a worse condition, than most other Christian churches, because its errors are of a greater magnitude, and more destructive to religion. Let not the canting discourse of

of the universality and extent of that church, which has as little of truth as the rest, prevail over you; they, who will imitate the greatest part of the world, must turn heathens; for it is generally believed, that above half the world is possessed by them, and that the Mahometans possess more than half the remainder: there is as little question, that of the rest which is inhabited by Christians, one part of four is not of the communion of the church of Rome; and God knows, in that very communion, there is as great discord in opinion, and in matters of great moment, as is between the other Christians.

I hear you do, in publick discourses, dislike some things in the church of England, as the marriage of the clergy; which is a point that no Roman Catholick will pretend to be of the essence of religion, and is in use in many places, which are of the communion of the church of Rome, as in Bohemia, and those parts of the Greek church which submit to the Roman. And all men know, that, in the late council of Trent, the sacrament of both kinds, and liberty of the clergy to marry, was very passionately pressed, both by the emperor and king of France, for their dominions; and it was afterwards granted to Germany, though under such conditions as made it ineffectual; which however shews, that it was not, nor ever can be, looked upon as matter of religion. Christianity was many hundred years old, before such a restraint was ever heard of in the church; and, when it was endeavoured, it met with great opposition, and never was submitted to. And as the positive inhibition seems absolutely unlawful, so the inconveniences which result from thence, will, upon a just disquisition, be found superior to those which attend the liberty which Christian religion permits. Those arguments which are not strong enough to draw persons from the Roman communion into that of the church of England, when custom and education, and a long stupid resignation of all their faculties to their teachers, usually shuts out all reason to the contrary, may yet be abundant to retain those who have been baptized, and bred and instructed in the grounds and principles of that religion, which are, in truth, not only founded upon the clear authority of the scriptures, but upon the consent of antiquity, and the practice of the primitive church: and men, who look into antiquity, know well by what corruption and violence, and with what constant and continual opposition those opinions, which are contrary to ours, crept into the world; and how unwarrantably the authority of the bishop of Rome, which alone supports all the rest, came to prevail, who hath no more pretence of authority and power in England, than the bishop of Paris or Toledo can as reasonably lay claim to; and is so far from being matter of catholick religion, that the pope hath so much, and no more, to do in France or Spain, or any other catholick dominion, than the crown, and laws, and constitutions of several kingdoms gave him leave, which makes him so little, if at all, considered in France, and so much in Spain: and therefore the English catholicks, which attribute so much

to him, make themselves very unwarrantably of another religion than the catholick church professeth; and, without doubt, they who desert the church of England, of which they are members, and become thereby disobedient to the ecclesiastical and civil laws of their country, and therein renounce their subjection to the state as well as to the church, which are grievous sins, had need have a better excuse, than the meeting with some doubts which they could not answer; and less than a manifest evidence, that their salvation is desperate in that communion, cannot serve their turn: and they who imagine they have such an evidence, ought rather to suspect that their understanding hath forsaken them, and that they are become mad, than that the church, which is replenished with all learning and piety requisite, can betray them to perdition. I beseech you to consider (which I hope will over-rule those ordinary doubts and objections which may be infused into you) that, if you change your religion, you renounce all obedience and affection to your father, who loves you so tenderly, that such an odious mutation would break his heart: you condemn your father and your mother (whose incomparable virtue and piety, and devotion, hath placed her in heaven) for having impiously educated you; and you declare the church and state, to both which you owe reverence and subjection, to be, in your judgment, antichristian: you bring irreparable dishonour, scandal, and prejudice, to the duke your husband, to whom you ought to pay all imaginable duty, and who, I presume, is much more precious to you than your own life, and all possible ruin to your children, of whose company and conversation you must look to be deprived; for God forbid, that, after such an apostasy, you should have any power in the education of your children. You have many enemies, whom you herein would abundantly gratify, and some friends, whom you will thereby, at least as far as in you lies, perfectly destroy, and afflict many others, who have deserved well of you.

I know you are not inclined to any part of this mischief, and therefore offer these considerations, as all those particulars would be the consequence of such a conclusion. It is to me the saddest circumstance of my banishment, that I may not be admitted, in such a season as this, to confer with you; when, I am confident, I could satisfy you in all your doubts, and make it appear to you, that there are many absurdities in the Roman religion, inconsistent with your judgment and understanding, and many impieties, inconsistent with your conscience; so that, before you can submit to the obligations of faith, you must divest yourself of your natural reason and common sense, and captivate the dictates of your own conscience to the impositions of an authority which hath not any pretence to oblige or advise you. If you will not, with freedom, communicate the doubts which occur to you, to those near you, of whose learning and piety you have had much experience, let me conjure you to impart them to me, and to expect my answer, before you suffer them to prevail over you.

The humble Petition and Address of EDWARD, Earl of Clarendon. MS.

To the Right Honourable the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament assembled.

May it please your lordships,

I CANNOT express the insupportable trouble and grief of mind I sustain, under the apprehension of being misrepresented unto your lordships; and when I hear how much of your lordships time hath been spent in the mention of me, and is attended with more publick consequence; and of the difference of opinion, which is already, or may probably arise, betwixt your lordships and the honourable house of commons, whereby the great and weighty affairs of the kingdom may be obstructed, in a time of so general dissatisfaction: I am very unfortunate to find myself suffer so much, under two very disadvantageous reflections, which are in no degree applicable to me.

The first, from the greatness of my estate and fortune, collected and made in so few years; which, if it be proportionable to what it is reported, may very reasonably cause my integrity to be suspected. The second, that I have been the sole manager, and chief minister, in all the transactions of state, since the king's return into England, to August last; and, therefore, that all miscarriages and misfortunes ought to be imputed to me, and to my counsels. Concerning my estate, your lordships will believe, that, after malice and envy have been so inquisitive and so sharp-sighted, I will not offer any thing to your lordships, but what is really true; and I do assure your lordships, in the first place, that, excepting from the king's bounty, I have never received, nor taken one penny, but what was generally understood to be the just and lawful perquisite of my office, by the constant practice of the best times; which I did, in my own judgment, conceive to be that of my Lords Coventry and Elmfore; the practice of which I constantly observed, although the office, in both their times, was lawfully worth double to what it was to me; and, I believe, now is: that all the courtesies and favours, which I have been able to obtain from the king for other persons, in church, state, or Westminster-hall, have never been worth to me five pounds; so that your lordships may be confident, I am as innocent from corruption, as from any disloyal thought; which, after thirty years service of the crown, in some difficulties and distresses, I did never suspect would have been objected to me in my age. And I do assure your lordships, and shall make it manifest, that the several sums of money and some parcels of land, which his majesty hath bountifully bestowed upon me, since his last return into England, are worth more than all I have amounts unto. So far I am from advancing my estate by indirect means: and, though this bounty of his majesty hath very far exceeded my merit, or my expectations, yet some others have been as fortu-

nate, at least, in the same bounty, who have had as small pretence to it, and have no great reason to envy my condition.

Concerning the other imputation, of the credit and power of being chief minister, and causing all to be done that I had any mind to, I have no more to say, than that I had the good fortune to serve a master of very great judgment and understanding, and to be always joined with persons of great abilities and experience, without whose advice and concurrence never any thing hath been done. Before his majesty's coming over, he was constantly attended by the Marquis of Ormond, the late Lord Culpepper, and Mr. Secretary Nicholas, who were equally trusted with myself, and without whose joint advice and concurrence, when they were all present (as some of them always were) I never gave any counsel. As soon as it pleased God to restore his majesty into England, he established his privy-council, and shortly, out of them, a number of honourable persons of great reputation, who for the most part are alive still, as a committee for foreign affairs, and consideration of such things, as the number of them required much time and deliberation, and with those persons he vouchsafed to join me; and, I am confident, the committee never transacted any thing of moment (his majesty being always present) without presenting the same first to the council-board; and I must appeal to them concerning my carriage, and whether we were not all of one mind in matters of importance. For more than two years, I never knew any difference in the council, or that there were any complaints in the kingdom; which I wholly impute to his majesty's great wisdom, and the intire concurrence of his counsellors, without the vanity of assuming any thing to myself; and therefore, I hope, I shall not be singly charged with any thing that has since fallen out amiss: but, from the time that Mr. Secretary Nicholas was removed from his place, there were great alterations; and whosoever knows any thing of the court, or councils, knows well how much my credit hath since that time been diminished, although his majesty still vouchsafed graciously to hear my advice, in most of his affairs. Nor hath there been, from that time to this, above one or two persons brought to the council, or preferred to any considerable office in the court, who have been of any intimate acquaintance, or suspected to have any kindness for me; and most of them most notoriously known to have been very long my enemies, and of different judgments and principles from me, both in church and state; and who have taken all opportunities to lessen my credit with the king, and all other persons, by misrepresenting and misinterpreting all that I said,

or did, and persuading men that I had done them some prejudice with his majesty, or crossed them in some of their pretensions, though his majesty's goodness and justice were such, that it made little impression upon him.

In my humble opinion, the great misfortunes of the kingdom have proceeded from the war, to which it was most notoriously known, that I was always most averse: and I may, without vanity, say, I did not only foresee, but did declare the mischief we should run into, by entering into a war before any alliances with neighbouring princes; and, that it may not be imputed to his majesty's want of care, or the negligence of his counsellors, that no such alliances were entered into, I must say that his majesty left nothing unattempted, in order thereunto; and knowing very well, that France resolved to begin war upon Spain, as soon as his catholic majesty should depart the world; which being much sooner expected by them, they had, in two winters, been at great charge in providing plentiful magazines of all provisions upon the frontiers, that they might be ready for the war: his majesty used all means possible to prepare and dispose the Spaniards with that apprehension, offering his friendship to that degree, as might be for the security and benefit of both crowns. But Spain, flattering itself that France would not break with them, at least, that they would not give them any cause by administering matter of jealousy, never made any real approach to make friendship with his majesty, but, both by their ambassadors here, and his majesty's ambassador at Madrid, always insisted, as preliminaries, upon the giving up of Danguirgue, Tangier, and Jamaica.

Though France had an ambassador here, to whom a project for a treaty was offered, and the Lord Hollis, his majesty's ambassador at Paris, had used all endeavours to pursue and prosecute the said treaty, yet it was quickly discerned, the principal design of France was to draw his majesty into such a new alliance as might advance their design, without which they had no mind to enter into the treaty proposed; and this was the state of affairs, when the war was entered into with the Dutch; from which time, neither crown continued the making an alliance with England. As I did, from my soul, abhor the entering into this war, so I never presumed to give any advice or counsel for the way of managing of it, but by opposing many propositions, which seemed, by the late lord treasurer and myself, to be unreasonable, as the payment of seamen with tickets, which added to the expence.

My enemies took all occasions to inveigh against me, and (making of friendship with others out of the council of more licentious principles, and who knew well enough how much I disliked and complained of the liberty they took to themselves, of rallying all council and counsellors, and turning all things, serious and secret, into ridicule) they took all ways imaginable to render me ungrateful to all sorts of men, whom I shall be compelled to name in my own de-

fence, persuading those that miscarried that it was the chancellor's doing, whereof I never knew any thing: however, they could not withdraw the king's favour from me, who was still pleased to use my service with others; nor was there any thing done but upon the joint advice of, at least, the major part of those who were consulted; and, as his majesty commanded my service in the late treaties, I never gave the least advice in private, or wrote one letter to any person, in those negotiations, but upon the advice of the council, and after it was read in council, or, at least, by the king himself, and some others; and if I prepared any instructions, or memorials, it was by the king's command, and the request of the secretaries, who desired my assistance; nor was it any wish of my own, that any ambassador should give me any account of the transactions, but the secretary, with whom I was always ready to advise; nor am I conscious to myself of ever having given advice that hath proved mischievous, or inconvenient to his majesty; and I have been so far from being the whole manager, that I have not, in the whole last year, been above twice with his majesty in any room alone, and very seldom in the two or three last years preceding; and, since the parliament at Oxford, it hath been very visible that my credit hath been very little, and that very few things have been hearkened to that have been proposed by me, but contradicted *eo nomine*, because they were proposed by me. I most humbly beseech your lordships, to remember the office and trust I had for seven years, in which discharge of my duty I was obliged to stop and obstruct many men's pretensions, and refused to set the seal to many men's pardons, and their grants, which would have been profitable to them, which procured them, and many whereof, upon my representation to his majesty, were for ever stopped; which naturally hath caused many enemies to me; and my frequent concurring, upon the desires of my late lord treasurer, (with whom I had the honour to have a long and faithful friendship to his death) in representing several excesses and exorbitances, the yearly issues so far exceeding the revenue, provoked many persons concerned, of great power and credit, to do me all the ill offices they could; and yet, I may faithfully say, I never meddled with any part of the revenue, or the administration of it, but when I was desired, by the late lord treasurer, to give him my assistance and advice, having had the honour to serve the crown as chancellor of the exchequer, which was, for the most part, in his majesty's presence; nor have I been in the least degree concerned, in point of profit, in letting any part of his majesty's revenue, nor have ever treated, or debated it, but in his majesty's presence, in which my opinion concurred always with the major part of the council; all which, upon examination, will be made manifest to your lordships, how much soever my integrity is blasted by the malice of those who, I am confident, do not believe themselves; nor have I, in all my treaties, otherwise received the value of one shilling, from

from all the kings and princes in the world, except the book of the *Louvre*, sent by the chancellor of France, by the king's direction, but from my own master, to whose intire service, and to the good and welfare of my country, no man's heart was ever more devoted. This being my present condition, I do most humbly beseech your lordships to retain a favourable opinion of me, and believe me to be innocent from those foul aspersions until the contrary shall be proved; which I am sure can never be by any man worthy to be believed; and since the temper of the times, and the difference between the two houses, in the present debate, with the power and malice of my enemies, who give out, they shall prevail with his majesty to

prorogue, or dissolve the parliament in displeasure (and threaten to expose me to the rage and fury of the people) may make me to be looked upon, as the cause which obstructs the king's service, and the unity and peace of the kingdom: I most humbly beseech your lordships, that I may not forfeit your lordship's favour and protection, by withdrawing myself from so powerful a prosecution, in hopes I may be able, by such withdrawing, hereafter to appear, and make my defence, when his majesty's justice, to whom I shall always submit, may not be obstructed, or controuled, by the power and malice of those, who have sworn my destruction.

Exit Clarendon.

An Account of the Reasons which induced CHARLES the Second, King of England, to declare War against the States-General of the United Provinces, in 1672: And of the private League which he entered into at the same Time with the French King to carry it on, and to establish Popery in England, Scotland, and Ireland, as they are set down in the History of the Dutch War. Printed in French at Paris, with the Privilege of the French King, in 1682. Which Book he caused to be immediately suppressed, at the Instance of the English Ambassador.

WHEN King Charles the Second declared war against the states of the United Provinces, in 1672, and assisted the king of France by sea, in the prosecution of a war, which brought that great commonwealth, and with it, the Protestant interest of this part of Europe, so very near to a final period: it was industriously and carefully given out, that religion was not in the least concerned in the quarrel. The honour of the king of England, and of his people, so insolently trampled upon by the states-general; the hindering of our East-India trade, with the affronts which were put upon our merchants at Surinam; their disputing the sovereignty of the sea, and refusing to take down their flag to our ships, unless we would promise to engage actually in a war against France, were the causes which were publicly pretended; and answerable artifices were made use of to engage the people to a concurrence, which were carried on with so good success, that the parliament consented to allow such sums of money, as should be sufficient for the carrying on the charges of that war.

Yet these reasonings were not so plausible, but that most considering men easily saw through them. Those, that loved the Protestant interest, could not with patience endure to see the triple league, which was the

greatest fence of their religion, against the growing greatness of France, broken, and new leagues made with the king, whose aim at an universal monarchy was then as visible, though the effects of it had not been near so fatal as they are now. Therefore, other methods were followed at home; the Dissenters were caressed, and a declaration of indulgence was set out, wherein the king expresses so very great zeal for the Protestant religion, *which he had so eminently professed in his most desperate condition abroad among Roman Catholic princes**, that he allowed to the Protestant Dissenters the publick and free exercise of their religion, in houses set apart for that purpose, which was only granted to Roman Catholics in their own houses. And, lest this might have too much alienated the church of England, whose members bore so great a sway in that parliament, that a breach with them, at that time, might have stopped his designs upon Holland, in a great measure, by their refusing to pay the charges of the war, he declares, in the next session of parliament†, *This indulgence should not any way prejudice the church, but that he would support its rights and it, in its full power.*

His declarations, both at the time when this war was on foot, and even afterwards, as long as he lived,

* *Vid.* the king's declaration of indulgence, December 26, 1662.

† Feb. 5, 1672.

were outwardly so very passionate and warm for the Protestant religion, and the preservation of the English government, that, unless such frequent repetitions of that, which, in good manners, none would seem to question, might look like over-doing, and so breed suspicions, nothing could have ever shaken that opinion, which was so firmly grounded in the hearts of all his subjects. He professed*, that he should esteem it the most unpardonable crime which could be committed against himself, to raise any suspicions of his unsteadiness in the Protestant religion in the minds of his people; and this restrained almost all his subjects, who were so dazzled with his other royal endowments, that they could never be persuaded to suspect so much artifice in a prince, whose natural goodness, and sweetness of temper, did so effectually charm all those who had the honour to be near his person.

But though these repeated protestations had wrought so intire a confidence in the minds of his people, that they rested satisfied in the sincerity of his intentions, and interpreted all those actions which tended to the supporting of the popish interest in England, to his tenderness towards the duke of York†, whom he resolved never to abandon‡, notwithstanding the importunities of his people, and the safety of himself and his kingdoms, seemed to require it; yet the king of France was so tender of his honour, as to conceal these private treaties and alliances, which, at his solicitations, the king entered into, against the United Provinces, and to the destruction of the Protestant religion, and the overthrow of the English liberties: but he consented so far to the publication of an account of the war with Holland, and of the reasons and motives which engaged the two kings to carry it on, that the Abbot Primi, who put out the book in the Italian tongue, was employed by Mr. Colbert de Croissy, and a pension was allowed him for his pains, in publishing it also in French: which book was published by authority at Paris, in the year 1682. It is well known, how severe that government is in matters of that nature, where nothing is ever publicly set forth of any importance, as to the church or state, but what perfectly agrees with the inclinations and interests of those who are there so very absolute. It was publicly known at Paris, that Mr. L'Abbe Primi had a pension from Mr. Colbert de Croissy: and, when men are employed by ministers of state, to publish accounts of the transactions of the government, their writings are rather looked upon as apologies, than histories: it makes no real difference, whether what a man writes, in such a case, be a translation or an original, he will be supposed to have endeavoured to please those who employed him; and all the fair protestations of sincerity, and faithfulness, and skill, which such a man can use, will be only looked upon as words of course, when

once the reasons of his setting up for an historian are publicly known. The original of Count St. Majolo was printed in Italian; and the privilege ran as well to the printing it in Italian as French: howsoever, I do judge, that the name of Count St. Majol, was a kind of trick of the Abbot Primi, to talk of secret alliances, of breaking leagues, of his master's persuading the king of England to seize the Dutch Smyrna fleet, and of several other secrets in the negotiations of Holland, England, and France, in his own name. For, when all is laid upon a foreigner, one may speak with great assurance, and the Count St. Majolo will then answer for the very things for which Monsieur L'Abbe receives his pension.

If our minister at Paris, when this book first appeared, had not, by a timely and a diligent application, procured its being stopped, we might, without question, have had several other important secrets published in the following books (for we have only two books of ten printed) which now we can only conjecture at. But the earnest complaints of my Lord Preston, who was then envoy from King Charles the Second, at Versailles, prevailed so far, that the book was immediately stopped, and the edition totally suppressed, so that very few had ever heard of it, and much fewer, especially in England, had seen it. And, to put a face upon the matter, Monsieur L'Abbe was thrown into the Bastile; from whence, after a mock-imprisonment of nine or ten days, he was let out again. All that were at Paris, at that time, knew the story; and all, that were at all acquainted with the arbitrary severity of the French government, could easily see through the grimace; which was the better covered, because Count St. Majolo was to bear all the blame; who, if he be not related to Puffendorf's Monzambano (another Italian count, also) yet his testimony might easily be over-ruled, and so could furnish those persons with a ready excuse, whose interest it was, that such agreements, which were contrary to their open and publick protestations, should either never be known, or if once divulged, not believed.

I shall not stand to compare the matters of fact which are here set down, with those reports which at that time passed current in England; they are things which fall within most people's memory||; my business is only to give such an account of our proceedings, as was published at Paris with the privilege of the king of France, as fully granted, as in any other case whatsoever. Our author§ tells us, that the growing greatness of the king of France, after the peace of Aix la Chapelle was concluded, by the mediation of the king of England, was so very terrible to the queen-mother of Spain, who was guardian to her son, Charles the Second, king of Spain, that she employed her ablest ministers, to persuade England, Holland, and Sweden,

his exclusion from the throne, to the demise of his brother the king.

|| This being published in the year 1689.

§ Page. 18, 19.

* Declaration of indulgence, December 26, 1662.

† A Papist and his brother.

‡ To the mercy of the parliament, and Protestant subjects of England, who, for the safety of the king and country, required

to join in an alliance, for the preservation of the peace, and the reciprocal security of each others kingdoms.

The Hollanders, he tells us, greedily embraced it, and ran into the triple league with great readiness, not much concerning themselves with France, which, they thought, could make no great opposition to them by sea; and by land, they were so fortified by the natural fences of their dikes, that they apprehended, on that side, no sort of danger.

A constant series of success against the Spaniards, who declared them a sovereign and independent republic in 1648, pushed them on to great insolencies against the king of France*: they interposed in the affairs of Germany; as if they had been immediately concerned†: they determined peace or war amongst their neighbours, as they thought would be most for their own interest: they threatened to ruin the kingdom of France, by prohibiting any commerce with French manufactures, and scattered medals and pictures, very derogatory to the honour of the French king. Their busying themselves so much with the affairs of Germany, was a means to engage the bishop of Munster to keep up his army, after he had concluded a peace with the duke of Brunswick Wolfenbützel, and to declare against the incroachments of the Hollanders upon the empire‡: which opportunity the French king laid hold of, to make an alliance with him, and the princes of the house of Furstemberg, and the bishop of Strasburgh, against Holland; by which means, he secured the passes upon the Rhine and the Maese, which lay convenient for the setting upon the Hollanders by land, who till then thought themselves secure from any attack on that side§.

He engaged the emperor also to a Neutrality, and persuaded him to ratify those alliances which the French king had already made with the bishops of Munster and Strasburgh, and the princes of the house of Furstemberg§, with assurance that he would not concern himself in those quarrels, unless either the empire or the king of Spain should be invaded.

The king of England was already very much dissatisfied with the Hollanders**, and was willing enough to disengage himself from the triple league: for the Hollanders had refused to stand to those regulations about the East-India trade, which had been concluded upon at Breda; and their vessels would not lower their topsails to the English men of war, and they disputed the sovereignty of the sea, unless the king of England would declare for them against France, in case of a

breach; which things were very dishonourable for the English nation, and were great instances of the treachery of the Hollanders, and of the small assistance which the English could promise to themselves from their friendship††.

Colbert de Croissy, the French ambassador at London, urged ‡‡ all these things to the king of England; he put him in mind of the medals which the Hollanders published, wherein they attributed to themselves all the glory of concluding the peace of Aix la Chapelle, which had been obtained by the king of England's mediation; and told him, that this was the time wherein he might take his revenge upon a nation, which had so little respect for kings; and that he never could expect a more favourable opportunity§§, since several German princes had already entered into a league, and the king of France was sufficiently powerful to satisfy all his confederates in the prosecution of this war, both as to their advantage and credit.¶¶ These things engaged the king of England to sign a secret treaty with France; and, to make it the more firm, Henrietta, duchess of Orleans, a princess, whose wit was equal to her beauty, sister to the king of England, and sister-in-law to the king of France, went over into England in 1670, and proposed a treaty to her brother, in the name of the most Christian king, wherein she proffered to secure to him an absolute authority over his parliament, and the re-establishment of the Roman Catholic religion in his three kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland. But, she said, that, before this could be effected, there was an absolute necessity of abating the haughtiness and power of the Hollanders, who only studied to foment divisions amongst their neighbours; and to reduce them to the single province of Holland, of which the prince of Orange should be sovereign, or, at least, perpetual governor; which would not be difficult for these two mighty kings, when once well united, to accomplish: so that, by this means, the king of England might have Zealand to retire to, if there should be occasion; and that the rest of the Low-Countries should remain to the king of France, whenever he should be able to conquer them.

When the king of France had thus secured himself by these alliances, he immediately began his preparations for war, and filled his stores, and raised men, some publicly, and some under-hand, all over France, in Switzerland, Italy, and England.

Though these negotiations, and especially with England, were carried on with all the secrecy that matters

* Page 21.

† Page 45.

‡ Page 48.

§ Page 52.

§ Page 57, 58.

** Page 58.

†† Page 59.

‡‡ Page 60.

§§ Page 61.

¶¶ Ce qui engagea ce prince à signer un traité secret avec la France; & pour l'asseurer encore d'avantage Henriette d'Angleterre, duchesse d'Orléans, princesse qui avoit autant d'esprit que de beauté, sœur du Roy d'Angleterre, & belle sœur du roy de France, passa en Angleterre en 1670, & proposa au roy son frere, au nom du roy tres-Christien, de lui assurer une autorité absolue sur son parlement, & de rétablir la religion Catholique dans les

Royaumes d'Angleterre, d'Ecosse, & d'Irlande. Mais elle disoit que pour en venir à bout, il falloit avant toutes choses abaisser l'orgueil & la puissance des Hollandois qui ne songeoient qu'à mettre la division parmi leurs voisins; & les réduire à la seule Province d'Hollande de laquelle le Prince d'Orange seroit souverain, ou au moins gouverneur perpétuel, ce qui ne seroit pas difficile à deux grands roys puissants & bien unis, & que par ce moyen le Roy d'Angleterre auroit la Zelande, pour lui servir de retraite en cas de besoin, & que le reste des pays-bas demeureroit au roy de France, s'il pouvoit s'en rendre maître.

of that importance required *, yet the Hollanders had such notices given, as did exceedingly surprize them. They could not imagine, that the English would quit the triple league; they said, this was a report raised by the French to amuse mankind withal †; they thought, that the present conduct of the king of England gave convincing proofs to the contrary: he had just before dismissed out of his port a fleet of Dutch merchantmen, and some Amsterdam vessels besides, and recalled Sir George Downing, his minister at the Hague, for speaking with too much warmth to the states-general ‡; so that, in short, he seemed in all his actions to declare, that his intentions of keeping up a good correspondence with Holland were sincere. However, the breaches every day grew wider and wider between France and Holland; and matters were carried so far on both sides, that the French king resolved to begin the war the next spring §; and in the mean time, he took secret measures with the king of England §, to set upon them together, and to surprize them both by sea and land **. As for the king of England, he was exceedingly perplexed; there was need of money to carry on the design, and that secretly too ††: he could raise none at home, without calling a parliament, and that could not be done without acquainting all Europe with his designs; there was also great fear of opposition, both from the misunderstandings, which in that tumultuous assembly do for the most part arise between the two houses, and from the intrigues of the Hollanders. For which reasons the king of France furnished him with such sums of money, as were sufficient to send out a considerable fleet; and he advised the king of England (the better to conceal their agreements) to keep a fair correspondence outwardly with the Dutch, to appear firm to the triple league, and declare that he set out a fleet for no other reasons, but because his neighbours, and especially the French, who made great preparations in all their ports upon the ocean, strengthened themselves so very considerably by sea ††.

Yet all this was not carried on so secretly, but their own residents at London, and the ministers of other princes in King Charles's court, gave the Hollanders such sure advertisement of his altering his measures, that they found it past all question. Pensioner de Witt fell in a swoon in the stadthouse, upon the reading of a letter, which gave him an account of it ††; and as soon as he had recovered himself, he proposed to send the Heer Meerman into England, to renew the old

alliances; who was immediately seconded by the Marquis del Fresno, the Spanish minister §§, who was sent thither on purpose to join with him in making use of all sorts of arguments, which might oblige the king of England to break off his new treaty with France ***.

But, all these applications proving ineffectual, all things tended to a war: it was known that the king of England had declared for France; and that, being provoked with the usage which his subjects had received at Surinam, he had renewed a treaty with France against Holland, and had promised to begin the war, provided that his most Christian majesty would declare war against the States in the beginning of May †††.

And though the earnestness which the king and the duke of York shewed in the prosecution of this business was extraordinary, though they set out ships, and manned them with all the industry and application possible; yet, because the government of England was mixed, or composed of kings, lords, and commons, and that in the great concerns of the nation, or in raising of money, there was a necessity of a parliament; which is, like the people of whom it is made up, not always of the same mind †††; and that the variableness of their climate is even visible in their councils; and, besides, since the duchess of Orleans died soon after her return to France; for these reasons the king of France did not much rely upon any assistance from England, and so took his measures in such a manner, that the king of England might be assured they must succeed, in case he should fail him; and therefore he would not suffer the rage of the English against the Dutch at that time to cool, but he rather endeavoured to plunge them into a war, by such an action as might correspond to their earnest desire of being revenged.

And this design soon succeeded; for, the French having notice of the return of the Dutch Smyrna fleet, which were then at sea, they immediately acquainted the king of England with it †††, and told him, that this was a favourable opportunity for him to engage the English in a certain war: they told him, that such a prize would furnish him with more money in one day, than he could get from his parliament in a year §§§; and, perhaps, so great a prize might put him, during the whole course of the war, in such a condition, as that he would not stand in need of his parliament; and that he ought not to let slip such an opportunity, because he certainly knew, that what success soever it might have, yet his people, who always carried themselves very high upon a

* Page 65.

† Page 75.

‡ Page 76.

§ In the year 1672.

§ Page 87.

** Le Roy d'Angleterre de son côté estoit embarrassé, il faisoit du secret & de l'argent pour faire reussir l'entreprise, & il ne pouvoit rien tirer de ses peuples qu'en convoquant son parlement, ce qui faisoit connoître ses desseins à toute l'Europe, outre que cette assemblée tumultueuse par le mauvaise intelligence qui est ordinairement entres les deux chambres & par les intrigues des Hollandois pouvoit s'y opposer; mais le roy tres-Chrétien luy envoya des sommes suffisantes pour mettre en mer une flotte confi-

derable, & luy conseilla pour mieux cacher leur union de temoigner aux Hollandois qu'il vouloit bien vivre avec eux, de paroître ferme dans les traites de triple alliance, & de publier qu'il ne vouloit avoir une flotte qu'à cause que ses voisins, & particulièrement les François, faisoient de grands armemens dans tous les ports qu'ils avoient en sur l'Océan.

†† Page 88.

†† Page 89.

‡‡ Page 91.

§§ Page 93.

*** Page 118.

††† Page 119.

††† Page 120.

§§§ Page 121.

§§§ Page 122.

prosperous turn of affairs, who were sensible of affronts, would spare for nothing which might carry on the war, wherein they might expect to humble the Dutch, and to revenge the wrongs of their merchants, and of their nation in general, upon those who would dispute the sovereignty of the sea with them.

Upon these solicitations the king consented, and sent Sir Robert Holmes with nine men of war into the channel, to expect the coming of the Smyrna fleet*. And it had this effect, that though the Dutch (who had some notice of it before) did, in a thick, foggy night, escape without any very considerable loss; yet this engaged the English to a war, which was immediately hereupon openly proclaimed by the king of England, against the states-general; which was earnestly pressed by Mr. Colbert de Croissy, who advised him not to delay, after the striking so signal, as well as so unexpected a stroke†.

How far the causes alledged in the declaration of

* Page 123.

war, which followed soon after, and the reasons by which the king endeavoured to persuade his parliament to a hearty concurrence with him in it, agreed with these motives, every man may judge. Whoever considers the carriage of the king of France, in other things, will not wonder at such a piece of treachery, as the publication of these secrets was, whilst King Charles II. was alive: and I believe, that the sending a man to the Bastile for ten days, who was notoriously known to have been employed for this very purpose, did convince as few people of the falshood of these pretended alliances, as the sending of Mr. Skelton to the Tower by King James II. did; which was so very like, that one would think the mock-proceedings against Mr. L'Abbé Primi, gave a pattern to the king of England, to animadvert upon his own minister, who, by the confession of the French resident at the Hague, acted by his majesty's order, only the second part of what the abbot wrote.

† Page 132.

Observations both Historical and Moral upon the Burning of London, September 1666. With an Account of the Losses. And a most remarkable Parallel between London and Moscow, both as to the Plague and Fire. Also an Essay touching the Easterly Wind. Written by Way of Narrative, for Satisfaction of the present and future Ages. By Rege Sincera.

Many have written concerning this memorable fire of London in 1666. But I presume, they that read this will agree, that none has done it with more conciseness, impartiality, and perspicuity. In the first place, The author delivers the plain historical fact, without any exaggeration or foreign insinuations, and then enquires, Who has done it? In which enquiry, he endeavours to shew, that it was a punishment sent by a good and wise God upon the city, for just, wise, and good causes. Thirdly, Enquiring what hath done it? He endeavours to prove, that this was the greatest fire that ever happened upon the earth, since the burning of Sodom and Gomorrah, and shews, at a moderate computation, that the loss amounted to, at least, 7,335,000 pounds. To which, by way of consolation, he adds an account of the greatness of the city of Moscow, and its visitation first with a raging plague, and in the year following with a consuming fire, contrived by the Tartars, who pursued the czar to that city, and setting fire to it on all sides, which not only burnt the houses and stuff, but destroyed 200,000 people also in its flames, in less than four hours time. Fourthly, He expatiates on the praise of this city of London, and then endeavours to find out the cause and accidents by which this fire was kindled and promoted; and concludes with some proper reflections on the reason and time of this conflagration.

To

To his much honoured and respected friend, JOHN BULLER, esq; a worthy member of the honourable house of commons.

S I R,

THIS little treatise having lain dormant in a corner of my desk ever since its birth (which was three weeks after the fire) hath got at last so much strength as to walk abroad. The reason of its long repose was, that I expected when some more pregnant wit and better pen would have undertaken this task, which is altogether out of my profession and employment: but, finding that hitherto all that hath been written concerning it, as to the narrative of its beginning, progress, and ending, hath been thought defective, I have given it leave to shew itself abroad, with observations thereon, under your honourable name, as well to avoid the malignancy of censure, as to testify unto the world how much I am

Your humble and affectionate servant,

Rege Sincera.

BEFORE we proceed any further in the examination of so lamentable and dismal a subject, we have thought fitting, for the curiosity of those that shall read these lines, and for the satisfaction of posterity, in whose hands it may chance to come, to set down the true and naked narrative of the fact as it did happen, and as it hath been printed by the consent of his majesty, and of the publick authority, that the reader, being made certain of the truth of the accident, may the more willingly proceed to the examination of those observations we have made upon it.

Whitehall, September 8.

ON the second instant, at one of the clock in the morning, there happened to break out a sad and deplorable fire in Pudding-Lane, near New-Fish-street; which falling out that hour of the night, and in a quarter of the town (so close built with wooden pitched houses) spread itself so far before day, and with such distraction to the inhabitants and neighbours, that care was not taken for the timely preventing the further diffusion of it, by pulling down houses, as it ought to have been; so that this lamentable fire, in a short time, became too big to be mastered by the engines, or working near it. It fell out most unhappily too, that a violent easterly wind fomented it, and kept it burning all that day, and the night following spread itself up to Grace-church-street, and downwards from Cannon-street, to the water-side, as far as the Three-Cranes in the Vintry.

The people, in all parts about it, distracted by the vastness of it, and their particular care to carry away their goods, many attempts were made to prevent the spreading of it, by pulling down houses, and making great intervals; but all in vain, the fire seizing upon the timber and rubbish, and so continuing itself even through those spaces, and raging in a bright flame all Monday and Tuesday, notwithstanding his majesty's own, and his royal highness's indefatigable and personal

pains to apply all possible remedies to prevent it, calling upon, and helping the people with their guards, and a great number of nobility and gentry unweariedly assisting therein; for which they were requited with a thousand blessings from the poor distressed people. By the favour of God, the wind slackened a little on Tuesday night, and the flames meeting with brick buildings at the temple, by little and little it was observed to lose its force on that side; so that, on Wednesday morning, we began to hope well, and his royal highness never despairing, or slackening his personal care, wrought so well that day, assisted in some parts by the lords of the council before and behind it, that a stop was put to it at the Temple-church, near Holborn-bridge, Pye-corner, Aldersgate, Cripple-gate, near the lower end of Coleman-street, at the end of Basinghall-street, by the Postern, at the upper end of Bishopsgate-street, and Leadenhall-street, at the Standard in Cornhill, at the church in Fanchurch-street, near Cloth-workers-hall in Mincing-lane, at the middle of Mark-lane, and at the Tower-Dock.

On Thursday, by the blessing of God, it was wholly beat down and extinguished, but so as that evening it unhappily broke out again at the Temple, by the falling of some sparks (as is supposed) upon a pile of wooden buildings; but his royal highness, who watched there that whole night in person, by the great labours and diligence used, and especially by their applying powder to blow up the houses about it, before day most happily mastered it.

Divers strangers, Dutch and French, were during the fire apprehended, upon suspicion that they contributed mischievously to it, who were all imprisoned, and informations prepared to make a severe inquisition thereupon by my Lord Chief Justice Keeling, assisted by some of the lords of the privy-council, and some principal members of the city; notwithstanding which suspicions, the manner of the burning all along in a train, and so blown forwards in all its way by strong winds, make us conclude the whole was an effect of an unhappy chance; or, to speak better, the heavy

heavy hand of God upon us for our sins, shewing us the terror of his judgments in thus raising the fire; and immediately after his miraculous and never-enough to be acknowledged mercy, in putting a stop to it when we were in the last despair, and that all attempts for the quenching it, however industriously pursued, seemed insufficient. His majesty then sat hourly in council, and in his own person making rounds about the city, in all parts of it where the danger and mischief was greatest, till next morning, that he sent his grace the duke of Albemarle, whom he called from sea to assist him on this great occasion, to put his happy and successful hand to the finishing of this memorable deliverance.

About the Tower, the seasonable orders given for plucking down houses, to secure the magazines of powder, was more especially successful, that part being up the wind; notwithstanding which, it came almost to the very gates of it; so as, by this early provision, the several stores of war, lodged in the Tower, were intirely saved; and we have further this infinite cause, particularly to give God thanks, that the fire did not happen in any of those places where his majesty's naval-stores are kept; so, though it hath pleased God to visit us with his own hand, he hath not, by dis-furnishing us with the means of carrying on the war, subjected us unto all our enemies.

Through this sad accident, it is easy to be imagined, how many persons were necessitated to remove themselves and goods into the open fields, where they were forced to continue some time, which could not but work compassion in the beholders. But his majesty's care was more signal on this occasion, who, besides his personal pains, was frequent in consulting always for relieving those distressed persons; which produced so good effect, as well by his majesty's proclamations, and the orders issued to the neighbouring justices of peace, to encourage the sending in of provision to the markets, which are publicly known, as by other directions, that (when his majesty, fearing lest other orders might not yet have been sufficient, had commanded the victualler of his navy to send bread into Moorfields, for the relief of the poor, which, for the more speedy supply, he sent in baskets out of the sea-stores) it was found that the markets had been already so well supplied, that the people, being unaccustomed to that kind of bread, declined it, and so it was returned in great part to his majesty's stores again, without any use made of it.

And we cannot but observe, to the confutation of all his majesty's enemies, who endeavour to persuade the world abroad, of great parties and disaffection at home against his majesty's government, that a greater instance of the affection of this city could never be given, than hath been now given in this sad and deplorable accident, when, if at any time, disorder might have been expected from the losses, distraction, and almost desperation of some persons in their private fortunes, thousands of people not having to cover them. And yet, in all this time, it hath been so far from any appear-

ance of designs or attempts against his majesty's government, his majesty and his royal brother, out of their care to stop and prevent the fire, frequently exposing their persons with very small attendants in all parts of the town, sometimes even to be intermixed with those who laboured in the business, yet nevertheless there hath not been observed so much as a murmuring word to fall from any; but, on the contrary, even those persons, whose losses rendered their condition most desperate, and to be fit objects of their prayers, beholding those frequent instances of his majesty's care for his people, forgot their own misery, and filled the streets with their prayers for his majesty, whose trouble they seemed to compassionate before their own.

Observations.

THE Philosophers, rhetoricians, and lawyers do agree, that all the circumstances of a fact are happily contained in a Latin verse framed for that purpose, as well to illustrate the method, which is the life of history, as to help the memory, which is to reap the benefit of it; the verse runneth thus:

Quis, quid, ubi, quibus auxiliis, cur, quomodo, quando?

Who hath done it, what hath he done,

Where, by what means, wherefore, how, when?

Although these disjunctives seem at first sight to carry no great sense, nevertheless, when they shall be thoroughly examined, it will be found, that they do contain all that can be said upon a subject, and that out of them, as out of so many living springs, may be drawn all that is necessary for the clearing of a propounded question; and we will not be ashamed in this to follow the method of the schools and the authority of the learned, knowing that whatsoever fault shall be found in it, will rather be imputed to our incapacity, than to the foundation we have built upon. Therefore to begin.

Quis?

Who hath done it?

S E C T. I.

FOR the clearing of the darkness wherein the human understanding is naturally wrapped up, in distinguishing the several accidents and events that happen daily in this sublunary world: the philosophers have established two principal causes, whereunto every one may have recourse for his satisfaction and the securing of himself, that nothing happeneth by chance, which is the opinion of desperate and atheistical persons. The first and universal cause is God Almighty, who, as he alone hath created the world, so hath he also reserved to himself alone the government thereof, inasmuch that the least accidents that befall, depend merely from his providence, neither is there any thing hidden to him

him with whom we have to do; it is he without whose leave and knowledge not a hair falleth from our heads, and who telleth us by his prophet that, 'There is no evil in the city but he hath done it.' This is that first cause which ought to captivate our understandings under its will, to make us admit all events with an equal mind, and submit our patience to his dispensations, saying with David, 'I did hold my peace because thou didst it, Psal. I. verse 21.' The other causes are called second causes, because most commonly God maketh use of them for the accomplishing of his will, and these are divided into as many branches as there are individual creatures in the world. By these a man liveth, being begotten by the seed of his parents; dieth being suffocated, falleth being drunk, is drowned in making shipwreck, &c. Where it is to be observed that several second causes may concur together to the production of one and the same effect; as in this sad and lamentable accident we see the carelessness of a baker, the solitariness and darkness of the night, the disposition of old and ruinous buildings, the narrowness of the streets, the abundance of combustible and bituminous matter, the foregoing summer extraordinary hot and dry, a violent easterly wind, and the want of engines and water, concur as it were unanimously to the production of this wonderful conflagration, and to do in four days what four armies of enemies (not opposed) could scarce have done in eight. The astrologers, whose science is as abstruse as uncertain, would fain introduce another cause between the first and the second, to wit, the position and influence of the celestial bodies; but this accident will contribute much to stop their mouths; for either they could not foresee it, or else, having foreseen it, they should have given us precaution of it, as they do of many other more frivolous things, and of less consequence than this; and which are never true but by a supposition that, if they do not happen in our country, they may happen in another, which is called to *whiten black*: let us therefore conclude, that the two causes above-mentioned, that is, first and second, are sufficient to move us to humble ourselves in the sight of God, who having the year before destroyed in the space of six months about an hundred thousand people; and seeing our impenitent hearts and feared consciences return again to our first vomiting, of pride, drunkenness, swearing, false dealing, whoring, treachery, and other vices; after he hath taken away the health of some, he taketh away the wealth of others, and threateneth the rest with an impendent famine, by the last excessive rains he did send, and may send again in this sowing-time; and it will avail nothing here to say, as I have heard many, that other countries, as France and Italy, are guilty of as many, if not greater crimes than we are, seeing that God chastiseth every son he loveth, and that he beginneth his judgments by his own household, and this nation having received more

prosperities and blessings from his hands than any other, and accordingly more peculiarly bound to serve and obey him than all the rest, whom he will find well enough, when he seeth his due appointed time: 'For that servant that knew his lord's will, and prepared not himself, neither did according to his will, shall be beaten with many stripes; but he that knew not, and did commit things worthy of stripes, shall be beaten with few stripes: for unto whom much is given, of him shall be much required, and to whom men have committed much, of him they will ask the more.' Luke xii. 47, 48.

Quid?

What hath he done?

SECT. II.

THE answer is easy. An incendiary, a conflagration, a ruin and devastation by fire, such (as I believe) did never happen by any natural and ordinary means, for that of Sodom and Gomorrah was supernatural and miraculous, the like being never heard before nor after, that it should rain fire and brimstone suddenly, and in such a quantity in fair weather; for the scripture mentioneth that the sun was risen upon the earth; besides that, instead of calcining the said towns into powder, as fire and brimstone will do all solid bodies, it not only turned them, but also the ground on which they stood, into a bottomless bituminous lake, which to this day remaineth before our eyes for a fearful example of the heinousness of sin, and of the severity of God's justice. Concerning the conflagration of Troy, and that of Rome: the first may be fabulous, or exaggerated by the familiar hyperboles of poets, to whose relation chiefly we owe our belief in that point. As for that of Rome, it is to be believed, that those heaps of stones and marbles, of which she was then built, gave a great check, if not a stop, to the raging of the fire, and stood in the way of the tyrant's pleasure. Concerning others, as that of *Constantinople, †Cracow, ‡Venice, §Vienna in Austria, ¶Delft in Holland, **Malines and Antwerp, they came nothing near this, which in three days and three nights, of about four hundred and sixty acres of ground upon which the city of London stood, hath swept away about three hundred and fifty, which is at the rate of four parts in five, having destroyed about twelve thousand houses, eighty-seven parochial churches, besides six or seven consecrated chapels, and the magnificent and stately cathedral church of St. Paul, the publick and most excellent buildings of the Exchange, Guild-hall, Custom-house, and all or very near the halls belonging to every private company, besides an innumerable quantity of goods of all sorts, this city being the best magazine not only of England, but also of all Europe; but, amongst

* Turkish History.

† M. Cremen.

‡ Paulus Jovius, 12 book.

§ Cuspinian in Vita Imp.

¶ Adm. Junius.

** Guicciardin, 12 book.

the rest, it was a treasure unspeakable of four commodities, which, for their luggage and cumberfomeness, could not be rescued from the jaws of that unmerciful element, that is, wine, tobacco, spices, and books. As for books, the booksellers, who dwelled for the most part round about the cathedral church, and sheltered their books in a subterranean church under the cathedral, called St. Faith's, which was propped up with so strong an arch and massy pillars, that it seemed impossible the fire could do any harm to it; but, the fire having crept into it through the windows, it seized upon the pews, and did so try and examine the arch and pillars, by sucking the moisture of the mortar that bound the stones together, that it was calcined into sand: so that, when the top of the cathedral fell upon it, it beat it flat, and set all things in an irremediable flame. I have heard judicious men of that trade affirm, that the only loss of books in that place, and Stationers-hall, publick libraries, and private persons houses, could amount to no less than 150,000 pounds. I have seen bells and iron wares melted, glass and earthen-pots melted together, as it had been by a fire of fusion; the most big and solid stones (as those of the cathedral) split, scaled, and in some parts calcined to powder by the violence of the flames. Nevertheless, as God's mercy is above all his works, and he remembereth it always amongst his judgments, I could not learn of above half a dozen people that did perish by that woeful conflagration; one of them was of my acquaintance, and a watch-maker living in Shoe-lane, behind the Globe-tavern; his name was Paul Lawell, born in Strasbourg, who, being about eighty years of age, and dull of hearing, was also deaf to the good admonitions of his son and friends, and would never desert the house till it fell upon him, and sunk him with the ruins in the cellar, where afterwards his bones, together with his keys, were found.

Although the loss of so famous a city, and of the riches contained within its precinct, be inestimable, nevertheless, to satisfy the curiosity of the reader, and that of posterity, as also to give some light unto those, who, with a more mature deliberation, shall attempt the full history of it; we will set down the chiefest heads by which it is valued, leaving the liberty to the judicious reader, to add to, or subtract from, as he shall think fit; for we do not pretend here to give an exact account of all the losses, which, we hope, some better wits, and that are more at leisure, will undertake hereafter: but only to invite them, by this, to a more curious and earnest inquiry of the truth, and so transmit to posterity a fearful example of God's judgment, that they may, in avoiding sin, also avoid the like, to the glory and praise of his most holy name.

Let it, therefore, be said again, that, by the computation of the best geometricians, the city of London, within the walls, was seated upon about four hundred and sixty acres of ground; wherein were built about fifteen thousand houses, besides churches, chapels, schools, halls, and public buildings; out of this quantity of houses, twelve thousand are thought to be burnt,

which is four parts of five, each house being valued, one with another, at twenty-five pounds a year's rent, which, at twelve year's purchase, maketh three hundred pounds, the whole amounting to three millions six hundred thousand pounds.

Fourscore and seven parochial churches, besides that of St. Paul's the cathedral, and six consecrated chapels, the Exchange, Guildhall, Custom-house, the halls of companies, and other publick buildings, amounting to half as much, *i. e.* one million eight hundred thousand pounds.

The goods that every private man lost, one with another, valued at half the value of the houses, *i. e.* one million eight hundred thousand pounds.

About twenty wharfs of coals and wood, valued at a thousand pounds a piece, *i. e.* twenty thousand pounds.

About one hundred thousand boats and barges, one thousand cart-loads, with porters to remove the goods to and fro, as well for the houses that were a burning, as for those that stood in fear of it, at twenty shillings a load, *i. e.* one hundred and fifty thousand pounds.

In all seven millions three hundred thirty-five thousand pounds.

This being reduced to the account of French money, taking one pound sterling for thirteen livres, amounteth to ten thousand five hundred and sixty-nine millions, six hundred and seventy-five thousand livres.

Now, O London! it may well be said of thee, *How doth the city sit solitary, that was full of people; how is she become as a widow; she that was great among the nations, and princess among the provinces?* Jerem. Lam. chap. i. 1. But courage, O thou that art now my country, thou art fallen into the hands of God, and not of men; he that chastiseth thee is thy father, and if he hath a rod to punish thee, he hath also a staff to comfort thee; turn to him, and he will turn to thee, for he is merciful and long-suffering, not willing that any should perish, but that all should come to repentance; therefore, be not overwhelmed with sorrow, nothing hath befallen thee, but hath happened to others before thee; and, if it be true, that the likeness, and participation of afflictions, doth mitigate the sense of them, that I may something allay thy present sorrow, I will relate thee a story that hath much parallel with thine, to shew thou hast not been the only miserable: it is a true one, written and testified by an honourable Dutch merchant, who was an eye-witness to it; and although it hath been once printed, yet, because the book is scarce, and the language foreign, I thought thou wouldst not take it ill, if I should impart it unto thee.

Moscow, the chief city of all the countries of the emperor of Russia, is a very great city, but not well compacted; it hath, in compass with the suburbs, well inha-

inhabited, and as full of people as the town, about three German leagues and a half, which maketh about fourteen English miles; the compass of the town, within the walls, is about three English miles; the streets and path-ways are of great trees set close together, and some boards by the houses sides; and it is so dirty in rainy weather, that it is impossible to go through the city, otherwise than on horseback; according to the custom of the country, where horses are of small value, and of little expence, never being shod for any journey whatsoever, unless it be during the ice. The houses are but one story high, or two at the most, all built with wood, set up at the top one of another: there are, in the city, suburbs, and castle, about five thousand, five hundred churches, built, for the most part, like chapels, most of them with great trees set one upon another. The great duke's lodging is also built of wood, which he thinketh wholesomer than stone; the castle is pretty well fortified with walls and broad ditches; it occupieth as much room as all the rest of the city. On one side of it dwell the Sins, on the other the Optifins, who are as the treasurers of the great duke, in whose hands, as soon as you come, you must put in all your merchandises. Being departed from Nerva, about the tenth of July, 1570, we came on the beginning of August, to Moscow, where I found the great duke*, and his officers, busy in seeking out about thirty persons, who fell all under the sword of the common hangman, except one who was cast alive in boiling water; and this, because they had taken bribes; most of them were great lords; and familiars with the great duke; others were merchants of Novogrod, with their wives, children, and families, accused of treason in the behalf of the king of Poland. Few days after, a horrid plague invaded the town of Moscow, and the places about it, with such violence, that, in four months, there died above two hundred and fifty thousand people; and it was particularly observed, that, in eight days, that is, from the tenth to the eighteenth of August, there died two thousand seven hundred and three priests; and this plague did continue so fiercely, that, in the end of it, every one wondered when he met any body of his acquaintance.

This extraordinary misery was followed the year after, on the fifteenth of May, by a strange ruin and conflagration; the occasion was, that the emperor of the Tartarians, being discontented that the Russians did not pay him some annual tribute; and hearing besides, that the great duke, by his tyranny and massacres, had so depopulated the country, that he should find no great resistance that way, did summon him to pay the said tribute; but the great duke returned nothing in answer, but spiteful and reproachful words; wherefore, the Tartarian came out of his country, about the end of February, followed with an army of one hundred thousand horse, who, within the space of two months and a half, did ride about five hundred German leagues, which make two thousand English miles:

when they were come about two days journey from the frontiers of the duke, he resolved to meet them, and to give them battle; but he lost it with a prodigious slaughter of his men. The duke, knowing that the Tartarian would seek him out, ran away, as fast and as far as he could: he was only within nine leagues of Moscow, when the Tartarians came and encompassed the town, thinking he was within; they set a-fire all the villages round about it; and, seeing that the war would prove too tedious for them, resolved to burn that great city, or, at least, the suburbs of it: for this purpose, having placed their troops round about it, they set fire on all sides, so that it seemed a burning globe; then did arise so fierce and violent a wind, that it drove the rafters and long trees from the suburbs into the city; the conflagration was so sudden, that no body had time to save himself, but in that place where he was then: the persons, that were burnt in this fire, were above two hundred thousand; which did happen, because the houses were all of wood, and the streets paved with great fir-trees, set close together, which being oily and rosinous, made the incendiary unexpressible, so that, in four hours time, the city and suburbs were wholly consumed. I and a young man of Rochelle, who was my interpreter, were in the middle of the fire, in a magazine vaulted with stone, and extraordinarily strong, whose wall was three feet and a half thick, and had no air but on two sides; one wherein was the coming in and going out, which was a long alley, in which there were three iron gates, distant about six feet from each other; on the other side there was a window, or grate, fenced with three iron shutters, distant half a foot one from another: we shut them inwardly, as well as possibly we could; nevertheless, there came in so much smoke, that it was more than sufficient to choak us, had it not been for some beer that was there, with the which we refreshed ourselves now and then. Many lords and gentlemen were stifled in the caves, where they had retired, because, their houses being made of great trees, when they fell, they crushed down all that was underneath; others, being consumed to ashes, stopped all the passages of going and coming out, so that, for want of air, they all perished. The poor country people, that had saved themselves, in the city, with their cattle, from threescore miles round about, seeing the conflagration, ran all into the market-place, which is not paved of wood, as the rest; nevertheless, they were all roasted there in such sort, that the tallest man seemed but a child, so much had the fire contracted their limbs; and this, by reason of the great houses that were round about; a thing more hideous and frightful than any can imagine. In many places of the said market, the bodies were piled one upon another, to the height of half a pike; which put me into a wonderful admiration, being not able to apprehend, nor understand, how it was possible they should be so heaped together.

* This great duke was John Basilides, the famous tyrant.

This wonderful conflagration caused all the fortifications of the town-wall to fall, and all the ordnance that were upon it to burst. The walls were made of brick, according to the ancient way of building, without either fortifications, or ditches: many that had saved themselves among them, were, nevertheless, roasted, so fierce and vehement was the fire; among them, many Italians and Walloons of my acquaintance. While the fire lasted, we thought that a million of cannons had been thundering together, and our thoughts were upon nothing but death, thinking that the fire would last some days, because of the great circumference of the castle and suburbs; but all this was done in less than four hours time, at the end of which, the noise growing less, we were curious to know, whether the Tartarians, of whom we stood in no less fear than of the fire, were entered. They are a warlike people, though they eat nothing but roots, and such other like substance, and drink only water. The greatest lords among them feed upon flesh baked between a horse and the saddle, wherein rideth the horseman: nevertheless, they are very strong, lusty, and inured to all hardships, as, also, are their horses, who are wonderful swift, and will travel further in one day, eating nothing but grass, than ours will do in three, feeding upon oats; therefore, the Tartarians come so easily, from so far, to invade the Russians. They have also that craft, that they only come in the summer, for the conveniency of their horses: their country is temperate, from whence they come about the latter end of February, that they may be in Russia about the beginning of June, and go back again, into their own country, at the end of it, lest they should be overtaken by the winter in Russia; which, if it should fall out, they would be all starved, because of the great deserts uninhabited, containing above three hundred German leagues, and therefore void of all relief, as well for themselves, as for their horses, there being then no grass upon the ground; which constraineth them to make such a journey, which is of above twelve hundred German leagues, in four or five months time, with all their army, which consisteth commonly of about one hundred and fifty thousand, or two hundred thousand horses, as good as can be; but the horsemen are but slightly armed, having, for all weapons, a jack of mail, a dart, and bow and arrows; they know nothing of what belongeth to guns, having, in all their country, but two cities, wherein the emperor keepeth his court, without any villages or houses, but are contented to live under tents, which they remove to and fro, as they see occasion.

But to come again to our misery, after we had hearkened awhile, we heard some Russians running to and fro, through the smoke, who were talking of walling the gates, to prevent the coming in of the Tartarians, who were expecting when the fire went out. I and my interpreter, being come out of the magazine, found the ashes so hot, that we durst scarce tread upon them; but, necessity compelling us, we ran towards the chief gate, where we found twenty-five or thirty

men escaped from the fire, with whom, in a few hours, we did wall that gate, and the rest, and kept a strict watch all that night with some guns that had been preserved from the fire. In the morning, seeing that the place was not defensible with so few people as we were, we sought the means to get into the castle, whose entry was then inaccessible; the governor was very glad to hear of our intention, and cried to us, *We should be very welcome*; but it was a most difficult thing to come in, because the bridges were all burnt, so that we were fain to get over the wall, having, instead of ladders, some high fir-trees thrown from the castle to us, wherein, instead of rounds to get up, they had made some notches, with a hatchet, to keep us from sliding: we got up then, with much ado; for, besides the evident inconveniency of those rough ladders, we did carry about us the sum of four thousand thalers, besides some jewels, which was a great hinderance to us to climb along those high trees; and that, which did double our fear, was, that we saw before our eyes some of our company, that had nothing but their bodies to save, yet tumble down from the middle of those high trees into the ditch, full of burnt bodies, so that we could not tread but upon dead corpses, whose heaps were so thick every where, that we could not avoid to tread upon them, as if it had been a hill to climb up; and that which did augment our trouble, was, that, in treading upon them, the arms and legs broke like glass; the poor limbs of these creatures being calcined, by the vehement heat of the fire, and our feet sinking into those miserable bodies, the blood and the filth did squirt into our faces, which begot such a stench all the town over, that it was impossible to subsist in it.

The twenty-fifth of May, in the evening, as we expected, in great perplexity, what the Tartarians would attempt against us, who were about four hundred in the castle: the Tartarians, whom we had saluted with our guns, and killed some of them that were come too near one of the castle-gates, began to go back the same way that they came in, with so much speed, that, the next morning, all that torrent was drained up; for which, having given God thanks, and set our business in order, as well as the present calamity would permit, we went away from that desolate place.

Now, O London! consider that thy fate is not peculiar to thyself, and that will allay the bitterness of thy sufferings; remember also, that, if thou sanctifiest this affliction to thy use, the Lord promiseth by his prophet, *That those shall reap in joy who did sow in tears.* Psal. cxxvi. 6.

Ubi?

Where?

S E C T. III.

IN the richest city of Europe, and perhaps in the world; the greatest magazine that could be found for all sorts of merchandises, incomparable for the salubrity

salubrity of the air, and conveniency of situation; magnificent in publick buildings; illustrious in good deeds; renowned for hospitality; famous for government; venerable for antiquity; having subsisted about two thousand years; inhabited by citizens, whose courage was equal to their fortunes; in a word, a city of which it might be said more truly than of Ormus:

*Si terrarum orbis quaquā patet annulus esset,
Londinum illius gemma decusque foret.*

This circumstance, which we tread over so slightly, that we may not be suspected of flattery, is not the least that aggravateth the enormity of this accident; there is none of those characters, we have given it, but but are very true, and might be the worthy employment of a better pen than mine, and the subject of a full volume.

Quibus Auxiliis?

By whose help?

S E C T. IV.

HERE we must have recourse to what we have said before in the first paragraph, when we spoke of the second causes, and say that God hath made use chiefly of eight things to accomplish this work. The negligence of the master or his servants, in whose house the fire did first begin; the solitariness of the night, the narrowness of the place, the weakness of the buildings, the quantity of combustible and bituminous matters gathered thereabouts, the preceding summer which was extraordinarily hot and dry, the east wind that blew violently all that while, and the want of engines and water to quench the fire; we shall give every one its little section, to satisfy the curiosity of those, who inquire so much of the causes that have made this conflagration so violent, dismal, and irreparable.

I. Though there be some accidents which no human prudence can prevent; as when a man either in his own house, or going through the street, is crashed by a sudden ruin; nevertheless, the philosophers are not to blame, when they say that every one may be the author of his own fortune, for it is certain, that if a man neglecteth or forsaketh that providence given him by nature, he doth together forsake the instrument and the means which his good genius maketh use of, to make him avoid the ill accidents that may befall him; for, as our soul doth only act by the organs of our body, so our genius either good or bad cannot act but by the means of our soul; now if our soul enjoyeth a sound and temperate body, and doth her functions with purity and facility; that genius, which is always near hand, and as it were whispering at our ear, doth move and stir her to the preservation of whatsoever belongeth or concerneth her: if, on the contrary, this soul

inhabith a body dyscratiated, melancholick, full of obstructions, or drowned in the the excesses of eating and drinking, or passions, its nature being igneous, and never ceasing from action; it necessarily followeth, that according to the disposition of the organs, she turneth to the wrong way, and neglecteth those things wherein she is merely concerned. Now, in things that might be prevented or remedied, it is an invalid excuse to say, I would never have thought that such a thing should happen. For who can attribute it to a mere accident to put fire in an oven, and to leave a quantity of dry wood, and some fitches of bacon by it, within the sphere of its activity, and so go to bed, in leaving his providence with his slippers.

I remember that, some thirty-six years ago, in a town of Brie, a province of France, called Sezane, upon a Sunday morning, a woman that kept a chandler's shop, having occasion to snuff a candle, threw the snuff into a corner of her shop, among some old rags and papers, and so shutting the door went to mass; but within the space of half an hour, and before she could come back again, not only her house, but those of her neighbours were all in a flame, which being helped by an east wind, which blew at that time, and which is the most dangerous of all the winds for incendies, as we shall shew hereafter, did in the space of a day and a night consume the whole town, consisting of about four hundred houses. Can this be called a mere accident, since there is nobody so void of common sense, but might have either foreseen, or prevented so calamitous a consequence?

II. The second cause of this misfortune is, the time wherein it did happen, to wit, about one of the clock in the night, when every one is buried in his first sleep; when some for weariness, others by debility, have given leave to their cares to retire; when slothfulness and the heat of the bed have riveted a man to his pillow, and made him almost incapable of waking, much less of acting and helping his neighbours.

III. The narrowness of the place did also much contribute to this conflagration, for the street where it did happen, as also most of those about it, were the narrowest of the city, insomuch that in some a cart could scarce go along, and in others not at all. The danger, I did once run of my life thereabouts by the crowd of carts, hath caused me many times to make reflection on the covetousness of the citizens, and connivency of magistrates, who have suffered them from time to time, to incroach upon the streets, and to jet the tops of their houses, so as from one side of the street to touch the other; which as it doth facilitate a conflagration, so doth it also hinder the remedy, and besides taketh away the liberty of the air, making it unwholesome, and disfigureth the beauty and symmetry of the city. I hope that for the future his majesty, his council, and that of the city, will take care that such disorder happen no more, and will cause this city

to be as commodious in its buildings, as it is happy in its situation.

IV. Now followeth the weakness of the buildings, which were almost all of wood, which by age was grown as dry as a chip: this inconvenience will easily be remedied, in building the houses with stone or brick, according to the statutes and ordinances of parliament provided and enacted long ago in that behalf, though for the most part ill observed.

V. The quantity of combustible and bituminous matter hath given the greatest encouragement to this devouring fire; for, as the place where the fire begun was not far from the Thames, and from those wharfs where most merchandises are landed, so Thames-street and others thereabouts, were almost nothing else but magazines of combustible and sulphureous merchandises: thereabouts were a prodigious quantity of oil, butter, brandy, pitch, brimstone, saltpetre, cables, &c. and by the Thames side were almost all wharfs full of coals and wood. Now as fire of itself is nothing but light which incorporieth itself in the matter, and acteth more or less according to the disposition of it, as we see that a fire of straw is less violent than that of coals; it followeth that this fire, having lighted upon these sulphureous and bituminous matters, did feed upon them as in its proper element, and not only devoured them with ease, but imparted to the next combustible matters a disposition more fitting and apt to receive it. The nature of this sulphureous fire was evidently seen in the melting of bells, iron, pots, glasses, and other metallick things, and in the calcining of stones and bricks, which no other single fire of wood, coals, or other vulgar matter could have done. I remember that, some four or five years ago, the lightning fell in Herefordshire without doing any harm in the country, but, being extinguished of itself, the exhalation of it did mix itself with a strong westerly wind, that came as far as London, beating down houses, plucking up trees by the roots, and to shew its nitrous and sulphureous nature, did as it were neglect to touch wood, but did chiefly stick upon metal, and either broke or bent it; the tokens of it are seen to this day upon the steeples of Bow-church, St. Andrew, St. Giles Cripplegate, the May-pole, and other places. These sulphureous matters were also the cause of another inconvenience, which is, that the fire, being corporified in them, did extend the sphere of its activity at a further distance than ordinary, and cast its burning beams furthest off, mixing more exactly its atoms in the air, which it turneth almost into its own nature; which was the cause, that nobody could come nearer that fire than a hundred or two hundred paces.

VI. The foregoing summer, that was extraordinarily hot and dry, had also disposed the matter of the buildings to admit the fire more quickly and easily, by sucking not only the intrinsic moisture that was in them, but also that of the air which might have moist-

ened them; for, though there be no rain falling, nevertheless there is a certain vapourish moisture in the air, which, if it be not dried up, doth moisten all porous things intrinsically, and doth condense itself upon the solid ones, in the form of an oleaginous moisture, as doth appear upon marbles and glasses.

VII. In cometh now the east wind to play its part in this tragedy. That unfortunate wind, of which it is commonly said, that it is neither good for man nor beast, did blow with such a wonderful fierceness all the time of the conflagration, that it did not only quicken the fire, as bellows do the furnaces, but also, getting into the streets, and among the houses, when it found any let or hinderance that did recoil it back, it blew equally both to the right and to the left, and caused the fire to burn on all sides, which hath persuaded many that this fire was miraculous: I myself remember, that going into some streets at that time and having the wind impetuously in my face, I was in hope that at my return I should have it in my back, but it was all one, for the reason aforesaid. It would be here too tedious to speak of the nature of winds, and to shew many reasons why this wind is so dry in England, as to burn the flowers and leaves of the trees, more than the hottest sun can do; one, which, I think satisfactory, will serve for all: it is therefore to be observed, that winds do not only participate of the nature of the places where they are begot, but also of that of the countries through which they pass: now all the southern, western, and northern winds must pass through the great ocean to come into England, in which passage there mixes with them abundance of vapours, which cause their moisture, except the north wind, wherein the moisture is condensed by the cold; but the east wind to come to us must pass over the greatest continent in the world, France, Germany, Hungary, Greece, Persia, &c. even to China; so that, in pursuing such a tract of land, it not only droppeth down by the way its moist effluvia, the earth, as it were, sucking them for its irroration, but also carrieth along all the hot and dry exhalations that perpetually arise out of the earth, which is the cause of its dry and burning quality. I had formerly a little garden, where I did bestow as much pains and care as I could, to bring up some young fruit-trees that were in it, having the advantage of a very good mould; but being seated eastward, and closed narrowly by a brick wall on either side; this wind that reigneth constantly here in England, in the months of March, April, and beginning of May, did, in their budding, so burn the leaves and the flowers, that the hottest sun could not do the like; so that I was fain to give it over, having been two or three years, before I could understand that mystery, and the nature of that wind in this country, for there are some other countries where this wind is salubrious and fruitful enough.

VIII. It was also a great contributing to this misfortune, that the Thames water-house was out of order,

so that the conduits and pipes were almost all dry; as also, that the engines had no liberty to play, for the narrowness of the place, and crowd of the people, but some of them were tumbled down in the river, and among the rest, that of Clerkenwell, esteemed one of the best.

And thus, courteous reader, thou seest an admirable concurrence of several causes, for the putting of God's will in execution; in other cities that are not subject to conflagrations, as Paris, which is all built of freestone, the inundations have several times played their pranks; other towns, as in Italy, that think themselves exempted from fire and water, come to their periods by fearful earthquakes; others, that escape fire, water, and earth, do perish by the meteors of the air, and are calcined by the lightning; so that God Almighty never wanteth instruments to compass his will; and it seemeth that the four elements, of which this world is compounded, do conspire against the happiness and quietness of man, when, by their daily prevarications, they go about to confirm the disobedience of our first parents.

Cur? *Why?*

S E C T. V.

HERE it is that we must wholly stoop and humble ourselves under the mighty hand of God, and answer with the apostle, *O the depth of the riches of the wisdom and knowledge of God, how unsearchable are his judgments, and his ways past finding out! For who hath known the mind of the Lord, or who hath been his counsellor?* Rom. xi. 33. Let it suffice thee, O man, to know, that whether he hath done it to punish thee or thy sins, or to try thy faith and exercise thy pa-

tience; if thou canst make benefit of this affliction, and sanctify it to thy use; we know that all things work together for good, to them that love God.

Quomodo? *How?*

S E C T. VI.

THIS circumstance is answered by the contents of the fourth.

Quando? *When?*

S E C T. VII.

WHEN we were newly come out of a civil war of twenty years standing, where it is thought above one hundred thousand people did perish.

When the plague had the year before swept away above one hundred thousand people, and was still raging.

When the kingdom was exhausted of money, and trade lost.

When we had wars with France, Denmark, and Holland, and not without fear of divisions among ourselves.

Then, even then, came this dreadful fire, after the aggregation of so many judgments before (like Job's comforter after his unwelcome messengers) but then, even then, did our seeming utter destruction appear; but, by our heavenly father's paternal corrections, and by his mercy, we are secured from our fears by peace and quietness, both at home and abroad, and restored to the hopes of a flourishing nation, and the most glorious city of the world.

Crescit sub pondere virtus.

The Papists bloody Oath of Secrecy, and Litany of Intercession, for the carrying on of this present Plot. With the Manner of taking the Oath upon the entering into any grand Conspiracy against the Protestants. As it was taken in the Chapel belonging to Barmbow-hall, the Residence of Sir Thomas Gascoigne, from William Rushton, a popish Priest, by me Robert Bolron. Together, with some further Informations relating to the Plot, and Murther of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey.

Jovis 16mo Die Decembris, 1680,

Ordered, That Mr. Robert Bolron have Liberty from this House, to print and publish the said Oath of Secrecy and Litany.

William Goldsbrough, Cler. Dom. Com.

AFTER the ancient piety, zeal, and strictness of life, exemplary in the primitive Christians, had in a measure put the dominion of this world, and the keys of the next, into the hands of the clergy, the care of gaining souls became, in a few centuries, obsoleted; the former illustrious times of virtue vanished, and a gloomy night of ignorance soon overspread the universe. The clergy (the authors of this unhappiness) finding their religion and greatness must be maintained by power and policy, and conscious to themselves, that their lives and doctrine held no good correspondence with the purity and poverty of their predecessors, took a course, because they had little left of their own, to trade with the piety of the ages past, and prop up their own ignorance and sloth by that means. To work they go: they make gods of the deceased propagators of Christianity, and in-shrine their rotten bones, or those of others, in cases of gold and silver. The next thing was to persuade or compel the people to adore them. In this erecting a new order of demi-gods, they imitated the Pagans in their wickedness, but not in their virtue or valour, and clapped the festivals of these new pagods into the calendar, in the places of the old holidays of Saturn, Minerva, and Bacchus, &c. This project answered expectation, they grew greater, but not better; the miracles, pretendedly wrought at those shrines, and multitude of ceremonies, dazzled the vulgar, supported the reputation, and supplied the defect of the clergy; the glorious lives, wonders, and martyrdoms of the ancients, were made into mantles to hide the ignorance, lust, and avarice of worthless impostors; and laws every where were made to restrain men from peeping into the ark of the church. And, to strip princes privily of their power, and to draw their subjects to other dependencies, numerous orders and societies are conjured up (as though the laity had not groaned enough under the seculars) to erect a kingdom in every kingdom for the pope, and to supply him, in every corner, with a villain spiritual, to stab or poison what potentates he pleases.

Things thus jogged on till the days of our grandfathers, when, in England, the pope and his clergy were secluded, and it was made death for any Romish priest to enter the realm; yet, since they have not only come hither, but, by help of factors and profligates, acquired great estates in these kingdoms, and arrived to a height of no less confidence than of ruling the roast, destroying us all, and introducing popery. This is as clear as noon-day, by many testimonies; among which, this oath following is a most notorious evidence, on which I shall make some remarks.

The oath of secrecy, given by William Rushton to me Robert Bolron, the second of February, 1676-7.

+ *In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.*

I Robert Bolron, being in the presence of Almighty God, the blessed Mary ever virgin, the blessed

Michael the archangel, the blessed St. John Baptist, the holy apostles St. Peter and St. Paul, and all the saints in heaven, and to you my ghostly father, do declare, and in my heart believe the pope, Christ's vicar-general, to be the true and only head of Christ's church here on earth; and that, by virtue of the keys of binding and loosing, given his holiness by our Saviour Christ, he hath power to depose all heretical kings and princes, and cause them to be killed. Therefore, to the utmost of my power, I will defend this doctrine, and his holiness's rights, against all usurpers whatever, especially against the now pretended king of England, in regard that he hath broke his vows with his holiness's agents beyond seas, and not performed his promises in bringing into England the holy Roman Catholic religion. I do renounce and disown any allegiance, as due to the said pretended king of England, or obedience to any of his inferior officers and magistrates; but do believe the Protestant doctrine to be heretical and damnable, and that all are damned which do not forsake the same; and, to the best of my power, will help his holiness's agents here in England, to extirpate and root out the said Protestant doctrine, and to destroy the said pretended king of England, and all such of his subjects as will not adhere to the holy see of Rome, and the religion there professed. I further do promise and declare, That I will keep secret and private, and not divulge, directly or indirectly, by word, writing, or circumstance, whatever shall be proposed, given in charge, or discovered to me by you my ghostly father, or any other engaged in the promoting of this pious and holy design, and that I will be active, and not desist from the carrying of it on; and that no hopes of rewards, threats, or punishments, shall make me discover the rest concerned in so pious a work; and, if discovered, shall never confess any accessaries with myself concerned in this design. All which I do swear by the blessed trinity, and by the blessed sacrament, which I now purpose to receive, to perform, and, on my part, to keep inviolable; and do call all the angels and saints in heaven to witness my real intention to keep this oath. In testimony whereof I do receive this most holy and blessed sacrament of the eucharist.

It is manifest, that the grandees of the Roman church make no more account of religion, than the profit and convenience it brings along with it, are able to compensate; yet they ever begin with a holy *canticum*, *In nomine Patris*; by such means inducing the people to swallow their gilded pills, or poisons rather, to the destruction oftentimes of body and soul too.

In this wicked thing called an oath, they blasphemously set up the blessed Mary, St. John, St. Michael, St. Peter, St. Paul, and Rushton the priest, in an equal classis with God Almighty; but mention not Christ, till they come to declare the pope to be his vicar, and that thereby the pope hath letters patents to empower him to do what he shall think fit, in heaven,

heaven, hell, earth, and in purgatory, to depose and kill heretick kings, yea, and catholick ones too, when he wants opportunity to advance a harlot, a bastard, or a nephew. In such cases, a Castel, a Clement, a Ravilliack, or a Pickering, are ever ready to transmit whom he pleases into another world, whilst himself, without such help, but not without money, puts a soul into heaven, or pulls one out of purgatory.

Indeed, this oath is its own herald; it is its own comment; every word of it is rebellion, treason, and murder, styled hypocritically pious and holy designs; it was stamped in the mint of the Jesuits, and is a very notable comment upon that oath, which blessed Ignatius Loyala imposed upon his spiritual Mamaluks, and may give us to understand, that Romish wickedness is sublimated, since these days, into a much higher spirit of treachery and impiety. The oath, then made to the father general, is as followeth:

EGO N. professionem facio, & promitto Omnipotenti Deo, coram ejus virgine matre, & universa coelesti curia, ac omnibus circumstantibus; & tibi patri reverendo N. præposito generali societatis Jesu, locum Dei tenenti, & successoribus tuis, vel tibi reverendo patri, vice præposito generali societatis Jesu, & successoribus tuis, locum Dei tenenti, perpetuam paupertatem, castitatem, & obedientiam, & secundum eas, peculiarem curam, circa puerorum eruditionem, juxta formam vivendi in litteris apostolicis societatis Jesu, & in ejus constitutionibus contentam; insuper promitto specialem obedientiam summo pontifici circa missiones, prout in eisdem litteris apostolicis & constitutionibus continetur.

Which is englished thus:

I N. make my profession, and promise to the Omnipotent God before his virgin mother, and all the whole court of heaven, and all that here stand by, and to you our reverend father, the father general of the society of Jesus, God's lieutenant; and to your successors (or to you, reverend father, in place of the general of the society of Jesus, God's lieutenant, and his successors) perpetual poverty, chastity, and obedience; and, accordingly, peculiar care in the erudition of youth, consentaneous to the form of living, contained in the apostolick letters of the society of Jesus, and in the constitution thereof. Moreover, I promise special obedience to the pope, concerning missions, as contained in the same apostolick letters and constitutions.

Our new explanation, or exposition, far exceeds the old text, and is a superstructure upon that pristine foundation of villainy, erected since those times. The blessed trinity, the holy sacrament, and the whole host of heaven, are made stalking horses for impious mortals, in the ungodly, uncharitable, anti-christian works of ruining kings, kingdoms, and all mankind besides themselves, only to set up the court of Rome, and a despotick power. These horrid impieties (but

that we are promised the gates of hell shall not prevail against them) might make conscientious men, with trembling, presage and dread, that the ruin of Christianity is not far off. These men, when they swear their misled profelytes into treasons, murders, felonies, and secrecy, little mind to consider what is taught in holy writ concerning an oath, *Jerem. iv. 2. And thou shalt swear, The Lord liveth in truth, in judgment, and in righteousness, &c.* What regard these oaths have to truth, judgment, and righteousness, let the reader take notice, and proceed to observe one unparalleled clause in the oath, *viz.* 'And that no hopes of reward, threats, or punishments, shall make me discover the rest concerned in so pious a work; and, if discovered, shall never confess any accessaries with myself concerned in this design.'

Here they lead their profelytes into a labyrinth of wickedness, but then they leave them no way, or means, to disengage themselves, or others out of it, and consequently to be hanged, and damned afterwards. This may learn the most wilful and most obstinate charity, to have a care how it extends itself, in believing the words of the late dying Jesuits, and others. *Discite justitiam moniti.* And let it teach all good Protestants the nature of these Romish wolves, who, though they change their hair, will never change their hearts.

Now, having given an account of the oath of secrecy, next, I will render you an account how the Jesuits and popish priests insinuate themselves into the hearts of those, that they insnare to engage in this damnable design; which, particularly being exemplified in myself, may serve as instructions, how others were induced and encouraged to propagate their hellish principles. The relation is as followeth:

About the latter end of January, 1676, Thomas Thwing, a priest, and William Rushton, another popish priest, who was my ghostly father, came to my house at Shippon-hall in Yorkshire; and there examined me how I was affected to the Romish religion, and if there were any occasion, What would I do for the good of that religion? To whom I replied, that I was so well affected to the Romish religion, that I would venture my life and estate, in the management of any design whatsoever, for the good of that religion. The priests then said, that they were glad to hear me in so good a humour, and heartily wished, that all the Catholicks in England were of my mind; and further told me, that all England in a little time would be Roman Catholicks; for that the duke of York, next heir to the crown, had renounced the Protestant religion. Therefore, force was to be used, for the more speedy bringing him to the crown: but added, that, before I could be any further acquainted with the particulars of this design, I must first take the afore-mentioned oath of secrecy, which all good Catholicks must take; for, if any Catholicks refused it, they could not be admitted to know of their designs and contrivances: for that Sir Thomas Gascoigne, Thomas Gascoigne, Esq. and other gentlemen, had taken

taken the same, and engaged themselves, and given security for their respective performances.

Then I told the said priests, that I would not deny to take it, for I would obey my ghostly father in all things. And on Candlemas-day, 1676, I did accordingly go to Barmbow-hall, as was formerly agreed, where I heard mass, and took the oath of secrecy from the hands of my ghostly father, to be private, and keep secret the design of killing his sacred majesty, and the destruction of all such Protestants as would not be of the Romish religion; which oath of secrecy is before related, and is the true copy of the said oath, as I got it from the said Rushton accidentally, the very same day it was ministered unto me by him.

Before I took the oath of secrecy, I went to confession, where my ghostly father, in my said confession, told me, that I must believe, "that it was a mortal sin, to reveal what was told me by my ghostly father, in my confession, and that I was certainly damned, if ever I discovered the concerns of this design, or taking the said oath of secrecy."

But, after I had taken the said oath of secrecy, and was acquainted with the design, whenever I went to confession, my ghostly father would be sure to examine me, how I had kept my oath; upon which, if my father-confessor did judge that I had not so truly kept the same as I ought to have done, then must I have taken the same oath over again. Besides, my ghostly father frequently taught me how to make use of equivocations and mental reservations;

First, How to defend myself against the Protestants: if I were asked by a stranger, Whether Mr. Rushton was a priest? That then I might lawfully deny it; or, upon oath before a magistrate, I might positively deny my knowledge of Rushton to be a popish priest: but then I must privately to myself make use of this equivocation, that I did not see the said Rushton take his orders beyond sea; therefore could not swear him to be a priest. And then followed the benefits of absolution for this, or any other service done for the good of the Romish religion.

And, indeed, my penance in confession was once enjoined me by my father Rushton, to lash myself with a cat of nine-tails, or discipline, because I did not deny, with asseverations, to one Mr. Burman, that he was no popish priest; although I did not confess the same to Mr. Burman, yet he alledged, that I did it but faintly, and therefore that should be my penance.

Secondly, If reproached by the Protestants, that they of the Romish religion made no conscience to destroy those that were of a contrary opinion to them:

Then, with imprecations, I might lawfully deny the same; only making use of this reservation to myself, that I must deny any thing which is against the interest of the church; besides, if I should own it to be the doctrine of the Romish church, that then the

Protestants would beat out my brains, as was taught me by my ghostly father Rushton.

Thirdly, That, since the discovery of this popish plot, if I at any time heard the Protestants discourse, that they of the Romish church taught the murdering of kings and princes, and that the king was to have been murdered by the Papists, that then I must vindicate the Romish religion; arguing, that such doctrine the Papists held not, with reservation to myself, that I must not own such a design, unless effected, believing, that the Protestants being hereticks had no power to examine me, neither was I obliged to answer directly to the question.

The ceremonies, manner, and form, used in the taking of the said oath of secrecy, are thus:

AT the chapel door, I sprinkled myself with holy water, and then went into the chapel, where, bowing towards the altar, I made the sign of the cross, and said, *Sprinkle me with hyssop and I shall be cleansed, wash me and I shall be whiter than snow.* Then kneeling, I made the sign of the cross, and said, *In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, Amen.* After that, I said certain prayers used before confession, and, at the conclusion, made again the sign of the cross; which being ended, I went into the vestry, where, kneeling, I asked my ghostly father's blessing, as children usually do their parents. Then, after that, I made again the sign of the cross, and then had the benefit of confession, and absolution from my sins; and then I went into the chapel, and said prayers, before receiving the sacrament.

But, when mass was said, I did not communicate with the rest there present, although the sacrament was consecrated for me, but after the rest were gone; then William Rushton, my ghostly father, called me to the altar, where, bowing my body and kneeling, I made the sign of the cross; then I kissed the mass-book, and laid my right-hand upon it, and so had the oath of secrecy given me by my ghostly father Rushton, repeating it after him. But at these words, *In testimony whereof, I do receive this most holy and blessed sacrament of the eucharist,* Rushton put the sacrament into my mouth, and said this little Latin prayer following!

Corpus Domini nostri Jesu Christi custodiat animam tuam in vitam æternam. Amen.

Then again I kissed the mass-book, held in the priest's hand, but held my hand on the mass-book all the time I was taking the oath, aforesaid; and after that, rising, bowed my body to the altar, in an humble manner, and so returned to my place again.

Now, after I had taken the said oath of secrecy, Rushton went again into the vestry, to say his prayers on his breviary, but I continued still in the chapel, to say my prayers, used after the taking of the sacrament.

Then,

Then, after Rushton my confessor came forth out of the vestry, he went towards his own chamber, whither I followed him; but Sir Thomas Gascoigne hastily calling the said Rushton, he laid down his breviary in his closet, to which was no door, and is situate near his chamber, which said breviary I taking up, found therein the said oath of secrecy; of which oath I had a sufficient time to take a true copy, and it is the real copy which is before recited; although, when I took the copy of the said oath, I never intended that any Protestant should have seen it.

The same day were hallowed for myself two pistols, which were to be made use of for the destruction of the Protestant party, if the Roman Catholick religion had prevailed in England. There were also swords, guns, and pistols, hallowed for Thomas Gascoigne, Esq. and others engaged in the popish plot. And, in the said month of February, I had an indulgence, or pardon, for thirty thousand years, given me by the said Rushton, my ghostly father, for my encouragement in my proceedings of my being so zealous against his majesty and government; and the penance enjoined me was to say every day a litany, for the intercession and conversion of England: but if I twice a day said the said litany, then should I each day redeem a soul out of purgatory. But I have heard my ghostly father say, that some Catholicks had their indulgences for fifty thousand years; others, a plenary indulgence, to encourage them to be firmer to this design. Such a plenary indulgence I saw in the hands of Mr. Mowbray, about the latter end of January, 1676-7. And the litany of intercession for England is as follows:

+

LORD have mercy on us,
Christ have mercy on us,
Lord have mercy on us,
O Father of mercy, and God of all consolation,
O Son, Redeemer of the world, and of all things in
heaven and earth, the Pacifier,
O Holy Ghost, Light of those that err, and of the
miserable the only comfort,
Holy Mary, mother of God, and mother of mercy,
Holy Mary, who hast destroyed all heresies,
Holy virgin of virgins, famous in England for many
miracles,
St. Michael, prince of the church,
St. Gabriel, privy to the mysteries of God,
St. Raphael, faithful guide of travellers,
Holy Angel, prince of England,
St. John Baptist, master, and form of penance,
All holy patriarchs, and prophets, friends of God,
and preachers of truth,
St. Peter, pastor of sheep, and prince of the apostles,
St. Paul, doctor of the Gentiles, in faith and verity,
St. Andrew, friend and lover of the cross,
All holy apostles, and evangelists, and special in-
creasers of christianity, faith, and unity,
All holy innocents slain for Christ,

St. Stephen, and St. Lucius, king,
 St. Alban, and St. Amphibale,
 St. Sophias, and St. George,
 St. German, and St. Coleman,
 St. Kylian, and St. Adrian,
 St. Etheldred, king, and St. Toncon,
 St. Isenger, and St. Edmund, king,
 St. Edward, king, and St. Thomas of Canterbury,
 All holy martyrs of England, Scotland, and Ireland,
 St. Fugatius and Damianus,
 St. Gregory, and St. Augustine,
 St. Ethelbert, king,
 St. Patrick, and St. Columbe,
 St. Pethno, and St. Cuthbert,
 St. Furseus, and St. Malachi,
 St. John, and St. David,
 St. Brandon, and St. Fiaker,
 St. Archibald, and St. Macarius,
 St. Marianus, and St. Alexander,
 St. Bennet, St. Boniface, and St. Bede,
 St. Dunstan, St. Henry, and St. Robert,
 St. Richard, St. Roger, and St. Hugh,
 St. Gilbert, St. Lanfranck, and St. Anseline,
 All holy bishops, and confessors of England, Scot-
 land, and Ireland,
 St. Helen, queen, St. Urfula, and St. Agnes,
 St. Bridget, St. Buryen, and St. Tecla,
 St. Agatha, St. Mechtil, and St. Maxentia,
 St. Christine, and St. Winifred,
 St. Etheldred, queen, and St. Margaret, queen,
 All holy virgins, and martyrs of England, Scotland,
 and Ireland,
 All blessed and holy saints of all places,

Pray for England

*Be merciful, spare England, good Lord,
Be merciful, hear us, O Lord.*

From all imminent perils of sins and backslidings,
From the spirit of pride and apostasy,
From the spirit of ambition,
From the spirit of rebellion,
From all hardness and blindness of heart,
From all surfeiting and drunkenness,
From the desires and liberty of the flesh,
From hatred, contempt, and neglect of sacred things,
From prophaning of churches, and from all sacrilege,
From the tyranny and cruelty of hereticks, which it
now groans under,
From wicked and pernicious councils,
Deliver England, O Lord.

We sinners, O God of pity, do beseech thee to hear us.

That thou wouldest direct the pope's holiness, and all prelates, to pacify and govern the church,
That thou wouldest be pleased to bring again into this kingdom the ancient catholick, apostolick, and Roman faith,
That thou wouldest put into the hearts of all Christian kings and princes unity, peace, and concord,
and

and that their fervent zeal may be stirred up, to put their helping hands to reduce it to the obedience of the holy see of Rome,
 That thou wouldest comfort, and fortify, all such as suffer imprisonment, loss of goods, or other affliction, for the catholick faith,
 That neither by frailty or inticements, or any torments, thou permit any of us to fall from thee,
 That thou wouldest give us perfect patience in our afflictions, and to make ghostly profit of all our miseries,
 That thou wouldest mercifully hasten the conversion of England, Scotland, and Ireland, from the infection of heresy and infidelity,
 That thou wouldest deliver and keep, in these times of persecution, the pastors of our souls from the hands of their enemies,
 That thou wouldest daily augment in them the fire of thy love, and the zeal of gaining souls,
 That thou wouldest preserve all the Catholicks of this land in holiness of life, and from all manner of sin and scandal,
 That thou wouldest so adorn us with holiness of life and conversation, that our enemies seeing our good works, may glorify thee, our heavenly Father,
 That thou wouldest reduce from error and heresy, our parents, friends, and benefactors, whom thou hast so dearly bought with thy precious blood,
 That thou wouldest illuminate the hearts of all schismatics, which live out of the church, to see the grievous danger of their estate,
 That thou wouldest mercifully look down from heaven, upon the blood of so many martyrs, as have given their lives to convert us unto thee,

O Lord, we beseech thee to hear us.

Jesus Christ, Son of God, and of the Virgin Mary,

We beseech thee to hear us.

Jesus Christ, Saviour and Redeemer of the world,

We beseech thee to hear us.

Lamb of God, that takest away the sins of the world,

Spare us, O Lord.

Lamb of God, that takest away the sins of the world,

Hear us, O Lord.

Lamb of God, that takest away the sins of the world,

Have mercy on us.

Lord have mercy,

Pater noster, &c.

Christ have mercy,

Et ne nos inducas, &c.

Lord have mercy,

Sed libera nos a malo.

Amen.

About the latter end of October, or the beginning of November, 1678, my occasions called me to Leeds market, within four miles of my habitation, and a market that I frequently used: after my particular business was done, my curiosity led me, as usually it did, to a coffee-house; where, amongst other news and reports, I heard that one Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, a justice of peace at London, was missing, and that it was suspected and feared that he was murdered, or made away by the Papists.

At my return home, I repaired to Sir Thomas Gascoigne's house at Barmbow, one quarter of a mile from my house, and there meeting his son, Thomas Gascoigne, Esq. I acquainted him with the news I heard at Leeds.

Who thereupon took a letter out of his pocket, directed to himself, which he shewed me; which letter was subscribed *I. Corker*, wherein he acquainted the esquire in words to this effect: *That Sir Edmundbury Godfrey had been a very busy man, and a great enemy to the Catholicks, therefore they had procured him to be destroyed.*

And, some few days after, we had the same thing confirmed in print, viz. *That he was murdered.* Upon which my ghostly father, William Rushton, sent for me to come to mass at Sir Thomas Gascoigne's house; and, at confession, did charge me to give out, *That I heard that Sir Edmundbury Godfrey was a melancholy gentleman, and, in a discontent, went into the fields, and there murdered himself with his own sword.*

Which accordingly I did, as occasion offered, in all companies I happened into; but was contradicted by many; and by some, that it could not be, for that his neck was broke, which he could not do after he had murdered himself, nor be capable to do it, if his neck was broke before: and, being thus run down in my assertions, I acquainted my said ghostly father, William Rushton, therewith, who told me he had received new instructions, which he shewed me in writing, and were to this effect:

That Sir Edmundbury Godfrey was a gentleman who had often attempted to destroy himself; that he did really hang himself in his own silk girdle, in his chamber, at the bed's feet; which being discovered, two of his servants acquainted his brothers therewith, who, coming thither, contrived his taking down, and the carrying him to the place where he was found, where they run his corpse through, on purpose to throw it on the Papists, thereby to save the estate to themselves, and from being forfeited to the king; and that the two servants had fifty pounds a-piece given them to keep it private. He also said, that one of them, which was a maid-servant, offered to discover this contrivance to his majesty and council, but that she was by them rejected: nevertheless, for all this, at the same time, Rushton owned to me, that he was murdered by the Papists, but by what hands he knew not; and further, he seemed much concerned that it was done; wishing it had never been done, because it would make the murder of the king the more difficult to be performed.

ROBERT BOLRON.

A farther information by Robert Bolron, gentleman.

I BEING sent down by an order of council, bearing date the seventeenth day of October, 1679, to search several Papists houses in Yorkshire, Lancashire, bishoprick of Durham, and Northumberland; among other houses, searching the mansion-house of Richard

Richard Sherborn of Stonyhurst, in the county of Lancashire, Esq. in the chamber of Edward Cottam, a Jesuit, or popish priest, I found the paper hereunto annexed.

This same Cottam, upon the death of Henry Long, mentioned in the said paper, was, by the said Mr. Sherborn, entertained as his domestick priest, in the stead and place of the other, who, as the Papiſts gave out, drowned himself; but was rather made away by the Romish party, as being one that was discontented in his mind, and of whom they had a suspicion, that he would discover this *damnable popish plot* carried on by the Papiſts, who, therefore, as I have heard from several understanding Papiſts engaged in the plot, procured his death.

The original copy being in Latin, it was thought convenient to print it in that language:

— *Celebrare quis astringetur.*

Postremo, ut evidenter testetur, quod omnes ad hoc opus pium assentiantur, has constitutiones propria manu subsignabant.

— Every one shall be bound to celebrate.

Lastly, That it may be evidently testified, that all do unanimously assent to this pious work, they did underwrite these constitutions with their own hands.

Ricardus Moorus,	Henricus Holden,
Petrus Giffardus,	Georgius Catterell,
Henricus Long,	Johannes Mollyns,
Jacobus Markland,	Johannes Holden,
Ricardus Sallins,	Gulielmus Gerard,
Marmaduke Dalton,	Edvardus Blackburn,
Rogerus Anderton,	P. Winder,
Thurston Anderton,	Johannes Urmeſton,
Edvardus Anderton,	Thomas Hugonis,
Ricardus Barton,	Georgius Brown,
Edvardus Mollineux,	Georgius Rich, ai : d : s :
Thomas Eccleſton,	onus.
Petrus Goodenus,	

Quando omnes unanimiter consentierant his constitutionibus, die 28 Februarii, 1675, hi designabantur superiores.

When all had consented to these constitutions, the twenty-eighth of February, 1675, these were designed superiors.

Reverendissimus Dominus.

Ricardus Moorus,	} Thesaurarii.
D. Johannes Holdenus,	
D. Johannes Mollyns,	
D. Petrus Giffardus, Secretarius.	

D. Rogerus Anderton, Collector pro sex Hundredis pro Derbieniſi, Collector for Six Hundreds in Derbyshire.

D. Ricardus Bartonius, for Layland.

D. Tho. Hugonis, for Amounderness.

D. Ed. Blackburn, for Loynſdale.

D. Petrus Goodenus, } for Blackburn Hundreds

D. Henricus Long, } in Lancashire.

Having thus given the reader an account of this paper, how I came by it, and in whose custody I found it, I shall leave it to the consideration of any person of impartial judgment, what should be the design of so many priests and Jesuits to make such orders and constitutions among themselves? And for what reason those orders must be confirmed by so many manual subscriptions? Certainly the orders of their society needed no such confirmations. This must be then some eccentric business, for so many priests and Jesuits to meet and cabal in the remote parts of the nation; and there also to appoint treasurers and collectors, not ordinary persons neither, but such as could not be named without the title of *most reverend lord*; which imports them not the treasurers of alms, but of contributions. Now, contributions signify sums; and sums, it cannot be imagined, should be collected in those parts for the Jesuits to build colleges in England.

It remains then, that these collectors were appointed for the collection of considerable sums (the largesses of blind zeal and deluded piety, or the price of indulgences for fifty thousand years, and exemptions from purgatory) to carry on the great work of their damnable plot, which, it is apparent, was hatching in the year 1675, and long before.

And this, I hope, may, in a large measure, serve to prove and make good that part of my information already given; wherein I have declared, that, in the counties of York, Lancaster, Northumberland, and bishoprick of Durham, there have been no less than thirty thousand pounds collected by the Jesuits and priests, which were, no question, the effects of such orders and constitution as these above-named, for the more speedy bringing to pass the destruction of his most sacred majesty, and the Protestant religion.

As for Long, Dalton, Thurston, Anderton, Tho. Eccleſton, and Urmeſton, I know them to be all Jesuits; therefore it is probable to believe the rest are of the same stamp.

London, December
the 6th, 1680.

ROBERT BOLRON.

A brief Account of many memorable Passages of the Life and Death of the Earl of Shaftsbury, some time Lord High-Chancellor of England, who departed this Life the twenty-first Day of December, 1683; giving an impartial Relation of his Loyalty to his Majesty in the late Times, and the great Endeavours he used to bring in the King into England, unto his just Rights, in Peace and Safety; with his Majesty's grateful Acknowledgments of these his Kindnesses to him, in preferring him to several eminent Places of Honour and Trust; together with his great Patience under the Loss of the same. Also, his twice Imprisonment in the Tower, and his witty Answer to one of the popish Lords upon his Imprisonment; his Release; and several Plots and Sham-plots of the Papists, used to take away his Life, for his Vigilancy and Care for the Protestant Religion, and their Disappointments. Of his Arrival in Holland, and his kind Entertainment there. Together with his Sickness, and worthy Speeches a little before his Death. Concluded with a Prayer worthy of the Perusal of all Persons.

IT is not my presumption, in this sheet, to write the life of this great statesman, but to give the reader a brief account of some remarkable passages in the same, for the satisfaction of the meaner sort, that cannot purchase large volumes.

Anthony, Earl of Shaftsbury, Baron Ashley of Wimbourne, and Lord Cooper of Paulet, was descended from the honourable and ancient family of the Coopers of Wimbourne, St. Giles's, in the county of Dorset.

We shall, in the first place, (laying aside all his other virtues) treat of the loyalty of this noble peer, in the words of the late author; faith he, Could we have taken a view of the inside of this noble peer, we might have seen his heart full of loyalty to his prince, love to his country, and zeal for the Protestant religion; the settlement of which can only secure us from the attempts of his majesty's, and his people's enemies. With what admirable policy did he influence and manage the councils in the late times, in what he was concerned in, during the *interregnum*, towards his majesty's interest, and with what admirable subtlety did he turn the stream of their counsels; and with what unwearied diligence did he tug at the helm of state, till he had brought in his great master, the king, into his kingdoms again, in prosperity and safety, to the joy of all good subjects?

His house was a sanctuary for distressed loyalists, and his correspondence with the king: friends, though closely managed, as the necessity of those times required, are not unknown to those that were the principal managers of his majesty's affairs at that time: this made the late usurper, Oliver Cromwell, so jealous of him, whose arbitrary government he withstood to the utmost of his power. And we find that Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper was accused before the rump parliament, in the year 1659, for keeping intelligence with the king, and having provided forces in Dorsetshire, to join with Sir George Booth, in attempting to bring in our noble king, that now is, to his

rightful throne; and also his concurrence with General Monk, in that important juncture, if we remember that his regiment was one of the first that declared for a free parliament, and General Monk, in March 1659, so zealous was he in putting all his strength to turn the great wheel of state.

And, at the time of his majesty's restoration, as a most signal testimony of his majesty's good opinion of his former actions, he was advanced to be one of the first rank in his majesty's most honourable privy-council, and was placed above his royal brother, the duke of Gloucester, even General Monk himself, whom the king used to call his political father: and, three days after his majesty's coronation, he was created Baron Ashley of Wimbourne, St. Giles's, and also Lord Cooper of Paulet, and, at last, another mark of royal favour, in the year 1672, he was made earl of Shaftsbury; for his wise administration in his majesty's affairs, he was made chancellor of the exchequer, and some time after that, made lord high chancellor of England; about the beginning of the year 1672, which place he executed with the greatest judgment and equity imaginable.

Thus having briefly traced this great minister of state, in these mighty employments under his great and good master, the king, I shall take some notice of his relinquishment of that high employment, and what happened to him since.

About November, 1673, his majesty was pleased to send for the lord chancellor to Whitehall; where he resigned the great seal of England to his majesty, and was dismissed from being treasurer of the exchequer: in the afternoon of the same day, the earl of Shaftsbury was visited by Prince Rupert, with other great lords, at Exeter-house, where they gave his lordship thanks, for his faithful and honourable discharge of that great employment. Thus this great minister of state, to the universal satisfaction of all good men, being raised to that high degree of interest in

in his master's favour, without a murmur, laid all his honour at his majesty's feet, and was observed not to abate of the cheerfulness of his temper, upon the loss of all these temporal and honourable employments. I shall conclude this part of his life, with a character that a late author gave of him:

— ' His choice sagacity

- ' Straight solv'd the knot that subtle lawyers ty'd,
- ' And, through all fogs, discern'd the oppressed side;
- ' Banish'd delays, and so this noble peer
- ' Became a star of honour in our sphere:
- ' A needful Atlas of our state.'

On the sixteenth of February, 1676, this earl was sent prisoner to the Tower, by the order of the house of lords; there were, at the same time, committed several other lords, for maintaining, That the then parliament was dissolved, and ought not to sit any longer; where he continued prisoner about a year's time, and, after submitting himself to his majesty and the parliament, he was discharged, by acknowledging his fault. A little after his releasement, this parliament was prorogued, and after dissolved. Now was the wicked plot of the Jesuits and Papists discovered by the great fidelity of Dr. Oates, which convinced both king, lords, and commons, and all the nation in general, of a damnable, treasonable, popish design, to murder our king, with the rest of the nobility and gentry, and to reduce the Protestant church to Romish idolatry, and the state to a catholick slavery.

On the seventh of March, 1678, another parliament met at Westminster; this parliament did, like noble patriots, endeavour to give a check to the bloody popish designs a foot, and passed many excellent votes for that purpose; many members acquitted themselves, in their speeches, like men of high sense of the miseries the nation was like to be involved in; this house carried up their impeachments to the house of lords, against the Lord Powis, Stafford, Arundel, Lord Peters, Lord Bellasis, for high-treason, and other high crimes: but I shall forbear mentioning any farther, only instance how this noble peer was struck at in that hellish design. I shall refer the reader to what hath been already published in print, only note two or three things of some persons, that made attempts on the life of this noble peer; first, by Dangerfield, who had a great sum offered him, to have murdered the earl of Shaftsbury, on whom the rage of the bloody Romish party was now so great, that they left no base and unwarrantable action unattempted, to rob him of his life; some were hired to stab or pistol him; others to swear treason against him; or any other way the devil put in their heads. Another design against this noble peer, was to have been acted by a woman, called Madam Cellier, a popish midwife: who attempted that cursed design, under the pretence of a visit to the earl, and under pretence of her paying her thanks for favours received through his means; but

she had a consecrated dagger under the skirt of her gown, ready to have expressed her gratitude, by opening the veins of this Protestant peer's heart.

Is then loyal innocence, and Protestant integrity, armour of proof against poisons, pistols, and poniards? No; the catholick gallantry stops not here, but pursues this noble peer with forgery of his hand, and other little sham-plots: what base and villainous acts the bloody Papists used, to destroy the earl of Shaftsbury, by many endeavours to have stabbed him, as hath been deposed by many persons, to whom the parliament, as well as the nation, have given belief? I shall instance one more of their mischievous practices in this kind: there was a gentleman, who was a commander of a regiment of horse in the late king's army, and lost all for his sake, and his present majesty's, writ to this noble peer about a remedy against the gout, which he used to be afflicted with very much; this letter was intercepted, and (the person then living in the French king's dominions) after adding to it an account, that the writer was able to furnish the earl with forty thousand soldiers from France, to oppose the duke of York's interest; it was then conveyed to some of the French king's ministers, who, they suppose, would send a copy hither; but, by a strange providence, the original was returned into the gentleman's own hands.

Nor were they yet wanting in throwing dirt, and slander, this noble peer in his reputation, which faculty they are famous at; for now a packet of base libels and treasonable reflections were, by the penny-post, sent to a printer, and copies of the same dispersed about the parts of Westminster. All of venomous and malicious slanders and imputations, tending to the taking away the life of the earl of Shaftsbury, and divers other peers of honourable account; but the printer, detesting such a design, published an invitation to any person that would discover the author or publisher of that infamous libel. And now we are got into such a bog of plots, sham-plots, perjurers, subornations, as the histories of no age can parallel. In October, during the sessions of the last parliament, it is remarkable, that Francisco de Faria, interpreter to the Portuguese ambassador, amongst other matters relating to the plot, gave information to the bar of the house, that he was tempted to kill the earl of Shaftsbury, by throwing a hand-grenado into his coach as he passed the road into the country. But, to sum up all, several methods that were invented to be executed against the life of this peer, were innumerable, by these jesuited crew, who set all their inventions and engines on work, to make away the earl of Shaftsbury; he was the beam in their eye, and the clog that hindered the motion of their cursed designs: what have they not attempted to make him distasteful to the king, through the foulness of their treasons on him? as was made appear before the king and council in October, 1681, that Fitzgerald told Mr. Haines, that he the said Fitzgerald possessed his majesty, and had given it under his hand and seal, that the late plot

was a Presbyterian plot, and invented by the earl of Shaftsbury, on purpose to extirpate the royal family, and to dethrone his present majesty, and turn England into a commonwealth, or else to set the crown upon the earl's own head, with more such wicked and treasonable matter; a further account you may have in his trial.

But a new parliament was summoned to appear at Oxford, where things of as high nature were agitated, as ever came before the consideration of a parliament, no less than the preservation of the king's majesty's person, the Protestant religion, and the good of the people of England; all which now was invaded by the bloody designs of the Papists, but, being very hot about the business of Fitzharris, and things of the like nature, it pleased his majesty to dissolve them.

Some time after Fitzharris was tried and executed, the earl of Shaftsbury was again committed to the Tower of London; the circumstances of his examination and acquittal, would take too much room here to be recited. To finish this tragical story, only I cannot omit, that, on the fifteenth of August, 1681, Mrs. Fitzharris gave a deposition on oath, that her husband, a little before his execution, not only told her what offers he had made him, if he would have charged that treasonable and infamous libel (which he was executed afterwards for) on this noble peer and the Lord Howard; and that he advised her to do it to save his life; though he protested, at the same time, that they were wholly innocent; she likewise deposed, that a certain gentleman assured her, that she should have what money she pleased, if she would accuse the earl and the Lord Howard, as the authors of the said libel; but they having tampered with so many, on account of this baffled design, that it was impossible but their consult must take wind, especially when we consider they were a people, that, either to supply their necessities, or to feed their ambition, or, more probably, through irresistible fatality, had blabbed and discovered the secrets of holy mother, and had spoke so unseasonably in her tip, that they had spoiled her game. What security could these Romish sophisters have, but that their corked vessel would prove leaky again? I shall give one memorable passage, said to have passed between the earl and one of the popish lords, soon after his commitment; the story is this: Meeting accidentally with one of the popish lords, he was asked by him, What his lordship did there, and that he little thought to have his good company? To which the earl of Shaftsbury replied, that he had lately been sick of an ague, and was come there to take some Jesuits powder. It was said, during the whole time of his lordship being in the Tower, he remained very chearful, beyond what could have been expected from a person labouring under such extreme pains and diseases. During the earl's imprisonment, many made it their business to detract and vilify him; and it was their mode to drink his health at an hempening, and call him *Tony Tapskin*, and *King of Poland*. After the earl's trial, it is reported he arrested

one Baines, one of the witnesses for a conspiracy, also several others; but being not suffered to have his trial against them in London and Middlesex, he remitted the same till another opportunity. Thus have we given a brief account of the most remarkable things relating to this great peer, to this time; after which he lived very private at his house in Aldersgate-street, till the beginning of the month of November, when, it is reported, he left England, and landed at Brill in Holland, where he was nobly entertained by the States, and, as some say, hath put into their stock a considerable sum of money.

But, amongst the rest, let us take cognisance of his deportment in the time of his seeming affliction; he was little or nothing dismayed at the contrary current, which opposed the stream of his aspiring mind, which was a generous and magnanimous spirit in him; for, indeed, he was as much befriended by unexpected favours abroad, as afflicted by domestick troubles in his own native soil; his reception in Holland was, unquestionably, very kind, as doubtless was appertinent to a person of his parts. It is not to be doubted, but the many transactions, happening in his time, had recorded him there, as well as in other countries, for a politician, and so was he received by them. His deportment there was such, that he obliged all that came near him, indulged all that knew him, and, at his death, left no man without an obligation of a *memento*. It was much to be taken notice of, that, during the time of his illness, he rather seemed to be of better composure in mind than ordinary, as seeming to embrace his malady with a kind of welcome, that might transmute his soul into that endless happiness, which he had been so long labouring for; he seemed to covet after that continual blessing which alone makes happy, and rejoiced at his approaching change. O happy is that man, who, like an undaunted champion, can boldly look upon the pale messenger of grim death without terror, when no astonishment comes to amaze the drooping senses; but, on the contrary, if filled with comfort, at the perfect assurance of a better state, by the help and assistance of a blessed change; no peace like a quiet mind, no comfort like the peace of conscience, nor no conquest like the victory over sin. Thrice happy is that man, whom the thoughts of death cannot terrify; then let us all labour so to live here, that we may assure ourselves of an inheritance hereafter, that shall furnish our souls with joys everlasting, that have no end. But when he perceived, that his fatal hour was most certainly approaching, with a most heavenly frame, he prepared himself to meet with that unwelcome messenger, taking great and particular care of his menial servants, that will imprint a memorial in their now bleeding hearts; so having settled affairs in his house, according to his own mind and will, he recommended his soul to him that gave it, in the following words and manner:

‘ O most gracious and merciful Lord God, who, out of thy infinite mercy and goodness, hast pre- served

‘ served and protected me through an ocean of trouble
 ‘ and perplexity, yea, and brought me out of a laby-
 ‘ rinth of danger, which, without thine assistance, I
 ‘ could never have waded through; and now, since by
 ‘ thy mercy I am made sensible of thy unspeakable love
 ‘ to me in this my last hour, I beseech thee, with an
 ‘ unfeigned desire, to have mercy upon my immortal
 ‘ soul, and let thine angel conduct it to the throne of
 ‘ thine everlasting happiness. Lord preserve and keep
 ‘ my sovereign-liege, Charles the Second, king of the
 ‘ land of my nativity, and protect that poor nation,
 ‘ now in a tottering condition, from the yoke and bur-
 ‘ then of popish tyranny, that the gospel may flourish
 ‘ in the dominions thereof. Lord strengthen me in
 ‘ this hour of tribulation, that I may chearfully pass
 ‘ through the dark passage, which leads to thy never
 ‘ fading light. Amen.’

A Letter * to a Person of Honour, concerning the King's Disavowing the having been married to the Duke of Monmouth's Mother.

My Lord,

AS you cannot but have seen his majesty's declaration, wherein he renounceth the having been married to the duke of Monmouth's mother; so I believe you will not be displeased to have an account of the sense of the thinking-men about the town concerning it. And this without either disguising, or concealing what is publickly discoursed, I shall, as becomes your lordship's servant, address myself to give you.

And in the first place, they say it is no surprize to them, that seeing the duke of York hath gotten the ascendant of the king, he should hector him into, or at least extort from him the aforesaid declaration. For, Can any imagine, that he who for some time renounced his own wife, and had provided persons to swear a familiarity with her, which made her unworthy of being duchess, should scruple to importune the king, to do as much by Mrs. Walters, though it were never so demonstrable that he was married unto her? The course he practised himself, he may without any breach of charity be thought ready to prescribe to others. And it may be, he thinks it will be some extenuation of what he did himself, if people can be brought to believe that it is a disease natural to the family, and which runs in a blood. Now we all know, not only with what asseverations the duke disclaimed his marriage with Mrs. Hyde, but with what reflexions upon her chastity he did it. And yet the proofs of the said marriage were so evident, that he was necessitated at last to acknowledge it; and to own her for his wife, after he had by himself, and many others, proclaimed her for no better than a common whore. And I am sure it left this impression upon most persons, that his faith to men was not very far to be relied on, seeing he

made so slight of that faith, which he had plighted in an ordinance of God to a harmless lady.

Secondly, Most men do observe this difference between the king's renouncing Mrs. Walters, and the duke's disclaiming Mrs. Hyde; that what the duke did was an act of inclination and choice, whereas it is apparent, that what the king hath done, is the result of dread and fear. For, to use his majesty's own expression not long ago, *He was harrassed out of his life, by the importunity of his brother, &c.* as he added, *He could rather chuse to die than live so uneasily as he did, while he withstood their daily solicitations in this matter.* And as nothing made the duke honest to Mrs. Hyde, but the interposition of his majesty's authority, from a sense of the justness of the lady's complaint; so they believe the king is only injurious, through the influence of others, and that when rescued out of ill hands, and left to himself, he will return to be just. For though his majesty be a prince of that clearness of understanding, that they cannot baffle him by false reasonings, yet he hath so much of James's timidity, that they can huff and over-awe him to things most opposite to his judgment, as well as cross to his interest. And let me upon this occasion remind your lordship of a story, of a Scots nobleman to my Lord Burleigh, upon that wise statesman desiring a character of King James, long before he ascended the English throne. If your lordship, saith the blunt Scotsman, know a jackanapes, you cannot but understand, that if I have him in my hands, I can make him bite you, whereas, if you get him into your hands, you may make him bite me.

Thirdly, The whole town is apprehensive, that the king, through endeavouring by this act to secure himself in the grace, at least forbearance of the duke, and popish party, will find in the issue, that instead thereof, he hath left himself naked and exposed to their wrath

* This is the 63d number of the catalogue of pamphlets in the Harleian library.

and malice. Nor is there any thing more probable than that what the king calls and intends only, for a declaration to serve his present occasions, they will transform into his last will and testament, to accommodate theirs. If Queen Elisabeth, when tempted to declare her successor, declined it with this saying, *That such an act would be the digging her grave, before she were dead*: Have we not great cause to apprehend, that the king having by this act digged his own grave, his brother, or the Jesuits, under whose government he is, will find hands to bring and put him into it, lest through delay, something should intervene that would fill it up again? It is a pity, that none would call to his majesty's memory that saying of Tacitus, *Suspectus semper invisusq; dominanti qui proximus destinatur*. Which by varying a little from the Latin, I will English thus: *That he ought to be always suspected, and carefully watched against by the ruler, who most ardently hopes, and thinks himself in likelihood to succeed him*. Statesmen in old times reckoned it for a maxim in politicks, that, *Ne mentio fieret heredis, vivo adhuc principe*: *That while the prince liveth, there ought not to be so much as a mentioning of any whose right it was to come after*. For as subtle Tiberius upbraided Macro, that he forsook the setting sun, to worship the rising; so King Charles may have, in time, if he have not already, cause to object the same to some about him. That crafty emperor knew more of the art of self-preservation, than crowned heads in our days seem to do. For though he had adopted Germanicus, at the command of Augustus, of whom he received the empire, yet having a son of his own, namely Drusus, he would never declare in favour of either so long as they lived, but judged his own safety to consist in leaving it doubtful, whose title to the universal monarchy was best. However, say most of his majesty's subjects, though we have not been able to prevent the king from this unwary act, by which he hath staked his life to the pleasure of his enemies, yet we will be kinder to him than he hath been to himself, and contribute all we can to his security; and that is by letting the world know, that we will revenge his death, by sacrificing the whole popish party upon his grave, in case he should come to an untimely end.

Fourthly, This declaration would be received with less hesitation in the minds of people, if kings and princes were not made of the same mould with other men, and liable to the like failures, and moral prevarications, than the rest of the sons of Adam are. And therefore, observing how common it is for persons upon a lower ground to renounce their wives, and most sacredly disclaim their marriages; they conceive it is not impossible, but that these, who move in higher spheres, may upon strong temptations do the like. Yea, our own history furnisheth us with an instance of a great king, and one who swayed the English sceptre, who is transmitted to us, with this blot in his escutcheon. The person I mean is Edward the Fourth, who being a sprightly and amorous prince, was suddenly contracted and married to Elinor Talbot, daughter of the earl of Shrewsbury, and that not only without any

witnesses, save Dr. Thomas Stillington, bishop of Bath, into whose hands the contract was made, and who officiated at, and celebrated the marriage, but besides the poor doctor was strictly enjoined by the king to conceal it; and you may easily suppose the timorous prelate would not fail in his duty to majesty, at least so long as he knew the king in a condition to punish and avenge the discovery. Now Edward the Fourth, finding thereupon admission into the embraces of the lady, and having satiated himself awhile by secret enjoyments, and withal reckoning that none could, or at least durst detect by what holy ties he was bound unto her; he did some years after, notwithstanding the person to whom he was affianced still survived, both deny what was so solemnly transacted in the presence of Almighty God between them, and withal married another woman, namely my Lady Elisabeth Gray. Your lordship may see the story both in Buck's Life of Richard the Third, pag. 16, &c. and in Comines's History of Lewis the Eleventh. And without making any application of it to the present case, I shall crave liberty to make these remarks upon it.

1. That it is possible for princes, especially such as have accompanied with many women, to have weak memories, and to forget upon what terms they contracted their first friendships with them. For, finding how their familiarity arose with others of that sex, they may grow, by degrees, into a kind of persuasion, that their interest, in all, was established upon no better terms. Or, if they should not be supposed so forgetful as this amounts unto, yet the love of change may make them stifle their knowledge, especially when the objects of their fresh amours cannot be otherwise brought to entertain their flame, but with a provision for their own honour.

2. That the denials of kings are not to be subscribed unto with an implicit faith; but that we ought to use the same discretion in believing, or not believing, what they say, that we esteem ourselves privileged to use towards others, in the credit which they require we should give unto them. For, though princes be not liable to be impleaded in our courts, nor be subject to penalties, that transgressing subjects are; yet, seeing they may be guilty of the same facts, which would both leave a reproach upon common men, and make them obnoxious to punishments; it cannot rationally be expected, that their bare words should restrain the freedom of our thoughts, or give law to our understandings, in the judgment that we are to make of cases and things.

3. I would observe, that though the judicial courts could not, and the parliaments, during Edward's reign, would not take cognisance of that king's contemning and violating the ordinance of God, by disclaiming his lawful wife; yet the righteous judge of heaven and earth, in a little while after, animadverted severely on the offence; for not only his two sons, whom he had by the Lady Gray, were murdered by their uncle, but the kingdom was translated from his family, and not only bestowed upon the chiefest enemy of his house, but

but upon one, who, among all that, for a long series before, had been rivals for the crown, had the weakest title.

4. It is not unworthy also of our notice, that notwithstanding King Edward's denying his first marriage, and assuming another lady unto his conjugal bed, yet all this could neither prevent the future inquiry into this matter, nor the parliament's recognising the marriage with Elinor Talbot, 1 Rich. III. and besides the imputation of a Bigamist, which is thereby stamped upon him to all ages, his children, by the second venture, were bastardised by statute, and an occasion, from thence taken, to place the scepter in the hand of Richard.

Fifthly, Nothing in this declaration can preclude the duke of Monmouth, or any other true Englishman, from enquiring, when time serveth, by legal and due ways, into the truth or falshood of the king's marriage with Mrs. Walters; for the duke cannot be denied the same right, which appertains to every person in the kingdom, namely, the justifying his own legitimacy in due course and form. And should he chuse to sit down with the imputation of a bastard, with all the other losses which attend it; yet there are those in the nation, who preferring their duty to God, their country, themselves, and an injured gentleman, before a reverence to one man, especially acting under the influence of a popish brother, will bring that whole business into an impartial examination, before such, where a single negative will not be allowed a sufficient proof to invalidate affirmative testimonies, providing such can be had. And should that marriage hereafter be authentically proved, How ill will they be found to have deserved both of the king and kingdom, that have either surpris'd, cajoled, or threatened his majesty to bring such a slur upon his honour and reputation, as this declaration will, to all ages, entail? And, my lord, is it not strange, if there was never any such marriage, that Mrs. Walters should not only, when in travel with the said D. but at many other times, particularly in her last hours, when in the prospect of approaching death, and ensuing judgment, affirm it with that positiveness which she did? And is it not more surpris'ing, if there had been no such marriage, that Dr. Fuller, late bishop of Lincoln, should so often, and in *Verbo Sacerdotis*, declare to divers worthy persons, that he married them. Nay, what should bias the innkeeper at Liege, to make it the great mystery with which he entertained his English guests, that the marriage was celebrated and consummated in his house: and that both he and his wife were eye and ear witnesses of it. Moreover, if it were such an idle story, as the declaration represents it, How came it to pass, that when some persons, lately examined about the Black Box, declared, That they had heard of such a thing, as the king's being married to that gentlewoman, they should be immediately commanded to withdraw, and told, that this was not the business they were interrogated about? Besides, my lord, as all who were abroad with his majesty at that time, knew the passion the king had

for that person; so some of us can remember, how through immoderate love to her, being reduced to a condition that his life was despaired of, and the late queen, his mother, receiving intelligence both of his disease and the cause of it, she consented to his espousing of her, rather than that he should consume and perish in his otherwise unquenchable flames. Moreover, as there were few had better opportunities of being acquainted with this whole affair, than my late Lord Chancellor Hyde, so I am sure, the advantages likely to accrue to his offspring, by the seclusion of the duke of Monmouth from all title to the crown, may be judged sufficient inducements to have prevailed with him, if not to have asserted the said duke's bastardy, yet to have been silent in the case; and not to have proclaimed the legitimacy. And yet that very lord, being in danger of an impeachment in parliament, for advising and persuading the king to a marriage with Queen Catharine, excused himself from all sinister ends in that affair, by affirming, that his majesty had a lawful son of his own by a former marriage (specifying by name the duke of Monmouth) to succeed to his crown and dignity. Now, though it may be supposed that a person may sometimes lie for his interest, yet no man can be thought to do so, in order to the prejudice, as well of himself, as his whole posterity: and if we believe men speaking falshoods, in subserviency to their honour and profit, shall we not give credit to them, when they speak truth to their own damage, and that of all those who are dear unto them? Certainly, the positive confession and testimony of this one person, being against the interest of his whole family, is of more weight, than the denials of any number whatsoever, when merely to promote their safety and advantage, or to serve the exaltation of the papal cause. These are but few of the many particulars I could acquaint your lordship with, relating to the confirmation of the marriage between the king and Mrs. Walters: but it is a piece of necessary wisdom, at this juncture, to know what not to say, as well as to understand what to say. And, to tell you plainly, I am more a servant and a friend to my country, than by pretending to plead the duke's cause, and to be useful to the nation, to discover the witnesses which are in reserve, or betray the farther evidences which are to be produced, when this matter shall come before a competent judicature.

Sixthly, It is matter of no small trouble, to such as truly love his majesty, that the king's integrity and honour should be brought to stake, in a matter, wherein both the present age, and the succeeding, may take occasion to question, and bring into examination, his truth and sincerity. For though it is not impossible, but that princes, considering the temptations with which they are surrounded, may sometimes, through inadvertency, and, at other times, upon state-motives, endeavour to impose upon the credulity, if not abuse the faith of their people: yet, the veracity of a supreme governor is of that importance to himself, and so necessary to the veneration which his people ought

to maintain for him, that he is not to bring his credit to pawn, unless it be in such cases wherein his people may, if not, apologise for, yet connive at the indiscretion and weakness of their ruler, should he be found to delude them. Nor hath any thing obstructed the affairs of princes more, and prevented their people's believing them, when they spoke their most inward thoughts, than the forfeiture of their credit in matters wherein their subjects relied upon the honour and truth of their word. For they who do not mean as they speak, when people are prepared to hear them, must not expect that their words should be much relied upon, when their tongues are the true interpreters of their minds. And let me tell your lordship, that this last declaration hath caused multitudes of his majesty's best subjects to reflect upon, and take a view of many of his former declarations, that from them they may be furnished with reasons for justifying themselves in the suspension of their assent to this. And I wish there had not been that cause administered by foregoing ones, which may, with too many, lessen the value of the royal word, in that bearing date the second of June.

The first of this kind he ever published, after he came in view of being restored to the sovereignty over these kingdoms, was that dated at Breda, the fourth of April, 1660, wherein he promised liberty to all tender consciences, and engaged the sacred word of a king, that no man should be disquieted or called in question, for differences in matters of religion, provided they did not disturb the peace of the kingdom. Now, though I will not dispute about the sense wherein this declaration was meant, nor concerning the end for which it was calculated and framed, yet this I may be allowed to say, that there are a great many of his majesty's liege people, who have tasted dealings directly repugnant unto it, and may justly complain of some failure in the accomplishment of it.

It is true, his majesty is not originally to be blamed, that it had not the hoped-for effects; but, withal, that prince, that can be over-ruled to recede from a promise which contributed so much to his happy and peaceable restoration, may be supposed capable of such impressions, from men of ill minds, as may make him venture his royal word, in other cases, beyond the measures of justice. But, seeing it were a business of too much fatigue, to call over all the declarations since his majesty actually occupied the British throne, I shall therefore remind your lordship only of two more: whereof, the first is that of January the second, 1671, wherein the king, upon shutting up the Exchequer, declares, on the word of a prince, that the restraint put upon payments out of the treasury, should continue no longer than till the last of December, 1672; and yet the fulfilling of this is still prorogued, though it be now above nine years since the royal word was pledged for making it good.

The other that I shall refresh your memory with, is that of the twentieth of April, 1679, wherein his majesty, having shrived himself, and craved absolution for

all past matters, solemnly declareth, that he would, for time to come, lay aside the use of any single ministry, or private advices, or foreign committees, for the general direction of his affairs; and that he would afterwards govern his kingdoms by the advice of that council which he had then chosen, together with the frequent use of his great council of parliament, as being the true and ancient constitution of this state and government. Far be it from me to blame his majesty for the disappointment of those hopes which the people had so universally conceived upon that declaration, which was so full of ingenuity and candour, and so adapted to the honour, safety, and interest both of king and kingdom; but this may be said without the least umbrage of irreverence, that the same pestilent men, who were able to cause his majesty to violate such a declaration, wherein he spoke the most like a wise and good prince that ever he did, may be also able by the same ascendant influence to wrest an unadvised and bad one from him. The same councils which prevailed upon him to go against both his royal word, and all the maxims of policy with which he is so richly endowed; may they not likewise be conceived to have over-ruled him in this, to speak against his knowledge and those moral principles of truth and justice, with which, when left to himself, he appears to be imbued? Nor do I doubt, but that, among other things they had in prospect to compass by this declaration, they hoped to shut his majesty out of the love of his best Protestant subjects, so that, when brought to fall by their traitorous conspiracies, his death may be at once unlamented and unrevenge. But let them not flatter themselves; for, if there be any thing false or unjust in it, we ascribe it all to their rage against our laws and our religion, and do only complain of the king's facility in suffering himself to be so openly abused.

Seventhly, But whereas there is one thing in the declaration by which men of honest and easy minds, being unacquainted with the practices of the world, are apt to be somewhat startled; namely, 'The king's calling Almighty God to witness, and affirming, upon the faith of a Christian, that there was never any marriage, or contract of marriage, had or made between him and Mrs. Walters;' I think myself obliged to lay before you the sense and apprehensions which wise heads have of that protestation and solemn appeal.

If, say they, neither the eye nor dread of God, nor the faith of a Christian, are effectual to restrain a person from adulteries and promiscuous scatterings, Can we have any security that they will prevent such a one from the guilt of other crimes? He who neither trembleth, nor blusheth to proclaim his uncleanness to all the world, Will he forbear sins of any kind or hue out of principle, though he may possibly omit them by accident, and in compliance with interest?

It was a maxim of an ancient ruler, that, as children are to be couzened with nuts, so men are to be deluded with asseverations and oaths. And upon this occasion they call to mind the character fastened upon Charles the Ninth of France, namely, That the surest symp-

symptoms, by which it was known when he spoke falsely, was the endeavouring to confirm what he said by the most dreadful imprecations, and execrable oaths. And what our own historians leave upon the memory of his royal majesty's own grandfather, in this point, I had rather you should learn from Wilson's History of King James, than be told by me. Besides, say others, Who knoweth but that the king, through the like impression of fear, under which he lifted up his hand to the most high God at Scone, when crowned in Scotland, may have been influenced and over-awed to make this late appeal and protestation?

He who hath done one such thing, and especially with that solemnity and profession of sincerity wherewith he took the covenant; Can it be otherwise apprehended but that he may do the like again, if there be sufficient cause for the same passion which biassed him against knowledge and conscience then? Nay, the utmost inducement that swayed and determined him, contrary to his judgment and light, to swear by the great God, in terms so august and awful in Scotland, was merely an apprehension of being otherwise secluded from his right over that kingdom; but it is more than probable, that no less than a dread of losing his life, as well as three kingdoms, hath necessitated him to this which he hath now done. Now it is but considering the seasons when the several declarations pronounced in council, and at last published to the world, were made; and you will be soon convinced that they were extorted from him, partly by the necessity of his affairs, and partly by the frightful ascendancy which his brother hath obtained over him. For the first, which we are here in the print told of, was that made the sixth of January, 1678, when the condition and posture, wherein things then stood, made it indispensably needful that the king should oblige his brother to withdraw, and which the duke of York, (though he knew that his stay here, at that time, would have, in all likelihood, involved his majesty under inextricable difficulties) refused to comply with, till he had wrested that declaration from him.

And for the second, which was made also in council, March 3, 1678, it is obvious to every considering man, and demonstrable to all the world, that it was the effect of that necessity which his majesty's affairs had reduced him unto. For the parliament being to meet the sixth of that month, and it appearing by the several returns of the persons elected to sit, that we were like to have a house of true English gentlemen, who would not only inspect the late popish plot, but enquire into the miscarriages of publick ministers: hereupon, as the duke threatened to return, unless the king would make some fresh declaration, whereby, being pronounced and represented as next heir, he might be screened from the angry but just resentments of the nation; so divers persons at home, who knew themselves unpardonably criminal, applied their thoughts to find out a method, by which a misunderstanding might, in a short time, arise between the king and his parliament. And apprehending that the duke of York

could not possibly escape the animadversion of the house, all the treasons and crimes, whereof others were only guilty in their respective parts and proportions, meeting in him as so many lines in their centre; they accordingly by threatening to make their own compositions, and to lay open all those matters which they conceived his majesty to be most solicitous to have concealed, brought the king to make that declaration. Whereby having in effect signified the duke of York to be the next in right to succeed, they reckoned they had wrought him to such an espousal of his brother, as must needs break all measures of fair correspondency with his parliament. And as this was the principal thing they aimed at, so by denouncing still to provide for their own security, in detecting whatsoever they knew, they kept him to an adhesion to the declaration which he had made, and thereby not only embarrassed all his affairs, but so embroiled him with the house of commons, as that in a few weeks they compassed the dissolution of the parliament.

Having thus briefly represented unto your lordship, under what influence of necessity and fear, these declarations were at first made in council, I need not tell you through what impressions by the incessant importunity, and daily hectoring of his majesty by the duke, now at Windsor, they come at last to be printed and proclaimed to the world. The king, poor gentleman, is willing to buy his peace at any rates, and hath here staked his honour, not to say his conscience, for it? But as you know that neither concessions, declarations, nor alienations made by a person in duress, or under threatenings, or swayed by apprehensions of the hazard of his life, can oblige others, though they be such as are wrapped up in or concluded by him, in all cases where he is supposed free; so, in plain English, the generality of the people, and those of the best sense, hold themselves no ways affected or prescribed unto by these declarations. For we, who know the tenor of them when they lay concealed in the council-books, and yet thought ourselves at liberty to believe as our judgments conducted us, are not likely to have our minds altered by the bare printing of them. But, how far the conscience of the king is concerned or defiled, I leave to those of the theologick faculty to resolve; only I judge, that the same casuistical divinity whereby they saved the conscience and vindicated the honour of the king in the case of the covenant, and withal discharged him from the obligation which it was supposed to have put upon him, may, whensoever he thinks meet, stand him in good stead, and afford him the same relief in the case of the late declarations.

Eightly, There is one thing farther that must not be omitted, because it gives us amazement, and yet affords us pleasant diversion; namely, the motive they have brought his majesty to allege for his making and publishing this declaration. I confess I could not read it without surprize and wonderful emotion. And I dare say, when you think seriously of it, you will find pity stir in your heart to your abused prince, and your blood swell in your veins through indignation at some about

about him. For, after the care they have suffered him to take for preserving our religion, lives and liberties, from the designs of the papists, by dissolving two parliaments, and so often proroguing a third, they bring him now to publish this declaration to relieve the minds of his loving subjects from their fears, and to prevent the ill consequences, which a belief of his having been married to the duke of Monmouth's mother may have in future times upon the peace of these kingdoms. A most proper way to extinguish our fears, by doing all that he can, to subject us hereafter to one who is the professed enemy of our established religion and legal government. But that your lordship may the better comprehend how highly we are obliged to his majesty for his love and tenderness to his people in all that they judge dear and valuable, by designing so hopeful a successor over them; I shall recount some of those many particulars from which we esteem ourselves capable of judging what a gracious and desirable prince this dear and beloved brother is like to prove.

1. He is a gentleman that hath renounced the religion wherein he was not only educated, and which these nations profess, but which he had consigned unto him sealed with the blood of his father, and entailed upon him and the whole line by no less than his grandfather's curse, in case any of old James's offspring should depart from it.

2. He hath made it his business to seduce his majesty's subjects to the papal faith, and to enslave to a foreign jurisdiction. And, by his addresses, solicitations, and preferments, wherewith he is able to reward such mercenary souls, as are ready to make sale of their religion, he hath made more converts to the church of Rome, than all the English missionaries have been able to do.

3. Through the power which he hath obtained over the king, he hath procured the chiefest places of strength, in the nation, and some of the greatest trusts, as well civil and religious, as military, to be conferred upon known papists, and sworn enemies to the Protestant cause, and English liberties.

4. He hath been the principal promoter of arbitrary government, and of making the king's interest both distinct from, and opposite to, that of his people. And this he hath done in pursuance of papal advice, and in subserviency to the Romish interest. For where the monarch is absolute, and the lives and fortunes of whole nations are enslaved to the will and pleasure of one person; the mere wheedling of a lustful, weak, or inconsiderate prince, will go a great length in the gaining vast multitudes to adore the triple crown. And, for such as shall prove stubborn and refractory, it is but meritorious to kill them, and then convert their lands to the use of the holy see.

5. It was this darling and beloved one, that authorised the burning of London; and not only made his own palace a sanctuary to the villains, who were suspected as instruments of that dreadful conflagration, but rescued and discharged divers who were apprehended in the very fact. And this he did partly in revenge,

forasmuch as London had been both the magazine of strength and treasure, during the war with the late king; and partly to gratify his popish friends, by destroying the bulwark of the Protestant religion, and the chief receptacle of the hereticks.

6. It was this presumptive heir, that all along obliged his majesty to neglect the concerning himself in favour of the Protestants abroad; and did so order it, through his power over the king, that never any foreign alliance was made, but was abused to the betraying of them. And here let me call over a story, and perhaps a more tragical one, and accompanied with baser treachery, than any history is able to acquaint you with. One Monsieur Rohux, a French gentleman, coming into England, to treat with the king concerning an alliance between his majesty and foreign Protestants, merely for the preservation of their religion; and having acquainted the duke of York with his errand, after he had, in a private conference or two, transacted with the king about it: this royal prince, out of his wonted kindness to the Protestants, and the reformed religion, caused Rouveny (lieger ambassador from France at this court) to stand behind the hangings at St. James's, while he made this innocent gentleman discourse over the whole business. Upon which Mons. Rouveny being obliged to acquaint his master with it, Mons. Rohux, who (upon some intimation that the duke had betrayed him) had withdrawn hence to Switzerland, was there seized by a party of French horse, and brought to the Bastile; whence, after some time's imprisonment, he was carried to the place of execution, and broken upon the wheel.

7. It was through the duke of York's means, that both the first and second wars were commenced, against the Dutch; and that in order, not only to weaken the Protestants, by their mutual destroying of each other, but in hopes to have turned the victorious arms of the king upon the hereticks at home, and the patrons of English liberty.

8. It was this zealous prince, for the honour and safety of Britain, that advised the breaking of the triple league, which was the wisest conjunction, and most for the glory of the king's reign, and the preservation of his dominions, that ever he entered into. And this he did, not only to gratify France, whose pensioner, as well as whose confederate he hath been, but to leave the Protestants here naked to the attempts of the Papists. For he knew, that while the league continued firm, the king of Sweden, and the states of Holland, would have construed all designs upon the Protestants in England, as done against those of the same religion with themselves, and in favour of whose profession they had entered into that alliance.

9. He hath not only maintained correspondence with foreign princes, to the betraying the king's counsels, but hath confederated with them for the extirpation of our religion, and overthrowing the legal government. And besides many other evidences of this, which it is not convenient to mention at present: the depositions, which arrived with the committee of secrecy

crecy during the session of the late parliament, together with Coleman's Letters, and that which he wrote in the duke's name, and indeed by his command, do uncontrollably demonstrate it.

10. He was consenting to, and hath co-operated in the whole popish plot, for both his confessor and his secretary did, with his knowledge and approbation, seal the resolves for the king's death.

11. It was the duke, who, when the king had revealed the first discovery of the hellish Romish plot to him, immediately communicated it to Father Bedingfield, that so the conspirators might know how to secure their papers, and abscond themselves.

12. It was he, who, through his command over the post-office, prevented the intercepting the letters from St. Omers, and other foreign seminaries, whereby that whole damnable conspiracy would have been more fully detected.

13. He employed his own duchefs to transport several of the traitors to Holland, that so they might escape the search that was made for them, and the punishment they had deserved.

14. It was he who suborned, encouraged, and rewarded the vilest miscreants to frame and swear a plot against the Protestants; and this he did to beget a disbelief of the popish conspiracy, and in order to destroy such of the nobility and gentry, as were the chief assertors of the reformed religion, and English liberty.

15. It was he, who advised the several prorogations and dissolutions of parliaments, whensoever they were either considering the bleeding condition of the Protestant interest abroad, or supplicating the king to an alliance with the Protestant princes for its protection and preservation.

16. It was he, in whose favour the dissolution of the last parliament was procured, and who hath prevented the sitting of this, after eight several times appointed for their meeting. And all to hinder the traitorous lords in the Tower, and to obstruct the further search into the many hellish plots, wherein himself and the rest of the Papists are engaged, for the subversion of our religion and laws, and the destruction of the lives of his majesty and people. And how much he hath lessened his majesty's interest in the hearts of his subjects, and weakened their confidence in his royal word, by obliging him to treat this parliament as he hath done, seeing, in his speech to both houses, March 6, 1678, he had so solemnly declared his resolution to meet his people frequently in parliaments; and into what straits and wants they have thereby also reduced him, I shall rather leave your lordship silently to consider, than take upon me at this time to unfold.

17. It was he, who, after he had for so many years promoted the aiding and succouring of France with English forces, till that aspiring prince was ascending to a power and greatness, not to be in any probability withstood or controuled, did at last engage his majesty in making the general peace, which is a thing so highly prejudicial to all Europe, in the unavoidable consequences of it.

18. It was he who countenanced and enlivened the late traitorous combination of apprentices and ruffians, and who, together with the lords in the Tower, issued out the money, both for the expences of their entertainments, and for the providing them with arms, to disturb the peace of the city and kingdom, and assault the houses and lives of his majesty's liege people.

19. It is he who hath inrolled and secretly mustered men in all counties of England, and who, besides the English Papists, whom, at this time, he hath called from all parts of the nation to London, is also provided of a great number of Irish, who formerly washed their hands in the blood of Protestants, or are the genuine offspring of those that did. Now, being thus furnished and invironed, he is resolved (unless God in his providence miraculously interpose) to put all to a venture, and play over the same game in England, that was, heretofore, acted in Ireland.

20. It is he who cherisheth in his bosom, and exalteth to the highest trusts, such as Colonel Worden, who betrayed his majesty's secrets to the usurping powers, particularly to Mr. Scot. Nay, himself may be charged with many things, in those times, whereby we may apparently discover both his treachery to his majesty, and his ambition to have usurped the crown from him. For, when a loyal party of the English fleet had espoused his majesty's right and title, against the enemies of his crown and person, the duke, who being then abroad, should have encouraged, and ventured his life in conjunction with them, did, instead thereof, by a most shameful and disloyal deserting of them, both discourage them in their fidelity, and, so far as in him lay, oblige them to compound for themselves, with a seclusion of his majesty's interest. Yea, besides this, when the Scots were treating with the king at Breda, in order to the establishing him in the throne of that kingdom, the duke of York was, at that very time, transacting with such as remained faithful to the king's title here, that they would renounce his elder brother, and chuse him for their sovereign. Nor, do I believe, that his majesty can forget the occasion and design upon which the duke forsook him at Bruges, and withdrew to Holland; so that the king was necessitated not only to command him, upon his allegiance, to return, but was forced to send the duke of Ormond, and some other persons of quality, to threaten, as well as persuade him, before he would go back.

21. It is he, who, not thinking the declaration enough to facilitate his ascension to the throne, or to secure him from resistance in the attempts he purposeth upon our lives and liberties, hath been, and still is endeavouring to be admitted, and let further into the government, and, accordingly, hath accosted the king, by my Lord Durafs, in that matter. This is the more surprising, forasmuch as one would think, that it is not possible he should be further let into the government, having Berwick, Hull, Langer-point, Sheerness, Portsmouth, and the magazine of the Tower (Legg being now master of the ordnance) in the hands of his sworn vassals and creatures; and having also the su-

perintendency of all civil affairs in him, unless, by taking the sceptre actually into his hand, he should confine the king to a country house, and an annual pension. And his partisans about the town talk of no less, than the having the duke crowned, during the king's life, as Henry the Second, though upon far different reasons, was crowned, in conjunction with King Stephen. And I wish that what the brother of the king of Portugal hath, of late years, effected against his prince, did not awaken our jealousy to fear that the same may be attempted, by a dispensation from the infallible chair elsewhere. However, they have taken care, should they accomplish this design, that they may not be obliged to entertain our Catharine, as they in Portugal, did the French madam, married to Alphonso; forasmuch as the best part of the portion with our princess, namely Tangier, is, through the courage and conduct of my Lord Inchequine, one of the duke's greatest confidants, as good as disposed of. But, should they proceed in this design against his majesty, it becomes all his majesty's good subjects to endeavour, as one man, the rescuing him from under their power, seeing the very designment of such a thing is a treason of so high a nature against the king, that we should be wanting in our allegiance, should we not apply ourselves in the use of all possible ways and means to punish and avenge, as well as prevent the execution of it. Now, my lord, these are but few of the many particulars, by which we are sufficiently enlightened concerning the duke of York; and we may abundantly learn from these, how much we are indebted to his majesty for his grace, favour, and care, in appointing such a one after him to succeed over us:—do not all our fears hereupon immediately vanish and die; and hope, joy, and gladness revive in our heart, on this prospect, which the king hath given us of so good an heir? But, poor prince, we at once compassionate and forgive him, knowing that this proceeds not from his inclination, but that he hath been hurried and forced to it. Nor do we need any further assurance of the inward propensions of his majesty's heart, and the dislike his breast is filled with for what he hath done, but the endeavours which he used, under daily and manifold importunities to the contrary, to have avoided it, and the sadness which appears in his countenance, since overawed to publish this declaration. And as for the duke of York, let him not deceive himself; for as he may perceive by this, that we fully understand him, and know the kindness he entertains for us; so we are prepared for him, and resolved to return unto him, and his, in the kind they intend to bring. For, having both divine and human laws on our side, we are resolved neither to be papists nor slaves, and, consequently, not to be subjects to him, who hath vowed either utterly to extirpate us, or to reduce and compel us to be both the one and the other.

Lastly, For the issuing of all this controversy, concerning whose right it is to succeed next after his majesty, men, here about the town, accustomed to discourse, think that there need but two proposals, and those very rational ones, to be made. The first is, That the parliament being admitted to sit, they may examine this affair, whereof they alone are competent judges. Whatsoever declarations may otherwise signify, yet it is a principle which can never be obliterated out of the minds of Englishmen, that they are neither binding laws, nor can alienate or extinguish the rights of any. Shall the son of a common person be allowed the liberty to justify his legitimacy, in case his father prove so forgetful, or so unnatural, as to disclaim him? And shall the duke of Monmouth, merely by being the son of a king, forfeit this just and universal privilege? If his majesty was indeed married to that discountenanced gentleman's mother, he is, by our laws, the son of the kingdom, as well as the son of King Charles. And therefore it is necessary, as well as fit, that the people should, in all due and legal ways, understand whether they have any interest or not in him, before they be commanded to renounce him, or resign it. All therefore we desire is, that this matter may be impartially and fairly heard; and that before those, who alone have right to be judges of it; and, as no other course but this can satisfy the minds of people, so it cannot be expected that, upon the authority of a declaration, especially gotten as this was, they should sacrifice the share, which, for any thing yet appears, they have in him, as their apparent prince and next heir to the throne. And, unless this be obtained, the people will, undoubtedly, think their own rights invaded, whatsoever the said duke judgeth of his.

The second thing we would humbly beg, as well as propose, is, That the parliament being called to sit, the duke of York may be legally tried for his manifold treasons and conspiracies against the king and kingdom. For, if he be innocent, and that the right of succession be his, all men will quietly acquiesce under him; but, if he should prove guilty, as we no wise question but that he will, Shall his treasons, when a subject, qualify him to be a king, and pave the way for his rising to the throne? Accordingly to all equity, as well as law, he ought first to justify himself from all traitorous attempts and acts against the king and people, before he be allowed to have his claim heard, concerning any title that, in time to come, he may have to rule over these nations. I shall subjoin no more at present, save that I am,

My Lord,

London, June 10,

1681.

Your most obedient Servant.

The

The Lord CHURCHILL's Letter to the King.

SIR,

SINCE men are seldom suspected of sincerity, when they act contrary to their interests; and though my dutiful behaviour to your majesty, in the worst of times (for which I acknowledge my poor services much over-paid) may not be sufficient to incline you to a charitable interpretation of my actions; yet I hope, the great advantage I enjoy under your majesty, which I can never expect in any other change of government, may reasonably convince your majesty and the world, that I am acted by a higher principle, when I offer that violence to my inclination, and interest, as to desert your majesty at a time when your affairs seem to challenge the strictest obedience from all your subjects, much more from one who lies under the greatest personal obligations imaginable to your majesty. This, sir, could proceed from nothing but

the inviolable dictates of my conscience, and necessary concern of my religion (which no good man can oppose) and with which I am instructed, nothing ought to come in competition; heaven knows with what partiality my dutiful opinion of your majesty hath hitherto represented those unhappy designs, which inconsiderate and self-interested men have framed against your majesty's true interest and the Protestant religion. But, as I can no longer join with such to give a pretence by conquest to bring them to effect, so will I always, with the hazard of my life and fortune (so much your majesty's due) endeavour to preserve your royal person and lawful rights with all the tender concern and dutiful respect that becomes, sir,

Your Majesty's most dutiful and

Most obliged Subject and Servant.

The Expedition of his Highness the Prince of ORANGE for England. Giving an Account of the most remarkable Passages thereof, from the Day of his setting Sail from Holland, to the first Day of this Instant December, 1688. In a Letter to a Person of Quality.

SIR,

THE account you so earnestly desired of me, of the prince's expedition and invasion of England, is a task no one should have commanded from me but yourself; the ancient friendship between us makes nothing appear difficult, in the way to serve you.

I shall not undertake to determine the legality of this great and bold attempt, nor reflect on the counsels that have brought this misery upon us, but shall content myself with giving you a brief account of the prince's expedition.

And, first, you are to take notice, that his highness set sail from Holland with fifty-one men of war, eighteen fire-ships, and about three hundred and thirty tenders, being ships hired of merchants, for the carriage of horse and foot, arms, and ammunition, &c. The fleet stood out at sea to the northward, which met with horrid storms for two days and two nights together; in which bad weather there were lost above five

hundred horse, and a vessel parted from the fleet, wherein were four hundred foot, supposed to be lost, but now known to be arrived at the Texel, though grievously shattered and torn by the storm; two of the prince's principal men of war were forced to new rig at Helvetfluice.

The prince, immediately on his return back, informed the states of the condition of the fleet (which was not so damnified as was represented by the vulgar and ignorant) who, thereupon, to lull a great man * a-sleep, the states, or some one employed by them, ordered that the Haerlem and Amsterdam courantier should make a dismal story of it, by representing to the world, that the prince returned with his fleet miserably shattered and torn, having lost nine men of war, and divers others of less concern; a thousand horse ruined; a calenture among the seamean; the loss of Dr. Burnet, and the chief ministers under the prince; the ill opinion the states had of the expedition; in short, that one hundred thousand pounds would not

* James II.

repair the damage sustained; and almost next to an impossibility, that the prince should be in a condition to pursue his design, till the spring. And yet at the same time all hands were at work to repair the damaged ships, which were inconsiderable; so that in eight days time they were all re-fitted. The signal being given by the discharge of a gun, all the fleet immediately weighed anchor, and stood out at sea, steering their course northwards, all that night; next day upon tide of ebb, they made a stretch, and made a watch above a league, and then stood westward, and lay all night in the same posture, not making two leagues a watch.

In the middle of the night, an advice-boat brought us an account, that the English fleet, consisting of thirty-three sail, lay to the westward of ours. Upon which the prince fired a gun, which caused a great consternation in the whole fleet; we having a brisk easterly wind, concluded ourselves to be all ruined; but the small advice-boats, cruising for a more certain account of the English, brought us back word, that, instead of the English fleet, which the former advice had alarmed us with, it was Admiral Herbert with part of our fleet, which had been separated some hours from the body of our fleet: upon whose arrival great rejoicing was among us all, and a signal of joy was given for it by the prince.

In the morning, about eight, the prince gave a signal, that the admiral should come aboard him. Immediately after the whole fleet was got into the north foreland, upon which the prince gave the usual sign of danger (according to the printed book) and ordered that the fleet should all come up in a body, some fifteen or sixteen deep, his highness leading the van in the ship the *Brill* (in English, Spectacles;) his flag was English colours; the motto impaled thereon, was, *The PROTESTANT RELIGION, and LIBERTIES of ENGLAND*, and underneath, instead of *Dieu & Mon-droit*, was, *And I will maintain it*.

The council of war, from on board the prince, sent three small frigates into the mouth of the Thames, viz. the *Porpus*, *Postilion*, and *Mercury*; who, on their return, brought us word, that the English fleet lay in the Buoy of the Nore, consisting of thirty-four sail, and three more which lay in the Downs. The wind continuing at E. N. E.

The prince immediately thereupon gave another signal of stretching the whole fleet in a line, from Dover to Calais, twenty-five deep; so that our fleet reached within a league of each place; the flanks and rear were guarded by our men of war. This sight would have ravished the most curious eye of Europe. When our fleet was in its greatest splendor, the trumpets and drums playing various tunes to rejoice our hearts; this continued for above three hours.

Immediately after the prince gave us a sign to close, and sailed that night as far as Beach, and commanded us to follow the signal by lights he had hung out to us, viz. all the small sail should come up to him by morning.

By the morning-day we espied the Isle of Wight, and then the prince ordered the fleet to be drawn into the same posture, as before related; yet not stretching above half channel over, in this place. About five in the morning we made the Start, the wind chopping about to the westward; upon which we stood fair by Dartmouth, and so made for Torbay, where the prince again ordered the whole into the same posture as at Dover and Calais.

Upon his arrival at Torbay, the people on land, in great numbers, welcomed his highness with loud acclamations of joy.

Immediately after the prince gave two signals, that the admirals should come aboard him, which they did; and then ordered, that the whole fleet should come to an anchor, and immediately land; and further ordered, that the admirals should stand out at sea, as a guard, as well as the smaller men of war, to attend and guard their landing; and also ordered six men of war to run in to guard Torbay.

The prince then put out a red flag at the mizen-yard-arm, and provided to land in sixty boats, laid ready for that purpose: upon which the prince signified, that General Mackay with his six regiments of English and Scotch should first land; and also, that the little *Porpus*, with eighteen guns, should run a-ground to secure their landing: but there was no opposition; for the people bid us heartily welcome to England, and gave us all manner of provisions for our refreshment.

The fifth of November (a day never to be blotted out of the Englishman's heart) the prince caused to be landed about two thousand. On the sixth we landed as many horse and foot as we could possibly, and so continued the seventh: the country bringing in all manner of provision, both for man and horse, and were paid their price honestly for it.

The prince the same day commanded Captain M— to search the Lady Cary's house, at Tor-Abby, for arms and horses; and so all other houses which were Roman Catholicks. The lady, entertaining them civilly, said her husband was gone to Plymouth: they brought from thence some horses and a few arms, but gave no further disturbance to the lady or her house. Nor shall it be forgotten, what was faithfully acted at this lady's house, immediately on our arrival at Torbay: there were a priest and some others with him upon a watch-tower, to discover what our fleet was, whether French or Dutch. At last they discovered the white flags on some of our men of war; the ignorant priest concluded absolutely we were the French fleet, which, with great impatience they had so long expected; and having laid up great provisions for their entertainment; the priest ordered all to the chapel, to sing *Te Deum*, for the arrival of their supposed forces; but, being soon undeceived on our landing, we found the benefit of their provisions; and, instead of *Vostre servitude monsieur*, they were entertained with *Yeen Myneer*, Can you Dutch spraken; upon which they all

all run away from the house, but the lady and a few old servants.

The whole army, to the best of my knowledge, consisted of eighteen thousand horse, three thousand dragoons, and one thousand eight hundred foot, besides a thousand volunteer persons of quality, horse well equipped, and about five hundred horse for carriage.

November the eighth, the prince came from Chudleigh, towards Exeter, with the greatest part of his army attending him, and about one of the clock, entered at the west-gate of the city, welcomed with loud acclamations of the people.

The manner of his publick entrance into Exeter was as follows:

1. The right honourable the earl of M—— with two hundred horse, the most part of which were English gentlemen richly mounted on Flanders steeds, managed and used to war, in head-pieces, back and breast, bright armour.

2. Two hundred blacks brought from the plantations of the Netherlands in America, having on embroidered caps lined with white fur, and plumes of white feathers, to attend the horse.

3. Two hundred Finlanders or Laplanders in bearskins taken from the wild beasts they had slain, the common habit of that cold climate, with black armour, and broad flaming swords.

4. Fifty gentlemen, and as many pages to attend and support the prince's banner, bearing the inscription, *God and the Protestant Religion*.

5. Fifty led horses, all managed and brought up to the wars, with two grooms to each horse.

6. After these rode the prince on a milk-white palfrey, armed *cap-a-pee*, a plume of white feathers on his head, all in bright armour, and forty-two footmen running by him.

7. After his highness, followed likewise on horseback, two hundred gentlemen and pages.

8. Three thousand Switzers with fuzees.

9. Five hundred volunteers, each two led horses.

10. His captain and guards six hundred, armed *cap-a-pee*.

The rest of the army brought up the rear.

That night the prince lay at the deanery, having before ordered the advanced guard to march to Clift-heath, and settled the quarters of the army; which was done so much to the content and satisfaction of the inhabitants in and about the city, and such just payments made for what the soldiers had, and such civil behaviour among them, without swearing and damning and debauching of women, as is usual among some armies, that it is to admiration to behold. I am sure, sir, I was an eye-witness of the whole order, and, when we marched away from this city, their joy was turned into dulness and cloudiness.

On the ninth the prince commanded Dr. Burnet to order the priest-vicars of the cathedral, not to pray for the prince of Wales, and to make use of no other prayer for the king, but what is in the second service, which they refused to observe, till they were forced

and very severely threatened; the bishop and the dean being then gone from the city.

About twelve this day, notice was given to the canons, and all the vicars, choral and singing lads, to attend in the cathedral immediately, for that the prince would be there; and Dr. Burnet ordered them, as soon as the prince entered into the quire, they shall sing *Te Deum*, which was observed. The prince sat in the bishop's chair, and all his great officers attended on him. After *Te Deum* was sung, Dr. Burnet, in a seat under the pulpit, read aloud the prince's declaration, and reasons for this his expedition; when this was over, the prince returned to the deanery.

The baggage was many days bringing from Torbay, but the ammunition, both arms for foot and horse, and the artillery were brought into Topsham road, and there, by boats and other carriages landed; the field-pieces were sent after the army at Clift-heath, the brass cannon remaining some of them in Exon.

The greatest part of the army were ordered to march forward to Ottery and Honyton, and in several parties were ordered to divers places in the county. One party was sent to the north of Devon for horses, which were bought at excessive rates: from Roman Catholics, they took horses without money, and many gentlemen, who might have had money for their horses, refused, as the bishop's son and divers others.

On Sunday, Dr. Burnet preached at the cathedral on this text, Psalm cvii, last verse. Ferguson preached in the Presbyterian meeting-house, but was fain to force his way with his sword up to the pulpit, for even the old Presbyter himself could not away with the breath of his brother Ferguson in his diocese: his text was in Psalm cxiv. *Who will rise up for me, against evil doers*. I heard one of that gang say, that his discourse came, very much under the lash of the 25th of Edward the Third; he is not much regarded by any of the prince's retinue.

Sir William W—— who had been at Ford with the prince, to see Sir William C——, were both refused to be seen of him. One Major M——, and Sir Will—— were in commission to make new levies, which was carried on vigorously, and many enlisted under them: but Sir W——, it seems, began to use an old trade of taking money for quarters: complaint was made thereof to the prince, and they were discarded, and the men disbanded to seek for new officers. But Sir Will—— does continue under the prince's protection.

The prince was here above three days, before any appearance of gentry came, insomuch that the great officers began to wonder, that the prince should be invited into England by them, and not to appear to the prince's assistance; but this consternation was soon over, when a considerable body of the gentry came in to him. Some that were for taking off the test and penal laws, they have not appeared as yet. So that now the counties of Cornwall and Devon are in the possession of the gentry thereof, and the prince's army quite marched away.

Pen-

Pendennis castle is managed by several gentlemen, who take their turns. Plymouth fort is declared for the prince's service, by the earl of B——, who, it seems, was to have been poisoned, by throwing white mercury over a leg of mutton (appointed as one dish for his supper) instead of flour: for that, and some other reasons, he secured the Lord H——, turned out all Papist soldiers, and has taken in the country soldiers into the fort.

Since which, there is an association among the gentry, worded much after that of my Lord Shaftsbury's.

Mr. Seymour being made governor of Exeter and the Lord Mordaunt in his absence, there are new levies raising every day; so that this city is almost full of these new regiments, which are hourly disciplining by officers and old soldiers left here by the prince. All their arms are the prince's, and I am told, he brought with him as many as will set out twenty thousand, both horse and foot. I am apt to believe this to be true, having seen most of what has been landed. All the vessels that brought up the ammunition, &c. are returned again to Torbay, under the guard of the principal men of war, a squadron of which lie now in the sound of Plymouth, and saluted each other with many cannon from the fort and the fleet.

On Sunday last, there was a report that the twenty thousand French were landed at Porlock in this county, upon which the whole country rose with pikes, spits, scythes, and what weapons they could get, and made away for Exeter, but it proved a false alarm; for there were two small French ships driven by the Dutch fleet ashore, and the French quitted their vessels and went on land, and were some killed, others sent hither. So that now they are pretty quiet again; but it has given that advantage to the commissioned officers, who are to raise new levies, to pick and chuse amongst them whom they please.

I shall now return again to the prince: when his highness left Exeter, Wednesday, Nov. 21, he marched with his own guards, attended by a great many of the gentry both of Somersetshire and Devon to St. Mary Ottery, where he dined; after which he marched to Axminster, where he continued four days; from thence to Crookhorn, where he tarried only one night; from thence to Sherborne, where his highness was splendidly entertained by the Lord D——; from thence he went to Wincanton, where he lodged at the house of one Mr. Churchill a merchant, and, it is credibly reported, designs for Oxford.

Sir, I have given you the best account I can of this great affair; you may communicate it to such friends as you think fit. Sir, I am, with all due respects,

Wincanton,
1 Dec. 1688.

Your most obedient Servant,
N. N.

A further account of the prince's army, in a letter sent from Oxon, dated Nov. 24.

HAD I not insensibly overslipped my time the last post, you had received this then: when I came

here, I endeavoured to inform myself, after the best manner I could, as to the number and quality of the prince's army; and all generally concluded them to be about thirty thousand, all picked men, and many of them personally present at the siege of Buda. This I am certain of, that they appeared to be men resolute, well disciplined, and stout, and of an extraordinary stature, and their arms suitable, muskets, swords, and pikes, being far larger than ever I yet saw; and notwithstanding the streets were thronged, almost as thick as yours on a lord-mayor's day, yet was it even a rarity to see one of them shorter than six foot; and some of them were, I am confident, six foot and a quarter, if not six foot and an half in height: so that, were it lawful to trust in an arm of flesh, they might have some cause to presume; but the tenor of their words was otherwise; their civil deportment and their honesty of paying for what they have (and the strictness of their discipline hinders them from being otherwise) winning not a little the affections of the country-men, who daily resort thither, forty or fifty in a gang, to be enlisted. My Lord Mordaunt's regiment was soon completed, which, with two others was raised and maintained at the charge of the gentry of this county, of which Edward Seymour, esq; is by the prince made governor. During his highness's stay here, which was till last Wednesday, there appeared a court most splendid, composed, not only of foreign, but of many of the English nobility and gentry, which came hither to wait on his highness since his arrival, of both ranks, upwards to the number of sixty, all mighty gallant in their equipage, each striving thereby to add to the glory of their design. The gentry of these parts first seemed slow in their advances to serve the prince; but, as soon as the ice was broke by Capt. Burrington, the majority soon followed his steps, and have entered into an association. It is to admiration to consider the vast magazine of all warlike utensils brought hither by the prince's army, their baggage having for a fortnight together been continually landing, and yet not fully ended: were it not for the badness of the roads, as I was informed by a private sentinal, they could draw into the field an artillery of above two hundred pieces: but the greatest curiosity I yet saw was a bridge of boats; such as I conceive the Imperialists use to pass over the Danube and Saave with, which was, for the speedy conveyance of their carriages, laid over the river in two or three hours, and afterwards as soon removed; not to mention a smith's shop or forge, curiously contrived in a waggon; or another contrivance the foot carry with them to keep off the horse, which, in their manner, may well yield the service of a pike.

There hath been lately driven into Dartmouth, and since taken, a French vessel loaded altogether with images, and knives of a very large proportion, in length, nineteen inches, and in breadth, two inches and an half; what they were designed for, God only knows.

A true

A true and faithful Relation of the Proceedings of the Forces of their Majesties, King William and Queen Mary, in their Expedition against the French, in the Carribbee Islands, in the West-Indies: Under the Conduct of his Excellency Christopher Codrington, Captain-General and Commander in Chief of the said Forces, in the Year 1689 and 1690. Written by Thomas Spencer, Junior, Secretary to the Honourable Sir Timothy Thornhill, Baronet, to whose Regiment he was Muster-Master, and supplied the Place of Commissary.

To the Right Honourable EDWARD RUSSEL, Admiral of their Majesties Fleet for the Year 1691, Treasurer of their Majesties Navy, and one of the Lords of their Majesties most Honourable Privy-Council.

Right Honourable,

I MIGHT justly imagine myself to be thought rude and impertinent, when I first presumed to tender this account to your honour; and I should never have adventured upon so great a boldness, if I had not thought it really my duty to present it to your honour's view: and the reason which moved me to it was, because the most notable actions herein related, as the taking of St. Christopher's, and St. Eustace, were the immediate success of part of that royal navy, which your honour now happily commands in chief; I mean that Squadron commanded by Admiral Wright in the West-Indies, without which it had been utterly impossible for the English to have enterprised any thing in those parts: for their majesties islands there were so depopulated by a raging mortality, that the surviving inhabitants were even harrassed with a daily fatigue to defend themselves. Upon this motive, joined with the consideration of the innate generosity, which is generally found in all persons so nobly and honourably descended as yourself; but is so peculiar to the most noble family of Bedford, and with which (as you are a principal branch thereof, so) you are principally adorned; I first assumed the boldness to address your honour with a copy of this relation; and the high favour you were pleased to vouchsafe me, in your perusal and approbation of it, when it was a manuscript, hath encouraged me not only to send it to the press, but hath also emboldened me to implore your patronage to countenance it, with which it will be sufficiently honoured and defended, and may boldly appear in public. But, for the return of so high an obligation, as it transcends the utmost of my hopes to accomplish, so I must confess my incapacity to make any further advances towards it, than an humble and grateful acknowledgement, which shall ever be paid with the strictest observance, by him who craves leave to subscribe himself,

Right honourable, your honour's

Most humbly devoted and obedient servant,

THOMAS SPENCER.

THE design of this small treatise is to give a succinct relation of the proceedings of their majesties forces, in the Carribbee-Islands; and in a plain and compendious method, a faithful narrative of the most remarkable transactions, from the beginning of the war, to this present time: only I must desire to be excused, in the omission of noting the particular days of the month in some places, the loss of some papers having forced me

to be less exact in the performance of that, than I could wish; but, as this is not absolutely material and *per se*, but only circumstantial and *per accidens*, I presume it may the more easily be pardoned.

But, before I fall upon the intended matter, I think it not amiss to shew the first grounds and reasons of the differences which have happened in those parts. Be pleased then to know, that the island of St. Christopher's

Christopher's hath formerly been a stage of war between the English and French; but of late years, matters being accommodated, and the island divided between them, they have each of them lived under their own government, and an act of neutrality hath passed by the consent of both their kings, to the intent they might there enjoy a quiet and uninterrupted peace, notwithstanding any wars that might happen between the two crowns in Europe: but the French, being a fickle and inconstant people, broke through all those considerations; and, before the wars were proclaimed between England and France, prompted by some private animosities of their own, and animated by the instigations and impulsions of some Irish upon the island, in the month of July, 1689, entered the English ground with fire and sword, forcing the inhabitants to fly to the fort for their safety.

The English being in this distress, applied themselves to the government of Barbadoes for assistance; upon which application, the honourable Sir Timothy Thornhill, baronet, offered himself, to go at the head of a regiment to their relief; to which the governor, council, and assembly assenting, the drums beat up for volunteers, and, in less than a fortnight, there was raised a regiment of seven hundred able men, all which (the commissioned officers excepted) were fitted with arms, &c. for the said expedition, at the cost, and charges of the island of Barbadoes, convenient vessels being also provided, for the transporting them to the island of St. Christopher's.

All things being in a readiness, they embarked and set sail on Thursday the first of August; and, on Monday following, being the fifth of the said month, they arrived at the island of Antigua, where they received the unwelcome news, that the fort at St. Christopher's was surrendered to the French, on Monday the twenty-ninth of July, upon articles, and the English sent off to the adjacent island of Nevis.

Affairs being thus stated, Sir Timothy Thornhill knowing his strength to be inconsiderable to attack an island so well manned and fortified as St. Christopher's; and the government of Antigua also soliciting him to continue with them till the arrival of the English fleet, which was daily expected; he agreed to their proposals, and landed his regiment there, quartering them in the town of Falmouth.

After a month's continuance in the said island, Lieutenant-General Codrington sent three sloops, manned with fourscore of Sir Timothy's regiment, under the command of Captain Edward Thorne, to fetch their majesties subjects, with their goods and stock, from the island of Anguilla, where they were miserably abused and destroyed, by some Irish which the French had put on shore amongst them: before, and during Sir Timothy's stay in Antigua, the Indians of the neighbouring islands, who were in league with the French, landed several times upon the said island, killing those inhabitants that lived near to the sea (to the number of ten) and then making their escape in their swift periaquas, notwithstanding the best sailing sloops

were sent in pursuit of them; but, by the diligence of the lieutenant-general, in placing guards at all the bays and landing-places, those incursions were afterwards prevented.

About the middle of September, a French privateer, landing at Five Islands, near Antigua, had taken off some Negroes; and, in his going away, met with two English sloops, one of which, after some resistance, he took; the other, making her escape, came in, and gave an account of the action; upon which, Sir Timothy sent out two sloops, manned with a company of grenadeers, under the command of Captain Walter Hamilton, who next day brought her in with her prize: on board the privateer (besides thirty French) were six Irish, who were tried by a court-martial, and four of them deservedly executed.

At this time, a dreadful mortality raging in the island of Nevis, especially among the men, which had reduced that sex to a moiety of its usual number, forced the inhabitants to make their addresses to Sir Timothy, who now had received a commission for major-general, to bring his regiment down thither for their defence, their island lying within two leagues of St. Christopher's, and in daily expectation of being attacked; the major-general weighing their necessity, after the violence of the distemper was abated, in the month of November, removed his regiment thither, incamping them upon a commodious plain, close adjoining to a river.

In the beginning of December, the lieutenant-general, coming down to Nevis, called a general council of war, in which it was determined, that the major-general, with three hundred of his own regiment, and two hundred Nevisians, should go down and attack St. Martin's and St. Bartholomew's, two islands belonging to the enemy, in which they reared considerable quantities of stock, for the support and maintenance of other their sugar islands; in order to which expedition, the major-general, on Sunday the fifteenth of the said month, put his forces on board the vessels provided for them, being one brigantine, and nine sloops; and, on Monday the sixteenth, he himself embarked, and the fleet set sail for the said islands. On Wednesday the eighteenth, in the morning, we passed by St. Bartholomew's, and, about four in the afternoon, being within four or five leagues of St. Martin's, we espied a small sloop standing up towards us; but, upon sight of us, she tacked, and put into one of the bays: when we came up with the bay where she lay, the major-general sent one Lieutenant Dowden, with three files of men in a boat, to go up to her and board her, and, if she were floating, to bring her out; when the boat was got near on board, the enemy, who lay hid in the bushes on each side the bay, being landlocked, fired very thick upon them, forcing them to retreat, two of them being wounded. The major-general, being very desirous to have the sloop, after it was dark, sent thirty men in four boats and canoes, under the command of Captain Walter Hamilton, again to attempt the bringing her out; but the enemy dis-

discovered them, and fired hotly upon them; the canoe which Captain Hamilton was in, rowed close up to the sloop, and found her run on ground, the men being all gone out of her, so were forced to leave her, and return to their vessels: Captain Hamilton received two shots in one of his legs, about four persons more being wounded, but none killed; that night we stood off and on, as though we designed to land in the morning.

The next day being the nineteenth, there was a council of war held by the officers on board the Brigantine, wherein it was determined, first to attack St. Bartholomew's, and accordingly the sloops stood up in the night to the said island: the next morning before day, Major John Stanley landed with fourscore men, notwithstanding the opposition of the enemy, and beat them out of their breast-works, and by break of day he had planted his colours upon a battery they had, consisting of two great guns: all the forces being landed, the major-general ordered them to take three several ways; himself leading his own guard of gentlemen reformadoes, with two companies more, through the body of the island. After a mile's march, we discovered a large fortification, which appeared to be well manned; but the major-general, running down bravely with his men, so disheartened the enemy, that, after they had given us two or three volleys, they quitted it, and fled into the woods. The fortification was quadrangular, consisting of about two acres of land, encompassed with double rows of stakes, six feet high, and four feet distant; the intervals being filled with earth, and a wide deep trench without it; on each corner there was a flanker, in one of which were planted four great guns; the entrance into it was a lock, admitting but one at a time; in the middle of it was the governor's house, and a guard-house for the soldiers; also a large cistern with store of water; seven or eight barrels of dried salt fish, with bread proportionable, and two barrels of powder: it was situated in a bottom, by the side of a lane, through which we were to pass to come at it, and on the other side was a very high hill. After we had entered it, the major-general sent this relator with four files of men, to gain the top of the hill; which he did, finding it fortified with two great guns, loaded and primed, with the match lighted, and several bags of partridge-shot lying by them, but the enemy was in so much haste, they did not stay to fire them upon us.

About four miles distant from the fortification, upon the side of a hill, there appeared a large white building, resembling a fort, to which the major-general sent three hundred men under the command of Colonel Charles Pym, with orders, if he found it strong, to sit down before it, and wait his coming. About two of the clock, the major-general (leaving a sufficient guard in the fortification) marched up thither with the rest of his forces; and, when we came to it, we found it to be only a stone platform, laid shelving for the conveyance of the rain water into the cistern; the island being destitute of rivers, wells, or other conveniences

of fresh water, the inhabitants are forced to make use of all advantages to catch the rain, each house being furnished with one or more of these cisterns, some of them capable of holding twelve or fourteen tuns. There we incamped that night, and the next day (the twenty-first) we marched back to the fortification.

On Sunday the twenty-second, in the morning, two captains of the enemy came in with a flag of truce, bringing articles from their governor, upon which they offered to surrender themselves; which, when the major-general had perused, he returned an answer to him in writing, and also by two gentlemen, who spoke French, which he sent to him, that his terms were denied; but, if he would come in with the inhabitants, with their arms and ammunition, within three days, he should find him a gentleman; but, if he stood out longer, he was to expect no quarter: that night the gentleman returned to the camp with an answer from the governor, that on Wednesday he would come in; but he could not sooner, because some of the inhabitants were hid in woods, to whom he could not communicate his design before that time.

On Monday and Tuesday (the twenty-third and twenty-fourth) we marched round the island, burning all the houses as we passed along; the inhabitants in some places firing upon us from the woods, but without any damage.

On Wednesday (the twenty-fifth) we espied a flag of truce coming towards us, with the governor, and a great company of the inhabitants; upon which, the major-general, having his own company of guards in the fortification, and the rest of his forces drawn up round it, sent the two gentlemen, who were before with him, to meet the said governor; and, at the entrance into the fortification, he was received by Lieutenant-Colonel John Thomas, and by him conducted to the major-general, who sat in the house (which rather resembled a pigeon-house, than a governor's pavilion, as the French termed it; for it consisted only of one room about twelve feet square below, and another above) he was accompanied by a friar, and some of his officers, all which were received with great civility by the major-general, and many compliments passed between them: after some discourse they went to dinner, and the major-general so well warmed the friar with good Madeira wine, that he spoke Latin so fluently upon transubstantiation, that he confounded himself in his own argument. The prisoners, who came in, were between six and seven hundred, all which were transported; the governor, with the men, as prisoners to Nevis; the women and children to St. Christopher's; all the live stock was also carried up to Nevis, with the negroes, goods, &c. The major-general returned the governor some of his negroes, his horse, arms, apparel, &c. to be carried for him to St. Christopher's. In taking this island, we had about ten men killed and wounded.

While we were thus busied in sacking this place, Colonel Hewetson landed with three hundred Antigua men upon another island belonging to the French, called

Mari-

Marigalanta, beating the inhabitants into the woods, burning their town, nailing their guns, demolishing their fort, and returned to Antigua with the plunder of their island.

During our stay upon St. Bartholomew's, we had an addition of eight or nine sloops, with about fifty men, from some of the neighbouring islands, which the major-general made advantage of; for, on Sunday the nineteenth of January, he sent the Brigantine with nine sloops, the like number that had been there before, under the command of Captain Walter Hamilton, to alarm the island of St. Martin's, and the next morning to make a false attack on the windward side: after Captain Hamilton was gone down, the same day the major-general embarked with all his forces in the other sloops, and in the night set sail for the said island, and the next morning, the twentieth, landed all his men on the leeward-side, without any opposition, the enemy having drawn all their forces to the other side of the island; only, after the first company was landed, about twenty of the enemy fired upon them from a breast-work, but were soon beat out of it. When all the forces were landed, they marched intire through the body of the country, and, after two miles march, were drawn up in a convenient plain, the enemy being in sight, and, as we thought, advancing towards us: after we had continued an hour in this posture, the enemy retiring, had fired a great building upon a hill, about a mile distant, which seemed to be a fortification; upon which, the major-general marched up to it with the whole body, but found it to be only a large house, which they had burnt, because it should not serve us for shelter; but the stone walls, which remained standing, however, proved serviceable to us, in covering us from their shot. There was a large cistern of water, but they had rendered it unfit for drinking, by throwing salt into it; a pond also, that was adjacent, they had poisoned with tobacco. We had not been long here, before the enemy began to fire upon us from a breast-work, where they had two great guns planted upon a hill a quarter of a mile distant, there being a clear valley between us; on the left hand low and bushy ground, and on the right, a ridge of mountains, with a very thick wood: the major-general sent Captain Birt, with a company of men, to gain the top of the highest mountain, which had the command of the post we were at; which being done, he left an hundred men, under the command of Captain Geoffery Gibbs, to maintain that post, and marched back into the plain, with the rest of his forces, to secure the avenues, and hinder the enemy from coming upon our backs: being come down into the plain, himself, with several officers, and about an hundred sentinels, went to drink at a well, where, while they were drinking, they received a volley of about thirty shot from the enemy, who lay hid in the woods; but it pleased God, though they stood close one by another, there was but one man hurt.

Withdrawing from thence, Major John Stanley was sent with a party to root them out of the woods; which

he did, beating them from two strong breast-works they had upon a saddle between two hills, opposite to those we had before gained, in which works he posted himself. The passages being both ways secured, the major-general incamped with the body in the middle of the plain that night, and the next morning, the twenty-first, our two brass field-pieces, with carriages and two iron ones without were brought on shore; the iron ones were planted in the plain, but the brass were drawn up to the burnt house; where our body was now incamped, and about three in the afternoon we began to play upon the enemy. In the evening, Captain Bartholomew Sharp was sent with one company of men, to cut a path through the wood, that we might make an attack upon the enemy that way; for in the valley they had four great guns planted directly against the road; but, being without carriages, they could not bring them to bear upon us as we lay; Captain Sharp had made no great progress in his work before he was discovered, and so hotly dealt with, that he was forced to retreat; all day the enemy kept firing upon us from their breast-work, both with their great guns and small arms, but in the night they silently quitted it.

The next morning, the twenty-second, leaving thirty men at the burnt house, under the command of James Smith, we marched over to the breast-work and demolished it, and also their line which run down to a well in the valley near their four great guns, which we nailed, together with the other two above. Continuing our march about a mile farther, we came to a fine plain, encompassed with orange and other fruit-trees, where we incamped, there being store of cattle grazing; at the upper end of it were three small houses, in one of which were found blood, and dressings of some wounded men, and we understood by two prisoners which we took presently after, that they had near twenty killed and wounded.

The next morning, the twenty-third, the major-general leaving this relator with a sufficient guard in the plain, to take care of the plunder; he marched with the body against their chief fort, about two miles distant, which he took without any loss, having but one man wounded, the enemy quitting their fort after a small resistance; it consisted of six great guns mounted upon a platform without carriages, with banks of earth thrown up. After he had nailed and overthrown the guns, he proceeded in his march about four miles farther, and then incamped in a pleasant valley, where was a house and garden belonging to the friar; there they found the governor's horse saddled and bridled, he having left him and fled into the mountains with the inhabitants. This day, Major John Stanley marched over the hills on the other side the island, and engaged a party of the enemy, beating them out of their breast-work, and demolishing it; at night he returned to his post on the saddle.

The twenty-fourth, the major-general continued his march round the island without any opposition, and at night returned to the burnt house where he again

again encamped; the plunder being also removed thither.

On Saturday morning, the twenty-fifth, we saw three great ships, a brigantine and a sloop, standing in with the island, and about noon we understood by some prisoners, which we took, landing out of the said sloop, that it was Monsieur Decafs, come down from St. Christopher's, with seven hundred men, to defend the island against us, who they heard had been upon St. Bartholomew's, and they thought us, to be yet there. The major-general immediately commanded away guards to all those bays where he thought the enemy would land; but they, seeing our sloops, perceived we were already upon the island, and so came not to an anchor, but gave chase to our sloops, who made the best of their way to get clear; one of them, in great danger of being taken, run herself a-ground, but was again hauled off by the enemy, but the men were all got out of her. The master of one of the sloops being at the camp when the prisoners were brought up, who gave this account, the major-general dispatched him with an express to Antigua, to acquaint the lieutenant-general with our condition, and desire him to send some ships to our assistance.

Decafs stood off and on all night, and in the morning, the twenty-sixth, coming close in with the shore, he fired several guns, to give the inhabitants notice of his arrival; about noon he came to an anchor before the windward part of the island, hanging abroad bloody colours. The inhabitants, encouraged by the coming of these ships, came down out of the mountains, and, finding their fort unmanned, they again took possession of it, re-planting and drilling their guns. In the night Decafs landed his soldiers, which the major-general having advice of, brought his brass field-pieces from the burnt house into the plain, and planted them on the right and left wing of the body, which was there encamped; the iron pieces being planted before towards each road, having placed strong guards upon the saddle, at the burnt house, and the mountain which commanded it.

In this posture of defence we continued the twenty-seventh, twenty-eighth, and twenty-ninth, the enemy not daring to attack us; they had now three ships more come down from St. Christopher's, which joined with Decafs.

On Thursday, the thirtieth, in the morning, arrived Colonel Hewetson from Antigua with three ships, which the lieutenant-general had sent to our assistance. The French ships at an anchor, perceiving English colours, weighed, and stood out to meet them. About noon they engaged, and after four hours dispute, with little damage on our side, the French bore away, our ships also standing off all night, but in the morning, the thirty-first, they returned. The French ships also appeared in sight, but kept off at a distance. The major-general, having sent the plunder and field-pieces on board, ordered all his out-guards to quit their posts, and march down into the plain, in order to embark; which the enemy perceiving, marched down likewise,

and both parties engaged, to the great loss of the enemy, who was beaten into the woods in confusion. The major-general made an honourable retreat, and embarked safe with all his men, except about ten who were killed in the whole action; and three who were taken prisoners, by being asleep in one of the breast-works, when our men quitted them; one of them made his escape and got down to the sea-side, and a boat went and brought him off clear; the other two were afterwards exchanged. There were about twenty more wounded, which with the rest arrived safe at Nevis on Sunday morning the second of February.

After the major-general's regiment returned up to Nevis, the inhabitants of the said island, considering the service they had done, and their willingness to continue in their defence, against the expected assaults of a neighbouring enemy; in the month of April, 1690, they allowed the said regiment pay, so to continue for six months, except the English fleet should arrive, and then to be allowed pay but one month after the arrival of the said fleet, which happened in June following; at which time, preparations being made for an expedition against St. Christopher's, by all the Leeward Carribbee Islands, they brought their forces down to the island of Nevis, which was appointed to be the place of general rendezvous, it lying most convenient for the said purpose; and upon Monday the sixteenth of June, 1690, by the command of his excellency Christopher Codrington, who had now received a commission from their majesties King William and Queen Mary, for captain general and commander in chief of all their Leeward Carribbee Islands, there was a general muster in the island of Nevis, of all their majesties forces raised for the said expedition against St. Christopher's, which, according to the muster-rolls given in, appeared to be as follows, *viz.*

In the duke of Bolton's regiment, under the command of Lieutenant-general Holt, seven hundred.

In Major-general Thornhill's regiment, under his own command, five hundred.

In the Antigua regiment, under the command of Colonel Williams, governor of the said island, four hundred.

In the Montserrat regiment, under the command of Colonel Blackstone, governor of the said island, three hundred.

In the two Nevis regiments, under the commands of Colonel Pym and Colonel Earl, six hundred.

In the marine regiment, being a detachment out of the frigates, under the command of Colonel Kegwin, commander of the Assistance, four hundred.

In the Captain-general's guard, under the command of Colonel Byam, one hundred.

In all, three thousand men.

Upon Tuesday and Wednesday, being the seventeenth and eighteenth of the said month of June, we embarked for the said expedition; and upon Thursday, the nineteenth, we set sail from Nevis with our whole

whole fleet, consisting of ten men of war, two fire-ships, twelve merchant-men, and about twenty brigantines and sloops; and the same evening we came to an anchor before the island of St. Christopher's in Frigate-bay. In the night eight of our frigates weighed, and fell down three leagues to the leeward, to amuse and harass the enemy, and the next morning they returned. That day we plied our great guns from some of the frigates, which lay nearest in with the shore, upon the enemy in their trenches, and received some shot in exchange, from a battery of five guns they had there, but without any damage on our side.

That night there was a council of war held on board the Admiral, by the general officers and some of the prime commanders, according to the result of which Major-general Thornhill, with four hundred of his own regiment, and a detachment of one hundred and fifty out of the regiments of Montserrat, Nevis, and Antigua, between two and three of the clock next morning, being Saturday the twenty-first, landed with the forelorn, the field-mark being matches about their left arms, at the little salt-ponds, about a league to windward of the aforesaid Frigate-bay, without any opposition; the enemy having left that place unguarded, by reason of its situation, it lying at the foot of an almost inaccessible hill, over which they thought it an impossibility to march. This steep ascent we mounted by a path frequented by none but wild goats, and in some places so near a perpendicular, that we were forced to use our hands as well as our feet in climbing up. About break of day we gained the top, where we received a volley of about seven or eight shot from some scouts there placed, who immediately, upon their firing, retreated; which wounded us two brisk commanders, one of which died of his wounds soon after. The major-general, leaving one company to secure the pass upon the hill, led his men down about a third part of it, before they were discovered by the enemy, who now began to fire briskly upon us from their trenches, wounding several of our men; and the major-general himself received an unfortunate shot through the small of his left leg, which obliged him to stay the binding of it up; but his men, running down briskly upon the enemy, and flanking them in their trenches, and the duke of Bolton's and the marine regiments landing at the same time at Frigate-bay, in which action Colonel Kegwin received a mortal wound, forced them to quit their post in disorder, and leave us masters of the field; we found fourteen of them dead, we having lost half the number, besides wounded men.

All our forces being landed, and the major-general with the wounded men sent on board, the army was drawn up into four battalions; the duke of Bolton's regiment in the van, was ordered to take the road adjoining to the sea; the major-general's regiment, under the command of Lieutenant-colonel John Thomas, in the body, was ordered to march through the country; and the Antigua regiment was com-

manded to march at a distance, as a reserve to the body; the other four regiments were to keep their posts, and wait for farther orders. After an hour's march, the duke of Bolton's regiment encountered a small party of the enemy, and soon put them to the rout; immediately after those French companies which ran from Frigate-bay, joining with the rest of their forces, which were gathered from all parts of the island, were advancing upon our body; they having much the advantage of ground, and three to one in number; and, after a sharp dispute of half an hour, they had almost surrounded us; but Colonel Williams coming up with the reserve, and giving them an unexpected and vigorous assault, so encouraged the major-general's regiment, that they pressed resolutely on, and beat the enemy out of the field in confusion; one part flying to the mountains, and the rest betaking themselves to the fort, which formerly belonged to the English.

Orders being sent to the four regiment, at Frigate-bay, to march up, and the duke of Bolton's regiment also meeting us, the whole army was drawn up into an intire body, and the soldiers were permitted to drink by companies at the adjacent wells and cisterns.

While the army was thus refreshing, the cockswain of the Mary frigate came with advice to the captain-general, that the frigates having fallen down before the town and fort of Basterre, the enemy, after firing two or three rounds, had struck their flag, set the town on fire, and quitted it; but, by the diligence of the seamen who came on shore from the frigates, it was happily extinguished. Upon which advice, the captain-general marched immediately away to the said town, with intent to quarter the army therein for that night; but the enemy having left store of wines and other liquors behind them, and fearing the disorders it might breed among the soldiers, he altered his resolutions, and only making a halt there, and placing his own company of guards in the mass-house, commanded the army to march to the Jesuits convent, lying about a mile above the town, where being again drawn up, and orders given to lie by their arms all night, centries were placed, and some parties sent to drive in cattle, there being store of flour, bread, &c. in the convent. The night proved very wet, it raining without intermission till morning; but the officers generously shared the weather with the centinels, scarce any, except the general officers, going into the convent for shelter.

The next morning, being Sunday the twenty-second, the commissary-general having secured the liquors in a convenient-store-house, the army marched down to the town, and free liberty was granted them to plunder it; wine and brandy being also distributed to them, by the respective commissaries of each regiment. The fort here consisted of sixteen guns, which they had nailed and spiked, but by the diligence of our men they were again cleared. In the afternoon, a detachment of one hundred and fifty men, out of the Antigua regiment, was sent under the command of Major Gunthorpe,

Gunthorpe, to gain and secure a pass, which was thought to be possessed by the enemy, lying in the way to the English fort; but when they came, they found it quitted. Monday, the twenty-third, we continued all day in the town; and in the evening the country was in flames all round, being fired by the English negroes who came from the mountains, where they had lain since their masters the English were beaten off the island.

On Tuesday, the twenty-fourth, we began our march towards the fort, and that night encamped about three miles from it, having the like fortune of rainy weather, without any means to avoid it. This day the frigates weighed from Basterre, and fell down to Old Road, where they came again to an anchor.

Wednesday, the twenty-fifth, we continued our camp at Old Road, and the wheel-barrows, shovels, pick-axes, &c. were brought on shore.

On Thursday morning, the twenty-sixth, we marched within a mile of the fort, and encamped under the covert of a high hill, a detachment out of Colonel Earl's regiment being sent under the command of Captain William Butler, to secure the top of it.

On Friday, the twenty-seventh, the Mary's two chace-guns six-pounders, were brought on shore, in order to be drawn up to the top of the hill, and the marine regiment under the command of Colonel Kirkby, commander of the Success; Colonel Kegwin, being dead of his wound he received in landing, was employed in cutting and clearing a path for the drawing them up.

On Saturday and Sunday, the twenty-eighth and twenty-ninth, the marine regiment so vigorously pursued their business, that they had drawn the guns to the top of the hill, and planted them upon a platform they had laid for them, with baskets of earth thrown up for a covering from the enemies shot, it lying open to the fort.

On Monday morning, the thirtieth, powder, shot, &c. being carried up, they began to play upon the fort, the very first shot doing execution, and the frigates also, weighing from Old Road, stood down to the fort, and battered against it; the whole army at the same time marching into a deep and wide ditch, between the hill and the fort, within musket-shot of it. In the afternoon, the frigates stood up again to Old Road, but the guns from the hill kept playing incessantly till night, at which time we began our intrenchments, running, from the ditch where we lay encamped, a trench, with a half-moon at the end, capable of holding four hundred men.

On Tuesday, the first of July, one of the Nevis regiments and part of the Antigua regiment, were sent under the command of Colonel Charles Pym, to take a small fort of the enemies about three miles distant from the camp, which they successfully surprised, taking about fifty prisoners in it.

This evening, Lieutenant-General Holt having given orders to the out-centries that were placed towards the fort, to fire, without challenging, at any

who should come that way; himself afterwards riding by them in the twilight to view the works, was shot into the body by one Gibbons, an Irishman, who was one of the centries; he returned to the camp, and languished long of it with little hopes of recovery; Gibbons was afterwards tried by a court-martial, but after a full hearing acquitted.

On Wednesday, the second, those guns on the hill proving so serviceable, there were four more of a larger size drawn up; but one of them splitting at the first time of firing, and the rest being incommodiouly planted, they were no more made use of. This day four companies of the enemy marched out of the fort, and drew up before the gate, but in a quarter of an hour they marched in again. The half-moon being now finished, we run another trench about a quarter of a mile below it, able to contain the like number of men; and at the like distance below that, we began another, wide enough to draw the carriages of the great guns through.

The third, fourth, fifth, and sixth days, we continued in the day-time quiet in our trenches, in the night running on with our works; the enemy firing day and night upon us with great guns and small arms, but doing us little damage; but the guns on the hill galled them exceedingly, leaving no corner of the fort unsearched.

Some hundreds of the enemy being out in the mountains, headed by one Monsieur Pinelle, parties were sent daily abroad, commanded by the officers in their turns, to scour them out; and on Monday, the seventh, the major-general, his wound being well healed, went himself at the head of two hundred men, upon the same design; but could not meet with the enemy to engage them, they lurking sometimes in one place, and sometimes in another.

On Wednesday, the ninth, he returned to the camp with some prisoners, many negroes, and great store of cattle. After the major-general's return, proclamation being made by beat of drum, in several places of the island, by the command of the captain-general, that all which would come in within three days, should receive his protection, to secure their persons from the outrages of the soldiers; several families surrendered themselves, to many of which was also granted liberty to return to their houses, and keep some small stock till farther orders.

Monsieur Pinelle also sent in a flag of truce from the mountains, to acquaint the captain-general, that he could not come in without leave from the governor; but however he assured him he would remain quiet, and give free passage to any of our men he should meet with.

The tenth and eleventh, we continued in our trenches, which we had now run within pistol-shot of the fort.

Over-against the gate we had an half-moon, on which we planted several colours. On the left hand of the half-moon was a battery raised for six great guns, two eighteen pounders, and four twelve pounders; but

but before they were mounted, on Saturday the twelfth, about one in the afternoon, the drums beat a parley in the fort, and four persons marched out with a flag of truce; they were met in the pasture between our trench and the fort by Major Legard, and by him conducted to the captain-general; and, after some treaty, hostages were given on both sides, one of the majors continuing with us, and Lieutenant-colonel Nott was sent to them; Captain Hamilton also going with him as an interpreter. But, notwithstanding the treaty, the captain-general continued his works, joining our trench to the enemies trench, through which they used to come from the fort to the well; our centries were placed under the walls, and at the gate of the fort, and that evening our guns were also mounted upon the battery.

About twelve of the clock in the night, there was a canoe let over the fort-walls, it being situated by the sea-side, which run on board a sloop that came close in with the shore, under the covert of the dark night; our men let fly a whole volley upon them, which made them hasten away. Captain Hamilton came to the centry at the fort-gate, and ordered him to acquaint the major-general, that there was a ship seen off; upon which this relator was dispatched away to Old Road, to give Admiral Wright notice of it, but, in the interim, a brigantine was sent in pursuit of the sloop: the admiral immediately ordered two frigates to weigh, and put out in search of the said ship and sloop: which they did, and the next day, the thirteenth, returned without seeing any vessels.

During the whole action upon this island, there were two frigates that cruised about, to take any French vessels which might arrive there, either by design or chance, but they met with none.

On Monday, the fourteenth, the fort was surrendered to the captain-general, upon the same articles that it was before delivered up to the French. After the enemy marched out, and the English flag was put up, the king's and queen's healths were drank, and the great guns three times fired, three volleys being also made by the whole army. The fort was quadrangular, consisting of four flankers, with a curtain between each; on each flanker were mounted five guns; the walls were of stone, about twenty feet high, surrounded with a deep ditch twelve feet wide, over which was a narrow wooden bridge. In the middle of the fort were two mounts thrown up for batteries; there was also a well, but, upon firing the guns, the water would instantly dry away. There was store of provision, liquors, and powder, but they wanted shot.

In retaking this island, we had about an hundred men killed and wounded; the island in general is very strong, there being several small fortifications and breast-works all around, except where it is naturally fortified with hills or shoals. The inhabitants were about eighteen hundred men, besides women and children, and negroes, all which, except the negroes, which were to be divided as plunder, were transported to the island of Hispaniola; only some particular per-

sons had the favour granted them to be carried up to Martinico.

After a week's refreshment, the major-general, on Sunday the twentieth of the said month of July, embarked with his own regiment in the sloops, and the marine regiment on board the frigates, and set sail for the island of St. Eustace; and the same evening, lying before the said island, he sent Captain Hamilton on shore with a flag of truce, to summon the island to surrender, who returned with an answer from the governor, that he would defend it to the utmost.

The next morning, the twenty-first, the frigates began to batter against the fort, and the major-general landed at the same time with his men under a high cliff, which they ascended; being got up, they had not marched far, before they perceived some Dutch colours in the woods; upon which a party was sent to discover them, who returned with an account, that it was Colonel Scorer, the governor of the island for the Dutch, when the French took it with one hundred men under his command, who came from Saba, and landed there three days before; but not having strength enough to take the fort, into which the inhabitants were fled, he designed to get what plunder he could, and so go off again. He refused to join with the major-general, because he was first landed, and so accordingly went off the next day. The major-general proceeded in his march towards the fort, and encamped within musket-shot from it, under the rising of a small hill.

The next day the marine regiment landed, and the shovels, pick-axes, &c. being brought on shore, they began their intrenchments, running their trench along by the fort, within musket-shot from it.

After five days siege, the enemy sent out a flag of truce with articles; but they were so high in their demands, that the major-general refused them, and returned an answer, If they did not descend to more reasonable terms within three days, he would grant them no quarter. Within the prescribed time, they came out again with a flag of truce, and surrendered themselves and their fort upon quarter for life, and to march out with their baggage. Their fort contained sixteen great guns: it was surrounded with double rows of stakes, the intervals filled with earth, and without that strong palisadoes, and on the outside of them a deep ditch, over which was a narrow bridge leading into the gate, admitting but one at a time; the besieged were about sixty men, the women and children being sent off some time before; they had a well for water, and about twenty barrels of flour, some salt fish and pork, and a small quantity of ammunition; they behaved themselves very briskly during the siege, especially the governor, who was very active in firing the great guns, &c.

In taking this island we had not above eight men killed and wounded. The major-general, leaving one company upon the island, under the command of Lieutenant John Mac Arthur, returned to St. Christopher's, with the whole fleet, carrying the inhabitants prisoners

prisoners thither, and afterwards transporting them to Hispaniola. Lieutenant Pilkinton was afterwards sent down with a company out of the duke of Bolton's regiment, to relieve Lieutenant Mac Arthur, and he still continues there for the defence of the said island.

The inhabitants of the island of St. Bartholomew's, who were brought up prisoners from thence to Nevis, being sent down to St. Christopher's, before that island was retaken, there met with their wives and families; and after that island was retaken, they were desirous to live under an English government; upon which the captain-general gave them liberty to return to their island, transporting them thither, and granted a commission to one Captain Le Grand, a former inhabitant among them, to be their governor, and to keep and defend the island in the name and behalf of their majesties, King William and Queen Mary, under which government it still continues.

In the latter end of October, this relator's concerns

calling him home to England, he left the Caribbee Islands; the captain-general having then issued out orders for the mustering their majesties forces, and getting them in a readiness to embark upon a farther expedition, against Guadaloupe, and other French islands, leaving a garrison upon St. Christopher's, under the command of Lieutenant-colonel Nott.

Thus you have a brief and plain relation of the success of the English arms in the Caribbee Islands, and it may reasonably be concluded, that as the English affairs there have hitherto been happily prosperous, so being under the management and conduct of such prudent and active generals, and promoted by the forwardness of the soldiery, but principally by a divine blessing attending upon their endeavours, they will soon put a successful period to those troublesome wars, and root the French interest out of that part of the world.

A Letter to a Friend *, concerning a French Invasion, to restore the late King JAMES to his Throne: And what may be expected from him, should he be successful in it.

S I R,

IN your last you seem much concerned about the French invasion, and desirous to know what I think may probably be expected from the late king, should he prove so successful as to recover his throne? And what English subjects are bound in conscience to do, should he land in England, and demand his right?

The last is a material question, but I wonder how you came to ask the first, as if it could be any question, What the late king will do, if he were restored by power to his crown? For I think it past all doubt, that he will do as he did before, only, in all probability, a great deal worse: and you remember how that was; for arbitrary power and popery are of too great concernment, and have left too frightful an impression behind them, to be so soon forgot; and this will go a great way towards an answer to your second question, unless you think we are bound to take King James, and a French government, and a French popery with him; which I shall not easily be persuaded to; and I believe there are not many English Protestants will.

But to answer your questions distinctly: As to the first, When we see what the late King James has done, what reason have we to expect, that, should he return with power, he would ever do otherwise? Is he more obliged now by his Protestant subjects, than he was before? Can he make fairer promises

than he did before? Is he less zealous for popery, or grown more out of conceit with arbitrary power? Or will he be less able to make himself arbitrary, and set up popery, when he returns a conqueror? For I take it for granted, he must conquer first, because King William will not abdicate nor steal away, and the power that conquers will give laws and religion to the conquered.

I know there are two things pretended, as a foundation for better hopes. First, That the late king is now sensible that the English nation will never bear popery, nor arbitrary power, and that he has suffered so much by these attempts already, that he will never venture the like again. Secondly, The great merits of the non-swearing clergy and gentry, which will atone for the church of England, and make him their sure and fast friend, patron, and defender, especially if those, who have been too forward in complying with the late revolution, shall expiate that crime by an early repentance, and a vigorous assistance to restore him to his throne.

First: As for the first, there are too many answers to be given to it, to hinder it from being the least probable ground of hope; though hope itself is *rei incertæ nomen*, so very uncertain, especially when we guess only at the inclinations of princes, that lives, and fortunes, and liberties, and religion, are not to be ventured on it, against former experience.

* Vide the 26th article in the catalogue of pamphlets in the Harleian library.

But to let that pass, pray consider what the true import of this argument is; for it amounts to this, that all men will learn by experience; that men will not venture on those things a second time, which have proved fatal to them once; that princes will certainly for ever after dislike such counsels and measures, as have already shaken their thrones, and made their crowns fall from their heads.

Now we may flatter ourselves with such hopes as these, which may, upon some account, be called reasonable hopes, because there is great reason it should be so; but yet they so often fail, that there is no reason to rely upon them. The repentance of dying sinners, and of undone prodigals, who return to their old sins again, if they recover their health, or find new treasures to waste, confutes such expectations. Sufferings rarely cure a vehement love and fond passion for any thing, which is the case of old habitual sinners; and no man can be fonder of any vice, than some princes are of unlimited and arbitrary power.

And, when this is joined with a resolved and inflexible temper, which scorns to yield, and had rather be undone a thousand times, than own, retract, or amend a fault: such misfortunes do but whet revenge, and make them swell, as a river does when its current is stopped, which flows with a more rapid and foaming stream, when it has once forced its way.

Especially when superstition is the prevailing ingredient, which fires the spirits, and raises imaginary scenes of glory out of the loss of crowns and kingdoms: and what will such a prince, if he ever recover his throne and power, forfeit the glory of losing his kingdoms again, by deserting the cause for which he lost them before? No man can certainly tell, how superstition will act, nor how it will reason: especially when the consciences of princes are under such directors, as will venture their crowns for them over and over, to carry on their own designs, and know how to expound providence to flatter superstition. And then the recovery of his throne may be made a better argument, and a stronger obligation to revive and prosecute his old designs, than the fear of losing it again can be to make him desist.

And, to make this yet more demonstrative, with reference to the late king, we ought to consider, that this is not the first trial he has had, and that this consideration has done him no good.

He saw before what his father King Charles the First suffered, only for some attempts towards arbitrary power, and for mere jealousies and suspicions of his favouring popery. He lost his kingdoms and his life, and his sons suffered a long and hard exile. Charles the Second indeed took warning by this, and though possibly he might be big with the same designs, yet would he not venture too far, nor discover himself too openly, for fear of travelling again, as he used to speak: but King James had not patience to conceal his inclinations till he came to the crown; and that had like to have cost him his crown before he had it; and yet this was not sufficient to caution

him against those violent methods he afterwards used to advance popery, which were so seasonably defeated by the happy arrival of our present sovereign, whom God long preserve: and those who are so desirous to try him again in England, as they have lately done in Ireland, to their full satisfaction, if they could try only for themselves, should have my free consent to make the experiment.

Have not the poor Irish Protestants made it to their cost, even since this very revolution, from whence, and from the wisdom he must needs have learned by it, this miraculous change in him is now expected? And did they find any such change in him, unless for the worse? And yet, if ever, then he was upon his good behaviour, when he wanted their assistance to secure his possession of that kingdom, and to recover his other dominions. And when, in reason, it might have been expected, that whatever resentments he had, he would have thought it his interest to have treated Protestants with greater tenderness and respect. But if the necessity of his own affairs could not obtain this from him, what must Protestants expect if he return with power? And though some Protestants here in England seem not to be at all affected with this experiment, yet it hath made such an impression upon the Protestants in Ireland, that they are for ever cured of their fondness, and have not the least curiosity left to make any further trials.

It is pretended, indeed, in excuse of this, that he was then under the government of French ministers and counsels, and under the power of Irish priests and Papists, and so was not at liberty to follow his own inclinations: I should be very glad of a good argument to prove, that he had better inclinations. But, however, what comfort is this to Protestants, that he has better inclination, but is not his own master? For if he must never shew any kindness to Protestants, it is no matter what his inclinations are: and can any man imagine, that if the French king, by force and power, place him on the throne, he will be less under his government than he was in Ireland? The French king, among many other wise maxims, has this, I am sure, for one, Never to make a king, without making him his own vassal; and the power that can make a king, can make him his slave: so that it is to no purpose to enquire what King James will do; but what King Lewis will do, if King James returns?

Secondly, As for the great merits of the non-swear-ing clergy and laity, I greatly suspect, that neither the late King James, nor King Lewis, will think them so great as they themselves do. Their merit must consist either in their principles, or in their practices. And we will briefly consider both.

Their meritorious principle is this: That the rights of princes, especially of hereditary princes, to their thrones, are so sacred and inviolable, that as they cannot forfeit them to their own subjects by any mal-administration, so neither can they, by any provocations, or by any success of war, forfeit them to any other

other princes: that while such a prince, or any legal heir is living, no other prince can have any right to his throne, nor must his subjects own and submit to any other prince, as their sovereign lord.

Now, as much as this principle seems to flatter princes, and to make their thrones eternal, I am apt to suspect that no prince, who considers the just consequence of things, can think it so very meritorious; for it is a very dangerous principle to weak and unfortunate princes, and an intolerable restraint upon the aspiring and ambitious. It is dangerous to the unfortunate, because it lays a necessity upon the conqueror to take away his life, if he can, as well as his throne, since he cannot lose his throne without losing his life, though most princes would rather chuse to have them parted, than lose both together: and how do they think King Lewis will like this principle, which stands in the way of his glory, and preaches restitution to him of all those dominions, whose legal heirs are living; which teaches the subjects of other princes to deny him fealty and obedience, and to conspire with their legal princes against him? I doubt not but he likes the principle as little as he would like the practice, and that our non-swearers would quickly understand, were they the subjects of his new conquests, which God grant England may never be.

Indeed, how great a compliment soever this principle may be thought to princes, it can have no merit, because, though it may in some junctures do them hurt, it never did, and never can do them any service. It never yet hindered a revolution, and never can make one; and the reason is plain, because no princes, and very few subjects, do believe it and practise upon it. If a prince have a just cause of war against another prince, he makes no scruple, if he conquers, to take his crown; and the subjects of such a conquered prince make no scruple of conscience to submit to the conqueror; though sometimes a personal kindness for a just and indulgent prince, and a concernment for their own liberties and fortunes, may make them uneasy under it, and glad of the first opportunity to do themselves and their prince right.

The truth is, princes have no reason to like this principle; for, were it true, they could have no remedies against the injuries of neighbour princes; they might, indeed, fight and conquer, but they had better let it alone, if they must not take the throne which their sword has won; for it is only the fear of conquest, and losing their crowns when they are conquered, that can keep princes in awe, and bring them to just and equal terms; and if no prince must lose his crown, because no prince must take it, it will be impossible to beat an injurious and obstinate prince into good terms; and I believe princes will as soon be persuaded, that it is as unlawful to make war, as that it is unlawful to seize a conquered crown, and will think one as meritorious a principle as the other.

And it is certain, subjects have less reason to like this principle, because it makes them sacrifices, even to the misfortunes of their prince. A prince when he

is conquered, or sees that he must be conquered, may escape by flight, but a whole nation cannot run away; and if they could, have no reason to leave their country and their fortunes behind them; and yet, according to this principle, they must not submit, nor swear allegiance to the conqueror, while the prince who has forsaken them lives, though they cannot secure their lives and fortunes without it. But nature and common sense is too powerful for the sophistry of such principles, and those who cannot reason, can feel what they are to do in such cases. The loyalest subjects, when no personal obligations, or secret interests, determine them otherwise, will save themselves by submission, when they cannot defend their prince by their arms; and do not think they do ill in it; and I suppose princes do not think so neither, because they expect the same from the subjects of other princes in the like circumstances; and such an universal consent, both of princes and subjects, when there is no law of God or nature against it, makes it a standing law in all revolutions, which both princes and subjects must submit to. So that this principle, were it never so true, can do no service, and therefore can have no merit in this world, because there are so few that believe it, that they are not hands enough, either to keep a prince on his throne, or to restore him to it. All our non-swearers could not hinder the late revolution, nor can they make another: they are enough to make a noise, especially if the loud and zealous ladies of that side be reckoned in; but other hands and other pretences must do their work, if ever they hope to see it done; and then no thanks to their principles for it. Whatever reward their future services may deserve, princes themselves will not think that their principles deserve any.

Let us then now consider the merit of their actions, and what opinion the late king is like to have of that, if he should return.

I suppose they will be contented he should forget their merits towards him, while he was on the throne, especially about reading his declaration; as likewise their Tower and their Westminster-hall merits; which were indeed great, and did deserve, and would have had a better reward from a better hand, had they not rendered themselves incapable of it. But sure they do not expect the late king should reward them for such services. He knew that this raised that general discontent, which occasioned that general revolt which cost him three crowns: and if all their merits can expiate this guilt, they come off well; and they had need be very extraordinary merits, which have first so great a guilt to expiate, before they can pretend to merit. Could their non-swearing restore him to his throne again, it would but just undo what they had done, which is no more than their duty, and therefore cannot merit, no, not so much as a pardon, though it may make them capable of it, if they fall into merciful hands. But still there are four years exile, and the loss of three crowns, and the expence of so much blood and treasure; the dishonour of so many

many defeats, and the ruin of Ireland to be accounted for: And how can they make restitution for all this? which yet they must do before they can lay claim to merit.

Let all this then be forgot, for it is their interest it should; but they are very sanguine men, if they hope it will: whence then will they date their merits?

When it was certainly known, that the prince of Orange, now our gracious sovereign, was ready to land, they seemed as well pleased with it as other men, and refused when they were pressed to it by the late king, to declare their abhorrence of it; but, instead of that, took upon them to give him advice, and to publish it when they had done: in which advice they recommended almost every particular of the prince's declaration, complained of the same abuses, and advised the calling of a parliament to redress them; as if the prince's declaration and their advice had been drawn by the same pen, and the advice had been published on purpose to second the declaration. This, I suppose, they will not reckon among their merits neither; and, if they can excuse what was so hastily done at Guildhall, before the late king was gone out of the land, they may very well be contented no more should be said of that.

The only merit then they have to pretend, is their refusing the oath of allegiance to King William and Queen Mary, and forfeiting their ecclesiastical, civil, or military preferments for it: but what is this to the late king? Is this done out of kindness to him, or his government? Would they not have been contented to have lived peaceably and quietly, as they themselves professed, could they have kept their preferments, and have been excused from the new oaths? And how do they merit of him, by refusing the oaths with the loss of their preferments, if they did it not for his sake, but for another and better reason, for fear of being damned? God may reward this, but King James is not beholden to them. Will they be better subjects hereafter? Will they read his declaration when he returns? Will they make his will their law? Will they submit to his next ecclesiastical commission, and give up their colleges and churches to priests and Jesuits? Will they be content to take him the very same man that he went away, and to serve him in his own way? Will they no more fill the nation with the noise and fears of popery and arbitrary power? Will they turn Papists themselves? Or stand by patiently, and give leave to his priests to pervert Protestants as fast as they can? Will they promise to demean themselves with more respect towards the king's religion, and to leave off their old sauciness of printing and preaching against popery? This, indeed, would bid fair for merit; but if they oppose his methods of government, and his glorious designs, as much as they do King William's right; if it be only a title they boggle at, if this be all that makes them uneasy at the change, their not swearing does him no service: he could have kept his kingdoms upon these terms before, but he scorned it; and so he will those, who,

to save their consciences, or their honours, and to recover their preferments, would have him upon these terms again.

As much as some men glory in their steadiness to principles (which is certainly a very honourable thing, and an excellent degree of virtue, when the principles are plain and certain) yet few princes (to be sure not the late king) like such a steadiness to principles as opposes their designs; a stubborn, inflexible conscience is a very unruly thing, and kings do not like such subjects as dare oppose a king upon the throne, whatever the cause be: so that I suspect their very boldness and resolution, in opposing their present majesties, upon a mere point of law, will be thought no virtue fit to be rewarded by a prince, who would make his will superior to all laws.

And, if the merit of the non-swearers is likely to vanish into nothing, especially when there is no occasion any longer to court and flatter them, and priests and Jesuits have free liberty to comment on their merits, what merit will those men have to plead, who were forward and zealous in the revolution, have sworn allegiance to their present majesties, have served them in their armies and navies at home and abroad? There is no doubt, but they shall have fair promises and good words at present, and shall be remembered hereafter, when there is occasion.

But, suppose the merits of the non-swearing, or forswearing clergy and laity, who will help forwards another revolution, should be acknowledged to be very great, what probability is there, that the church of England should fare ever the better for it, when popery and arbitrary power stand in the way? Past experience gives no great encouragement to hope this. King Lewis was as much obliged to his Protestant subjects of France, as it is possible for any king to be; for they set the crown upon his head; and how he has rewarded them, all the world rings of it. The late king was not much less beholden to the church of England, when they so vigorously opposed the bill of exclusion; and how he also rewarded them, we all lately saw and felt: and shall Protestants, after this, think of obliging such princes by their merits? They understand better, that merit is no Protestant doctrine, and that there can be none out of the church of Rome; and why should any body expect that which cannot be? Nay, should the late king return again, and be as much at the devotion of his non-swearing friends, as they promise themselves he will be, I very much doubt what the church of England will gain by this. If we may guess at the spirit of the party by the bitter zeal which inspires all their writings, I can expect nothing from them but as fierce a persecution of the church of England, as ever it suffered from Papists or fanatics, excepting Smithfield fires, which possibly may be exchanged for Tyburn. All who live in the communion of the church of England, as now established, are, in their account and constant language, no better than hereticks and schismatics, and perjured apostates; much greater crimes than the

Traditores

Traditores were guilty of, which was the only pretence for the Donatist schism and persecution. They seem to comfort themselves, under their present sufferings, more with the sweet hopes of revenge, than any great expectations of future rewards; that they shall live to see the swearing bishops and priests the contempt of princes and people*; for if the archbishop of York, who is particularly named, cannot escape them, I doubt they will make but very few exceptions. And is not this a great encouragement to any, who have complied with the present government, to help these men to power again? Must not the nobility and gentry expect their share of vengeance, as well as the clergy? And is not the church of England then in a hopeful state? Which must be purged and reformed into Jacobite principles, and by a Jacobite spirit.

These are all very sensible proofs (as far as we can reason about such matters) how little good is to be expected from the return of the late king with a French power: he must return the same man he went, and then popery and arbitrary power must return with him; nay, he must return much worse than he went, because he must return more a vassal to France; which I suppose will not mend the condition of English subjects, during his reign.

These things ought to be well considered; for if his government was so uneasy before, and gave us such a frightful prospect, as made the nation very willing to part with him, when he thought fit to leave them, it would seem very strange to by-standers, should they now grow fond of his return, when it is certain, if he does return, and returns by the methods now intended, popery and arbitrary power must be more triumphant than ever.

He wanted nothing but power to make himself absolute, and to make us all Papists or martyrs, or refugees; and that he will now have: for if a French power can conquer us, it will make him as absolute as the French king will let him be; or, to speak properly, it will make him, though not an absolute prince yet an absolute viceroy, and minister of France. He will administer an absolute power and government, under the influence and direction of French counsels; and then we know not what will become of the liberties and religion of England. And have we so long disdained the thoughts of subjection to France? Has a French league been thought such a national grievance? Has the pretence of a war with France been found such an excellent expedient to get money of English parliaments? Has the expectation of it fired English spirits, and, upon occasion, filled our armies and navies, without need of pressing, or beat of drum? Have we so detested the French cruelties to Protestants? And shall we now so willingly stoop to the yoke, and think it a great favour that they will vouchsafe to conquer us? Let us never complain hereafter, that our chains pinch and gall us, when we

ourselves are ready with so much joy and thankfulness to put them on. And, whatever some fancy, they will find it a very easy and natural thing for the late king, if he return by force and power, to make himself absolute by law: princes always gain new powers by the ineffectual opposition of subjects: if they lose their crowns and recover them again, they receive them with an addition of some brighter jewels, and turn disputed prerogatives into legal and undoubted rights. Thus we know it was when King Charles the Second returned from a long exile, all the new acts and declarations were made in favour of the crown, and subjects bound to their good behaviour, as fast as laws could bind them; for in all such revolutions, those who suffered with or for their prince, return with zeal and resentment; and take care, in the first place, to establish all such prerogatives of the crown as were disputed before, and to grant such new powers as they think are wanting. And others there are always forward to make their fortunes by complimenting the returning prince; and to expiate their former crimes by a forward and flaming loyalty; and the rest are over-awed and frightened into a compliance; and thus it is commonly seen, that between zeal and flattery, and fear, the king increases in power, and the people forfeit their liberties; and we must not expect that it should be otherwise now, should the late king return.

The first compliment that must be made to him is a Jacobite parliament, and God knows what such a parliament will do! Will they deny him a toleration for Papists, the repeal of the test, the forfeitures, or surrenders of charters, and a new regulation of corporations? Will they dispute, nay, will they not declare his dispensing power, and approve his ecclesiastical commissions? Will they make any scruple to declare the legitimacy of the prince of Wales, or to leave the manner of his education to those who will certainly breed him up in popery? Will they not take care for new Jacobite tests to renounce and abhor all the several hypotheses and principles of government, which have been urged to justify our submission and allegiance to their present majesties? And when they have done this, how easy will it be for a downright popish parliament, which will be the next step that will be made to do all the rest?

It is very evident what advantages the priests and Jesuits will have, in such a juncture, to make proselytes, while the people are in a fright, and grown giddy with such frequent revolutions; and those who, in the late reign, were the great advocates of the Protestant cause, are disgraced at court, threatened into silence, their authority weakened, and their persons reproached both by Papists and Jacobites. Numbers of converts was their great want before, and the press and the pulpit their great hindrance; but Jacobites will, by natural instinct, learn more loyalty, and others will be taught it, as Gideon once taught the

* Apol. for the new Separat.

men of Succoth, with briars and thorns. And there never was such an opportunity since the reformation for a plentiful harvest of converts, as this would be like to prove. And who can bear the thoughts of this, who has any compassion for the souls of men, any zeal for the church of England, or any concern to preserve and propagate the true faith and worship of Christ to posterity?

All this is upon a supposition of the late king's return, which I declare to you I am not afraid of, though it is fit to mind those men who are so fond of it, what they may reasonably expect if he should return; which possibly may abate their zeal in this cause, and that may prevent the mischiefs of an attempt; for, without a hopeful conspiracy in England, the French king is too wary to make such an attempt.

But, if they have any love to their country, any pity left in them for the lives and fortunes of English Protestants, I beseech them to consider what the calamities and desolations of civil war will be; for that it must end in, if there be an invasion from abroad, strengthened with a powerful conspiracy at home. King William, as I said before, will not desert or abdicate; for I never heard of a prince who had ventured so much to rescue a kingdom out of so great a danger, that would so easily expose it again to the same, or a greater danger. And surely the late king does not expect he should, for he knows him too well: so that if they look for such another revolution, to turn King William out, as brought him in, they will, in all probability, be mistaken. There are too many persons of honour and fortune engaged in this cause, who know the late king too well to take his word; and were it possible to wheedle men of fortune and sense, the genius and spirit of the nation is against them: and that which could make the late revolution, will probably be able to prevent this.

It must then come to blows, if an attempt be made: and the fortune of one battle may not decide it; and those who are too young to remember the desolations which the late civil wars in England made, let them look into Ireland, and see to what a heap of rubbish a flourishing and fruitful country is reduced by being the scene of a three years war.

It is made a popular pretence to raise discontents, and to make people disaffected to the present government, that the taxes for maintaining this war are grown so intolerable, and there is no prospect of an end of them: now I must confess, that the taxes fall very heavy upon some, and am sorry that the present posture of our affairs does require it, and that there can be no easier ways found to supply the plain and pressing necessities of the state: but we ought to consider, that still all this is infinitely easier than popery and French slavery, if we regard only our estates. The annual exactions of the church of Rome, (besides all the cheating ways their priests had to get money) while popery was the religion of England, used to be complained of as a national grievance, and a heavier tax upon the subject, than all the king's revenues:

and if those who complain of our taxes, were but one month in France, to see the poverty and misery which the French government has brought upon them, they would come home very well contented to pay taxes, and to fight against the French too. We are free subjects, not slaves; we are taxed by our own representatives, who tax themselves as well as us; and this not by the arbitrary will of the prince. We pay for our own defence and preservation as all people ought to do; and, while we do not pay near so much as our religion, and lives, and liberties, are worth, and have left wherewithal to maintain ourselves, we have no such great reason to complain.

But how heavy soever taxes are, are they like a civil war? Like the dread and terror of an enemy's army, or of our own? Are they like having our houses filled with soldiers; or, which is worse, burnt or plundered? Are they like losing our friends, our fathers, husbands, or children, by whose kindness or labours we subsisted? In a word, are they like the spoils of harvest, or the desolation of a whole country?

And can we be contented to see England again the seat of war? It is certain, in our present circumstances, it cannot be made so, unless we ourselves please: France has too many enemies, to think of conquering England without factions at home; and, were it not for them, we need not fear its united force; and I hope considering men, of what persuasion soever they be, will not think it worth the while to ruin their country by a civil war, to purchase a French slavery and popery; two very dear things, could we purchase them never so cheap.

What I have said hitherto, concerns only England; but it becomes us to look a little abroad, and consider, what a fatal influence a French conquest of England will have upon the affairs of all Europe. That it is not mere justice and honour that makes the French king espouse the cause of the late King James, his encroachments and usurpations on his neighbours will witness. He has no scruples of conscience about the rights of other princes; all he can get is his own. But England was formerly a friend and confederate, at least not an enemy; and now the power of England (which the French have never had reason to despise) is in the hands of a king who owes the French king a good turn, and will not, I hope, die in his debt. This checks his ambitious designs; give life and spirit to the confederacy; threatens to make him restore what he has taken, and what he keeps by mere force and violence, and to reduce him within his ancient bounds, and to the ancient constitution of the French government; and he knows, while King William possesses the English throne, and keeps up the confederacy, he must not expect to get much more, and may be in constant danger of losing what he has gotten.

This makes the French king so concerned to restore the late King James to the throne of England, to get rid of a formidable enemy, and to strengthen himself with the alliance of a powerful friend; for
England

England will probably turn the scales, on which side soever it happens to be: and there is no doubt, but the arms of England must be devoted to the service of France, if a French power should place the late king in his throne again; and let any English Protestant, who can think coolly of things, consider what a malignant aspect this would have upon the liberties of Europe, and on the whole Protestant interest.

The arms, or the money of France, has hitherto been an equal match, at least for all the confederates; while he has found other employment for the Imperial and English forces; but, thanks be to God, the king of England, and the English forces, are now at leisure to attend his motions; those forces which beat him at the Boyne, at Athlone, at Agrim, at Limerick; in a word, which beat him out of Ireland, and have now got a habit of beating the French: and it is no wonder that he is not fond of such company in Flanders, but endeavours to find some new work for them at home. And if he can but send them home again, and embroil us in a civil war, that is one great point gained; but if he proves successful in his attempt, he makes England his own, and will turn their arms upon the confederates: and what can then stand in his way? What should hinder him from being the sole and absolute monarch of the west? And then it is easy to read the fate of Protestants.

Thus, sir, I have freely told you, what I apprehend will be the necessary and unavoidable effects of a French conquest. I pretend not to prophecy, nor to demonstration in such cases; but what I have said, has all the appearances of probability, all the degrees of moral certainty, that any thing of this nature can have; and that is the only rule in these matters by which wise men are to judge and act.

And this has prepared a plain and easy answer to your second question, What English subjects are bound in conscience to do, in case the late king should land in England with French forces to demand his crown?

Now there are two sorts of persons concerned in this question: 1. Those who have not sworn allegiance to King William and Queen Mary, but account the late King James as much their king, as he was when he sat upon the throne; and that their obligations to him are the same now that ever they were. 2. Those who have sworn allegiance to King William and Queen Mary: and there are two parts of this question; 1. Whether they are bound in conscience to assist the late king, if he return? 2. Whether it be lawful for them to oppose him, and fight against him?

As for the first part of this question, and as far as it concerns the non-swearers, I shall ask them two or three questions, and leave them to answer them themselves.

1. The first question is, Whether they can think themselves bound in conscience, upon any pretence whatever, to fight for popery against the Protestant faith and worship; that is, (as they must confess if

they are Protestants) to fight for heresy and idolatry against the true faith and worship of Christ; or to fight for antichrist, and against Christ? Can any consideration make this lawful? If nothing can (as I will venture to take it for granted that nothing can) then whatever duty they may fancy they still owe to their abdicated prince, it cannot be their duty to fight for him, when they cannot fight for him without fighting against Christ and his religion; though they must not fight against their prince for Christ, because Christ in such cases requires his disciples to suffer, not to fight for him; yet it does not follow, that they must fight for their prince against Christ, to bring a persecution upon his faithful disciples, and to contribute what they can to extirpate the name and the religion of Protestants out of Europe.

Do they think themselves bound in conscience to fight for their prince, against the laws and liberties of their country, as well as against the faith and worship of Christ? Let the rights of princes be never so sacred, have the rest of mankind no rights, but only princes? Is there no such thing as justice due to ourselves, nor to our fellow-subjects? Have the free-born subjects of England no natural, no legal rights? And is there any law of God or man, to fight for our prince against the laws and liberties of our country, which are the measures and boundaries of that duty which we owe to princes? That is, to fight for our prince, against the rule of our duty and obedience to princes; when our prince and the laws and liberties of our country are on contrary sides, though we should grant them (according to their own principles) that we must not fight against our prince for our laws and liberties, yet no more must we fight for our prince against our laws and liberties: it is abundantly enough to be passive in such cases; but a nation which fights against its own laws and liberties, is *felo de se*, guilty of the worst kind of self-murder. Can any Englishman, whatever opinion he has of the late king's right, think himself bound in conscience to maintain his right, by giving up his country to France? To make him king, and all his subjects French slaves? For can any prince have more right to be king of England, than the kingdom of England has to be England?

Is it not an unaccountable tenderness and scrupulosity of conscience, to be so concerned for any one prince's right, as to sacrifice the rights and liberties of all the princes in Europe to his? To set him upon the throne, to drive all other princes from theirs? We are citizens of the world, as well as subjects of England, and have our obligations to mankind, and to other princes, as well as to our own; and though our obligation to no one other prince is great, as to our own, yet the publick good of mankind, or of a great part of the world, is a more sacred obligation, than the particular interest of our own prince or country; much less then can the right of any particular prince, be it what it will, stand in competition with the rights and liberties of our own country, and of all Europe besides.

It

It is to no more purpose to dispute with men who do not feel the force of this argument at the first hearing, than to reason with blind men about colours; they have no sense left, nothing but a stupid and slavish loyalty; all things, though never so sacred, must give place to this; the care of religion, the love of their country, their justice and charity to all mankind, must vail to their senseless mistake of the true meaning of this word *loyalty*; by which they will needs understand an absolute obedience, without limitation or reserve; when, most certainly, it signifies no more than obedience according to law.

2. I would ask, What they would think themselves bound to do in such cases, were the late king upon the throne again? Unless they have changed their minds (and then they are not so steady to principles as they pretend to be) we may very reasonably guess what they would do, by what they did while he was upon the throne. It is certain, they so much disliked his open designs of popery and arbitrary power, that they opposed him as far as they durst, and would not fight for him to keep him on the throne; nay, by their examples and counsels, they had so influenced the army, that they would not fight for him neither; and so possessed the country, that the nobility and gentry took arms, and declared for the prince of Orange, which they thought they might very well do, when the bishops would not declare against him. This was then thought consistent enough with the high-tory loyalty; and yet, if they were not then bound to fight for him to keep him on the throne, I am at a great loss to know, how it comes to be their duty now to fight for him, to restore him to it: he was certainly their king then, and yet they would not fight for him, no, not to defend his person, crown, and dignity. And though they call him their king still, it is certain he is not king of England, whatever right they may think he has to be so; and therefore to fight for him now, is not to fight for the king, but to fight to make him king again. But, to let that pass, suppose him to be their king, since they will have him so, how do they come to be more obliged to fight for him now he is out of the throne, than they were to fight for him while he was in it? If they think it their duty to fight for their king, against the religion, the laws, and the liberties of their country, it was their duty to have fought for him then; if they do not think this, it cannot be their duty to fight for him now.

But they did not expect what followed; they desired to have their laws and liberties secured, but not that he should lose his crown: I believe very few did then expect what followed, no more than they do now consider what will follow: but, since he would leave his crown, who could help it? for nobody took it from him.

3. Let me then ask them another question, Whether they would think themselves bound in conscience to fight for him, did they verily believe, that, if he recovered his throne, he would as zealously promote

popery and arbitrary power, as he did before? If they say they would not, they have been at their *non putaram* once already; a second oversight, in the same kind, would be worse than the first. If they say they would, I give them over as professed enemies to the true religion, and the liberties of mankind.

This, I hope, may satisfy the non-swearers, if they will coolly and seriously consider it, that they are not bound in conscience to fight for the late king; nay, that they are as much bound in conscience not to fight for him, as they are bound not to fight against the Protestant religion, and civil liberties, not only of England, but of all Europe.

4. As for those who have sworn allegiance to King William and Queen Mary; besides all the former considerations, they are under the obligations of an oath, not to fight against their present majesties, whose sworn subjects and liege-men they are. For let them expound faith and true allegiance to as low a sense as possibly they can, the least that they ever could make of it, is to live quietly and peaceably under their government; not to attempt any thing against their persons, or crowns; not to hold any correspondence with, nor to give any assistance to their enemies; and therefore to countenance a French invasion, or to assist the late king in recovering the throne, which their majesties so well fill, and which they have sworn not to dispossess them of, must be downright perjury. If they be sure that their oaths to the late king still oblige them, that indeed would make void the obligation of this second oath; but then they must be guilty of perjury in taking it, and by the breaking of it will declare to all the world, that they deliberately and wilfully perjured themselves when they took it; and let them remember this, when they take arms against their majesties, and let them expect that recompence which they deserve.

Those who took this only as a temporary oath, which obliged them no longer than till the late king should return into England again to demand his crown, are guilty of perjury, if they keep it no longer than till they have a promising opportunity to break it: for this is to mock God, and to deceive the government by their oaths: for no man can think that the meaning of the oath was no more but this, *I do promise and swear to bear faith and true allegiance to King William and Queen Mary, till I have power and opportunity, by the return of King James with a French army, to join his forces, and to assist him to recover his throne.* Those who will take and keep oaths at this rate, we must leave to God: but nothing is more plain and certain, than that the new oath of allegiance obliges all who have taken it, under the guilt of perjury, at least not to fight for the late king, against King William and Queen Mary.

And here I may very fairly conclude, without entering into a longer dispute about the lawfulness of fighting against a foreign army, though the late king were at the head of it; for were those who scruple this, satisfied that they ought not to fight for him, their

their present majesties have friends enough, who are very well satisfied to fight against him; especially bringing along with him the greatest enemies both to the protestant religion, and to the civil liberties, not only of the English nation, but of all the kingdoms and states of Europe, France itself not excepted.

However, this letter is large enough already, and if I find you desire farther satisfaction in this matter, especially about the late King James's declaration, which is lately come to my hands, you may expect a speedy account of it in a second letter, from,

Sir, yours.

Political Remarks on the Life and Reign of King WILLIAM III. First, From his Birth to the Abdication of King James II. Secondly, From his Accession to the Crown of England to his Death.

First. **T**HOUGH fortune might seem a step-mother to this prince, by depriving him of a father, before scarce a human soul had been breathed into the infant, yet she abundantly made amends for that unkindness, by the prudence and indulgency of his mother, eldest daughter of King Charles the First, who, by means of the blood from whence she sprung, not only conveyed to him a prospect of attaining to three kingdoms, but also, by the care she took of his education, she formed his soul worthy of the crowns he was destined by Providence to wear.

We read a story of Sempronius, that he caught two snakes ingendering, and that, being surprised at the novelty, he consulted the oracle what the unlucky omen meant: the priests returned an answer, that either himself or his wife must die; and that it was at his election, whether he would submit to death himself, or doom the partner of his bed to that misfortune; that, upon his killing the male snake, it was his turn to die; and that, upon the death of the female, his wife must undergo the same destiny. This generous Roman, unterrified with the apprehensions of another world, caused the snake to die, whose fate was twisted with his, confiding in the known piety and prudence of his lady, and believing her life more necessary to the common good of his family than his own. The oracle and his uxurious confidence were just; he died according to the prediction of the first, and his family, by the conduct of his widow, found themselves little prejudiced in the loss of so eminent an example of tendernefs.

I shall not insist upon the truth of this story, we have some good authors to vouch it; but certainly, if the prince of Orange, father to the late King William, had been permitted such an unhappy choice, he might, without a blemish to his character, have followed the steps of that illustrious Roman, and spared his lady, whose wisdom, courage, and civility, laid the first

foundation of that grandeur, which her warlike son, in succeeding ages attained to.

The states of the seven provinces stood his god-fathers; nor did his mother, though so nearly allied to the crown of England, think it beneath her quality to implore the protection of persons meanly born, in comparison of her illustrious offspring, nor were the methods she undertook unagreeable to sound policy. The princely widow understood her interest very well, and the godson of those high and mighty potentates received, both in his own person, and in the respect was paid his mother, the greatest arguments of their sincere friendship and esteem.

No blasing star preceded his birth, and, with its prophetick beams, prefaged his future grandeur. The Dutch astrologers could not see so clearly as the English, who affirmed, that a star of such a nature was seen just before the nativity of King Charles the Second. In this his countrymen acted unhandsomely, in depriving his birth of so glorious and remarkable an accident.

And it must be acknowledged, as more reasonable in itself, if those celestial luminaries attend our actions here below, that the brightest of them should rather have waited on the nativity of King William, who restored the glory of the English, than upon King Charles the Second, who, by the supineness of his conduct, had near lost the reputation of his country, and the balance of Europe.

This humility of the princess of Orange was as much commended by some as censured by others; but whoever weighs it, must acknowledge it a piece of refined policy, and that her consideration was both just and rational: by this step, and others of the like nature, she entirely rooted out those ideas, and that umbrage, the states had conceived at the greatness of the house of Orange, and shewed herself rather a granddaughter of King James the First, than a sister of King James the Second.

His education was consistent with the manners of the country where he was educated; the methods prescribed him by those who had the honour of his tuition, were solid and severe; nothing gay or glittering was seen in his court, or the conversation of those persons who were intrusted with the management of his tender years: his mind adjusted itself to the admonitions of his tutors, and produced a temper serious and thoughtful, quite averse from the usual gallantries practised in the more refined and polite courts, as they styled themselves, of Europe.

He was never a mighty scholar himself, nor did he much affect learning, or the charms of a witty conversation; such as were masters of those happy qualities, were seldom employed by him, unless some of the first in the affairs of the church; and if ever he made use of persons, so distinguished, in his secular concerns, it was rather to please others than himself, and to acquire a reputation to his councils, more than for any pleasure he took in their harangues or conversation; and this may be truly said of him, without injustice to his memory, that he was a much greater king, but nothing so fine a gentleman as his uncle.

Though he was no great friend to polite learning, yet he took care to acquire the French and English languages, which afterwards, were of the highest importance to his management of several treaties of the last consequence to himself and his allies.

He never had many favourites, and it was well for England that he had no more than two; the first of these was Monsieur Bentinck, now earl of Portland, who obtained his esteem and friendship by one of the most generous actions imaginable. This young gentleman was page to the prince of orange, and much of the same age with his master. It happened that the prince was taken ill of the small-pox, which not rising kindly upon him, his physicians judged it necessary that some young person should lie in the same bed with the prince, imagining, that the natural heat of another would drive out the disease, and expel it from the nobler parts: no-body of quality could be found in all the court to make this experiment; at last, Monsieur Bentinck, though he had never had the small-pox, resolved to run the risque; he did so, the prince recovered, his page fell ill, and in a little time, had the happiness to find himself in a healthy condition, and as well as his master. Ever after this action of Monsieur Bentinck's, which was truly great and noble, the prince had an entire affection for so faithful a servant, and particularly trusted him in affairs of the highest consequence. It was my Lord Portland that transacted the peace of Reswick, and the same nobleman managed the negotiations that were set on foot betwixt the then prince of Orange and the English nobility, who had recourse to his highness before his accession to these realms. If the favours of the king had stopped here, and his faithful minister had received no other arguments of his master's esteem, than reasonable gifts and honours, perchance the character of the deceased monarch might have been something greater;

but things were pushed too far, and when the parliament put a stop to some concession intended for my lord, it was a plain discovery of a weakness which had been better omitted.

Though his highness commanded the army of the states, very young, when he was scarcely seventeen, an age when some noblemen are hardly exempt from the tuition of a pedant, yet he behaved himself with greater vigilance, prudence, and conduct, than could be reasonably expected of him, at that time of day.

But though his conduct was surprising, when he entered upon those high employments of stadtholder and general, yet he seems rather indebted to chance and the miseries of his country for those posts, than to any personal merit of his own, or the achievements of his ancestors.

The French had near over-run all Holland, their armies had possessed themselves of Utrecht, and most of the rest of the frontier towns belonging to the states had submitted themselves to that invincible deluge, which their troops could not resist, nor their prudence or negotiations avoid. The faction of Barnevelt, well known by that name in the Low-Countries, were then at the helm, and the two brothers, the De Wits, were looked upon as chiefs of a party who opposed the grandeur of the house of Orange. One of these was pensionary, which is principal secretary of state, and was either in reality a traitor to his country, or esteemed as such by the boors and common people, whose misfortunes sowed their humours, and made them ripe for tumults and rebellions. Upon the constant series of their ill success, the populace arose, tore in pieces the two unhappy brothers, and wrested the government from the hands of those who were averse to the house of Orange. They continued their resentments, and obliged the states to restore his highness to all the ancient honours of his family. Yet, though this young gentleman was made general by a tumult, yet, once possessed of that high command, he behaved himself not like a tumultuary general; he soon repulsed the French out of their new conquests, with a greater chain of success than ever afterwards attended his military actions.

Though severe and reserved in the cabinet, yet in the camp, he was fiery to a fault, and often exposed himself, and the cause he defended, with a rashness blameable in an officer of his dignity.

Yet one thing is very observable in his conduct, though he had the spirit and gallantry of a hero, yet he wanted the passion of love to make that character complete; neither before, at the time of his marriage, or afterwards, was he ever noted for any extraordinary tenderness; nor could the beauty of his queen, nor the address of any other lady, raise in him extraordinary transports; his soul was free from these weaknesses, or he had the art to conceal them.

But notwithstanding his whole life was an instance of his prudence in affairs of this nature (one case only excepted) yet he never showed so great a reservedness, nor, indeed, a greater piece of wisdom, than upon his mar-

marriage with the Lady Mary, eldest daughter of the late King James: she was a princess, who, for her beauty, good humour, sense, and piety, had no equal in Europe: her zeal for the Protestant religion was surprizing in a lady of her youth, and what did not a little add to her shining qualities, was her being presumptive heiress to three kingdoms. The people of England were infinitely desirous this match should take effect, and King Charles persuaded the world he had the same inclinations, but privately insinuated to the prince, that his making a peace with France, and his inducing the Spaniards to do the same, upon such terms as his Britannick majesty proposed (which terms, in truth, were too favourable to the French) were the only means his highness had to obtain the lady. Here was love and glory in opposition to one another; but the prince, under these extraordinary circumstances, shewed an unchangeable temper, and a mind impregnable against the strongest assaults. He assured the crown of England, that, although he had the highest veneration for the Princess Mary, yet nothing could make him recede from the interest of the allies, and he should always prefer his honour to all other considerations whatsoever. Fortune was just to his virtue; he gained his point both ways, and obtained the best of princesses for himself, and those articles of peace he insisted upon for his confederates.

It seems a wonder if King Charles was a Roman Catholic, or, in reality, inclinable to that interest, he should permit the princesses to be educated in the Protestant faith: yet there seem so many arguments for this opinion, that I believe few persons stand in doubt of it; but, if so, it is plain he preferred the easiness of a crown to his future considerations.

If the prince was fond of any thing to a degree, it was of hunting and the diversions of the field; he paid his servants well that took care of his pleasures this way, and gave them all reasonable encouragement. Perchance some of these might receive their superfluous pensions, when the army abroad wanted their necessary subsistence.

Some persons are of opinion, that the prince held predestination; that it was his judgment all balls were commissioned, and had their bounds set them, further than which they were not able to go. It is true, at the fight of Seneff, and the battle of the Boyne, he fought with such a spirit, as generally possesses those who have firmly imbibed a belief of this nature; but, whether his judgment induced him to be of this opinion or not, he countenanced the thought, which he was satisfied made his soldiers regardless of danger, and contributed to their courage and resolution.

During his being at the helm of the Dutch government in Holland, he was sparing of his own money, but yet not tenacious to that degree, but he concluded several alliances with the Protestant powers of Germany, for which he paid dear enough; and it is even said, that the holy father himself entered into an engagement with him against the king of France, that disturber of mankind. Certain it is, he knew how to

spare, and how to lay out, his money to a good advantage; and if he could have commanded the purse of England, when he was only prince of Orange, as he did afterwards, when he was king of England, in all probability, he had never permitted the growth of a power, which grew in time, to be so formidable to all Europe.

It is no strange thing that the pope opposed the king of France, interest cements the closest friendship; the head of the most holy church and St. Peter's successor, as he styles himself, joins with a prince of a different faith, in order to protect their common liberties: his most Christian majesty acts the same part, and confederates with his good friends the Mussulmen. The one leagues with a Protestant, the other with an Infidel, each for their separate advantage; and in this affair, the pope's dealings must be owned the juster of the two: his reason for the union was self-defence; and what obliged the king of France to his confederacy, was no other than the dishonest motives of tyranny and ambition.

The prince of Orange, landing in the west of England, marched from thence to Exeter, of which city he made himself master, and went forward with the success that we all know of. Yet his preparations for this descent were not carried so privately, but the count de Vaux, ambassador for his most Christian majesty at the Hague, discovered the whole affair, and gave notice of it to his master, and to the envoy of King James the Second. The king of France immediately caused a memorial to be presented to the states of Holland on this subject, who very fairly denied the matter, and turned the blame of the whole affair on the prince of Orange. The king of France was satisfied with this answer, and certainly the genius of that empire was then asleep, or so employed about the war going to be made against the house of Austria, that it could not be at leisure to respect the affairs of the Low-Countries. If the troops of his most Christian majesty had fell down into the Spanish Netherlands, instead of marching into Germany, the Dutch had been obliged to have kept that warlike prince at home, to defend their own territories; England might have justly despaired of a revolution, and Europe of its liberties: but Providence had ordered things otherwise, the court of France committed this unalterable blunder, and the great Lewis, upon this occasion, failed to exert that judgment which he so often convinced the world he was master of, both before and afterwards.

The battle of Mons was an action in which the prince of Orange acquired a great deal of glory: he beat the duke of Luxemburgh, who lay incamped before that town, out of his intrenchments, and forced his army to a precipitate flight. This relation, without other circumstances, is indeed extremely honourable to the memory of that monarch; but, if it be also true, which tradition acquaints us with, concerning that battle, the prince deserved no laurels. It is most certain, that, a few hours before the fight, a peace was concluded betwixt his most Christian majesty and the

states of Holland; but, whether the prince had any notice of this pacification, I cannot tell; but, if so, to fight with the articles of peace in his pocket, proves him vain-glorious and revengeful.

His enterprize upon England must be allowed very just; that step towards the revolution, there are but few which cavil at; it is true, some persons would have been contented that he had proceeded but little further, and only tied up the hands of his unfortunate predecessor. But these gentlemen argue very little like politicians, King James would have been King James still, and soon, by the violation of the people's liberties, returned to that course from whence the success of the prince's arms had obliged him to deviate; and, admitting King James to have kept within the bounds of reason and moderation, yet still the Protestant religion, and the liberties of all Europe, must have been betrayed to the ambition of France, by the bare neutrality of England, our island being the only balance to that incredible power which the French has lately assumed; so that King William's taking upon him the regency of this nation, seems rather to have been an act of necessity than ambition. Happy is that prince who finds such an opportunity of mounting a throne, where fate or providence push upon him that grandeur, which it is the nature of all mankind to be desirous of.

The securing those lords, by the prince of Orange, which were sent to him on the part of King James, when he fixed his victorious standards at Windsor, carried with it an air of ill nature and hardship, and looked like a violence upon the law of nations; but they were soon discharged, and were only secured from receiving injuries themselves, and injuring others by their ill-timed errand.

The message which the son-in-law sent to his royal father, a little before the blue guards took their post before Whitehall, was looked upon, in these times, by such who had an inclination to their old master, as bitter, undutiful, and wicked; but, certainly the prince never shewed his clemency, or indeed his tenderness, for King James, more than upon that occasion. The prince was under an unavoidable necessity of entering London, the heart and capital of this realm, in order to bring those great designs to a conclusion, on account of which he had run so many hazards. The troops that he commanded, and would, in all likelihood, have took possession of Whitehall, were foreigners, of a different language and religion than King James, and such who might have offered violence to the person of that monarch, notwithstanding their orders to the contrary: but allowing that King William had detached for that service the Scotch and the English, which bore his colours, still the hazards of King James would have been the greater; several of the officers, belonging to those regiments, had served in Ireland under King James, and had been broke of their commissions, purely for being Protestants; others had voluntarily quitted England or Ireland, to find a liberty of their

religion abroad, and which they conceived was in danger at home. In the number of these were Major-General Mackay, and several others: another party were personally disgusted by the late King James; such were Lieutenant-General Talmash, my Lord Cutts, and many more of quality and distinction: to have commanded, therefore, these to guard their old master, against whom they had, or pretended to have, so many causes of dissatisfaction, would have been madness in any person, who intended or designed that monarch should live, till cut off by the course of nature; which was the visible design of King William in respect to the late King James, as appears by this, and will be made yet further apparent by the subsequent observations. It is true, the honour of General Talmash and my Lord Cutts would have guarded the late king from violence and injuries to their power: but who could answer for the caprice and whimsies of the private sentinels? or, who can say to their humours, Thus far shalt thou go, and no further.

Thus, we frequently see the best of accounts misinterpreted; we turn the great or little end of perspective suitable to our own inclination or fancy, and the fact bears no colour from itself, but from the false and prejudiced gloss we put upon it.

The church of England was as forward in soliciting King William to invade England as the Dissenters; the reason of this was evident, because King James invaded the church, assumed a power to new-model the universities, silenced Dr. Sharpe, then minister of St. Giles's in the Fields, set up an ecclesiastical court, superior to that of Doctors Commons, and imprisoned the bishops in the Tower. Yet this very church of England, I mean some of the clergy, the representatives of the church, refused to take the oaths to King William, equally dissatisfied with their elective and hereditary king; they forgot the memorials delivered, on their behalf, to the prince of Orange, their honour, and their misfortunes; but the reason of this uneasiness appeared most plainly; King William had not dished enough to satisfy all the longings and expectations of his guests, he could not cut out the whole state into deaneries and bishopricks; and, indeed, King William, as politick a prince as he was, had not yet craft enough to humour the clergy, neither, perchance, at that time of day did he think it his interest so to do; believing that, here in England, the tribe of Levi, and their doctrines, always depended on the government, as in Holland.

Sir Charles Sidley, in a speech made to the house of commons, took the liberty to say, that King William, though a prince in years, was but a young king; insinuating that monarch, though a very wise man, was not, by reason of the shortness of his reign, at that time acquainted with several systems of government, necessary to be known by English princes; and, sure, one of the mistakes of that reign appeared, in not managing the various factions of the clergy at first; which if the king had done with address, they had perfectly forgot

forgot the notions * of Sherlock, Sibthorp, or Manwaring.

The prince made a bridge of gold for King James; he was taken by his own subjects, and, in a sort of confinement, brought back to London. That sun, which was dreaded in the west as bad as death itself, sets in a small town, the scorn and mockery of the rabble; but the unhappy king, however barbarous his subjects were to him, would have had no great cause of complaint, had his government been equal. The King of kings was despised by his friends and relations, and that monarch, like the suffering Jesus, met with ill usage from those creatures he had made.

Yet the permission allowed King James to retire where he would, was a plain indication that the prince had no manner of design of injuring his person, nor harboured any sentiments of revenge against a father, whom he conceived endeavoured, by ungentleman-like methods, to deprive him of a throne, and his right, by the birth and merits of his lady, a princess of inimitable piety and virtue.

It was an unaccountable mistake in policy, and an error ill agreeing with the prudence of King William, in not securing and bringing to justice those traitors, who, by their flagitious councils, had near ruined the church and state; I mean those who once disgraced the bench, and from that seat of justice, forgetting the duty they owed their God, their king, and their country, and as little mindful of their own honour and the public liberty, gave their opinion, that the king might dispense with the penal laws and the test, those bulwarks of the English franchises: a just severity upon these people, and a retrospection into their actions, would have given their successors sufficient warning to make them honest; and though our modern judges have behaved themselves with all the worth and probity imaginable, yet their impartiality must not be esteemed the effects of any terror that was struck into them by a just punishment of their predecessors, but rather springing from their own internal goodness and virtue.

As those gentlemen, which were false to their country, might have easily felt the resentments of the convention, just before the prince's accession to these realms; so he had an extraordinary opportunity of doing himself and the nation justice, upon such infamous persons, as betrayed both, without exposing himself in the quarrel: an Old Bailey jury would certainly have measured to them the same mercy, as other supposed criminals had found from their bloody hands; for, by the way, most juries are for the strongest side, and few persons, as I ever heard or read of, when indicted for treason, had the good fortune to escape safe and sound from their fiery trial; and all this might have been done without reflexion upon the prince, or calling his nature or mercy into question; if any odium had happened, it would have been charged upon the ferment of the nation.

A scrutiny of this nature, though it had let some ill persons blood, it might have been yet very necessary for the health of the republick; and I believe few persons would have been angry, if the blood of Russel, Sidney, and Cornish had been sufficiently expiated.

My Lord Chief Justice Herbert, who exercised that office in those times, perchance a man more innocent than some of his contemporaries, and not inferior to any of his successors in learning, foresaw such a storm a coming, and very fairly got away into France, beyond the reach of it; but his prospect was erroneous, and he banished himself to no purpose; yet his flight plainly evinced, what he thought would be the fate, or was the merit of his associates, and, whether the English would have pardoned him or not, it is plain he did not pardon himself.

No wonder then our navy, our councils, and our army were betrayed; no wonder our ships wanted men, and our men victuals; nor is it surprising that our army had no pay, whilst pay-masters, agents, and clothiers, sucked the blood of the subject, and hamstringed the sinews of war. All these misfortunes were owing to this piece of indulgence, and it may be justly affirmed, that he who neglects to punish one known traitor makes a hundred more.

Thus the prince of Orange, through a thousand difficulties, mounted the imperial throne of England, Scotland, and Ireland, by a parliamentary title, rather than by any other: it is true, his lady was next in blood, supposing the pretended prince of Wales illegitimate. But he never insisted upon that title, so much as upon the election of the people by their representatives convened in the most solemn manner: yet such is the wickedness of mankind, and the baseness of their nature, that even when he had enjoyed these realms with the general consent of his people, and they had quietly enough submitted to the government they had made; yet these Pontifexes must needs be giving him a new right, which forsooth was that of conquest. The Dutch at first were well enough pleased with the fancy, and the court itself shewed not much aversion to the ill grounded chimera: but the parliament soon took up the quarrel, and shewed the vanity of these pretensions, and gave the world to understand, that England never submitted but once (if it did so) in the reign of William the Conqueror. And thus I conclude my observations on the life of the prince of Orange, now called to the throne of England, on the abdication of King James the Second. So that it remains to remark on the latter part of his life and reign; as was at first proposed. And,

Secondly, I have chosen to divide these political remarks on the life and actions of our late monarch, into two divisions, because there seems to be a vast variety in the fortune of that prince, in these several periods of his life.

The first part of his life he struggled with all the difficulties of a crazy state, at a time when his youth

* Of passive obedience.

and frequent indispositions gave those, who were really in the interest of their country, little hopes from him of bettering their melancholy circumstances; but he equally deceived the expectations of his friends and enemies, asserted the honour and happiness of his country, vindicated its liberties, raised himself and those provinces, which gave him birth, to a degree of grandeur, which neither the house of Orange, nor the United States of the Netherlands, had before that time been acquainted with.

The faction of Barneveldt, when this prince first took the helm of the Belgick Provinces into his protection, had ingrossed all the chief employments of the state under the specious pretence of liberty; they had deluded the better and wealthier part of the commonwealth, to take part with them, and be at their devotion. The military commands were in their hands, the treasure and all things else in disorder at home, and the king of France's armies at their gates; yet from all these misfortunes the prince rescued the commonwealth, and by its miseries made himself the happier.

The second part of his life was yet more glorious; he obliged King James to do him justice, asserted his right to the imperial crowns of England, Scotland, and Ireland, conquered the last, restored the reformed religion to its former vigour in these kingdoms, and suppressed the enemies of himself and the nation he ruled over; he was triumphant at the Boyne and Athlone, gave peace to Scotland, and saw himself master, as far as agrees with our constitution, of a bold and daring people.

But the remainder of his life was nothing so glorious to the state, or fortunate to himself; he lost the memorable battles of Steinkirk and Landen, and though he took Namur, after an obstinate defence, made by the besieged, yet he threw away more reputation by that patched up peace at Refwick, than he gained honour by the acquisition of that important fortress.

King William, upon his taking upon him the government of these realms, found England inclinable to his wishes; some few indeed of the clergy and laity forgot their recent obligations to him, and the late danger of their country; but he soon reconciled their jarring spirits to his government, or made them incapable of injuring him.

Thus far his administration sailed with a successful wind, but his affairs in Scotland soon took another face; the scene was changed there; a few of the noblemen indeed adhered to his interest, the rest in general were dissatisfied, and the worst of it was, that the episcopal clergy, for the most part, struck in with the interest of the late King James. This obliged the kirk of Scotland, which now by the concessions of King William might be called the church of Scotland, to stand upon their guard; and indeed, fairly speaking, they used the non-conformists to the new model of religious worship a little hardly: from hence sprung the rebellion of my Lord Dundee, and of several of the

Highland clans, many of whom followed his lordship's fortune for affection or plunder, and some, very few, on the score of religion.

It is most certain, that my Lord Dundee did not originally design to break with King William; he had served under his late majesty in Flanders, was a Protestant, and it is generally believed had no great inclination to King James; but he was forced upon what he did, by the haughty carriage of a fine gentleman, and a very good officer*, who afterwards lost his life in the quarrel†, and who by his own death, and the disservice he did the government, may teach us, that, if it is dangerous to drive a coward, it is much more so, to push a brave man on extremities.

Yet, however cloudy this affair was at the beginning, it ended fortunately enough for King William: my Lord Dundee was killed at the battle of Killcranky, at a time when victory sat upon his helmet, who, had he lived, might have pushed our late monarch, as far as the same shores on which he landed.

But heaven had decreed it otherwise; that lord received a shot under his arm, or, as some will have it, a thrust by a halbert through his armour, convincing us, that there is no defence against fate, and that Providence regarded more our happiness than the council of Scotland.

Soon after the decease of this gentleman, the laird of Glencow, with several of his followers and dependants, were put to the sword in their beds, after they had embraced a pardon, which the government condescended to offer. If King William was truly acquainted thoroughly with the matter, and they suffered after their submission by his express order, it was an action contrary to all justice, below the majesty of a king, and beneath the character of his courage, which he had acquired at the peril of his life, in several bloody encounters.

By viewing this king at the battle of Seneff, at the battle of the Boyne, and the fight of Landen, a man would not easily conjecture, that his soul could entertain thoughts of so infamous a nature; but what startles our imagination, and makes us doubtful in this argument is, the authority produced by those who committed these homicides in their own vindication; but what arguments induced the grant of these powers is uncertain, heaven pardon the authors of so bloody an enterprise.

The siege of London-Derry gave a greater turn to King William's affairs than could be expected, and plainly demonstrates to the unthinking part of mankind, that there is no such thing as certainty in human affairs. King James sent thither the duke of Berwick, several French generals, and the best of his militia, rather to obtain glory and plunder, according to their several capacities, than to hazard themselves and his army, before a town he conceived naked and defenceless; but what was his success? All his fine troops were ruined or killed, that city and Iniskillin changed

* Mr. Cleland, lieutenant-colonel to my Lord Angus.

† At the battle of Killcranky.

the complexion of his conquests, and he never succeeded in one single attempt he made afterwards.

Had this town surrendered to the Catholick forces, the late King James had intirely made himself master of Ireland, and been at leisure to have poured in a numerous army upon Scotland; which he might easily have done, the passage from one kingdom to another being not above four hours sail; and what would have been the consequence it is not hard to judge, when my Lord Dundee was in arms at the same time, and had, if he had lived, over-run all Scotland, and endangered the loss of England into the bargain.

What rewards then were suitable to the merit of those gentlemen, who stopped a deluge, which might have proved fatal to these kingdoms, more than at first blush can be imagined? But let their deserts be what they will, they starved as my Lord Haverham expresses himself, with testimonials of their service in their pockets.

The battle of Bantrey Bay, in which the late Sir Cloudesly Shovel exerted a most remarkable courage, taught King William, as wise a prince as he was, a secret which he was a stranger to, and that was, that the French were no despicable enemies by sea; and if he was not thoroughly convinced of this truth, in a little time afterwards he knew it by a dear experience.

All that were witnesses to Cloudesly's conduct and bravery, upon the occasion I have just mentioned, thought it a piece of extraordinary merit; but our monarch was obliged to him in a higher degree soon after, for that admiral, in the fight of King James, and in the presence of his guards, who were drawn up to their relief, burnt or took a man of war in Dublin Bay, and two or three other ships. The extraordinary merit of the service lay here; a great many officers of the fleet, at the same time, were not sufficiently hearty to the government, and this action was a precedent to the rest, and quite dispirited several persons who were in the interest of the abdicated king.

The king had a great opinion of Duke Schomberg, and indeed that gentleman deserved it; but I am fully persuaded, that there was an English officer, in his dominions, every jot as fit for the high command of captain-general, and time has abundantly declared it.

The camp of Dundalk was fatal to the English; we lost a great many brave men there, amongst whom were Colonel Wharton, Colonel Deering, and several other persons of quality; and it is thought, that, if his grace the duke of Schomberg had fought the Irish with all their boasted odds, he would hardly, though beaten, been a greater loser.

But, whether King William approved the duke of Schomberg's managing the army or not, it is plain he acted contrary to his grace; for no sooner could he reach the Boyne with his troops, but he gave the enemy battle, humouring or approving of the inclinations of the English, whose custom it has been, always to engage at sight, without counting numbers.

What made the king so fiery at the Boyne is uncertain; some attribute it to the rashness of his temper,

others, with more justice, believe the precipitation, he then shewed, was occasioned by the ill news he had received from England, that my Lord Torrington had engaged the French fleet off Beachy-head, and was worsted in the combat; he lost the Anne, commanded by Captain Tyrrel, and the Dutch suffered extremely in the engagement; see here the vanity of the English, and the industry of our enemies. We proudly imagined, that a single squadron of ours was a superior match for all the naval power of France, and now we find, that our united fleets give way to the admirals of France.

My Lord Torrington's conduct was mightily blamed, with what reason I shall not determine; at the instance of the Dutch captains he was tried at a court martial, and acquitted immediately; thereupon he laid down his commission, and it is yet uncertain, whether we did not sacrifice a brave man, who deserved a better fate, to the ferment of the people, and the fury of their resentments; and it is equally strange, that in such publick actions, where so many thousands were witnesses of the fact, the common-wealth should not be capable of knowing whether an officer did his duty, or omitted it.

Had the French staid much longer on our coasts, it is reported King William designed to have commanded his fleet himself, and to have given them battle; but as the world is malicious, so this monarch found this design of his ridiculed by some pretended politicians, who imagined, that the command of an army at land is very different from the management of a fleet at sea; never considering, that the Dutch had an Opdam, and the English a Monk, and an Ossory, who, though they were no marine officers, yet behaved themselves with as much honour, prudence, and courage, as any who ever ploughed the surface of the ocean.

The reduction of Ireland, some two or three towns excepted, was the consequence of the battle of the Boyne, and King James himself took shipping at Waterford, deserting now this realm, as he had lately done that of England some time before; and indeed, by so precipitate a flight, he made himself unworthy of any other fate than that which he sustained.

King William found himself repulsed at the first siege of Limerick, more by the inclemency of the air, and the badness of the season, than by the valour of the garrison, though the town was commanded by three officers of great experience, and sheltered the remains of the whole Irish army: but there's no fighting against the elements, they were appointed and commanded by a greater King than William the Third; and Canutus, the Danish monarch, might have instructed our royal general in the truth of this maxim, if the latter had given himself the trouble of consulting the English history.

The king quitted Ireland the latter end of the campaign, and left Monsieur Ginkle, afterwards earl of Athlone, to reduce that part of the kingdom which continued in the interest of King James. It is true, that lord, by the instances of the English commanders, and

and by the valour of their troops, ventured to fight, and won the battle of Aghrim, and obliged all the enemies of his master to submit themselves to his obedience; yet it is the opinion of our officers, if a general of our own nation had commanded our troops, the matter would as soon have been effected.

Thus far King William had all the success he could in reason desire; but fortune was not always indulgent to his wishes, and the rest of her conduct towards that monarch shewed, that kings as well as peasants are mortified by her caprices.

The battle of Steinkirk was glorious to the English, though they smarted severely by the numbers, and continual fire of the French. My Lord Cutts was wounded in the action, the Generals Lanier and Mackay killed, and troops of our bravest officers attended them to the regions of futurity.

The English were exasperated at the cowardice or ill-nature of some Dutch officers, who refused to sustain our battalions, and seemed to make a jest of their ruin. Our soldiers took all opportunities of quarrelling with the officers and soldiers belonging to the states, and the umbrage, we had received from the misfortunes of that skirmish, had like to have been of the worst consequence to both nations.

But the prudence of King William, or, to speak plainly, the influence he had over the superior officers, allayed the ferment our soldiers were in, which, perchance, had he not been king of England, and stadtholder of the United Provinces, he had never effected.

But vengeance seldom sleeps, and, if Count Soames, by his omitting to succour the English, occasioned the death of several brave men, he himself died soon after, being struck with a cannon-ball; and that general, in the hour of his death, so far forgot his honour, as to call to the soldiers to shoot him, in order to be freed from the violent pains he was tormented with.

If our loss at Steinkirk was considerable, it was much more so at Landen; several reasons were given out to colour the shame of our defeat, but nothing could be alledged to vindicate our disgrace, or extenuate the glory of the French.

The intelligence, which the duke of Bavaria's secretary held with the French, was generally assigned to be the cause of the loss of this battle; whether the correspondence he managed was by the order of his master, is uncertain, but the servant was hanged very fairly, and tried afterwards.

The elector of Bavaria is reckoned a superstitious prince, brave enough, and very much devoted to his religion; but the execution of this gentleman in so odd a manner, without any examination, trial, or conviction, convinces us of the late elector's policy, but gave us no great proofs of his piety.

Our horse, excepting two or three regiments, behaved themselves but indifferently, and they declared openly, that they fought as they were paid; but our foot did good service, if not to the English nation, yet to the rest of the confederates, for they stood very firmly, and maintained their ground with all the cou-

rage imaginable, and by this means gave the allies an opportunity of running away.

General Talmash and Sir Henry Bellasis continued last upon the field of battle, and one of these had won immortal reputation, if the memory of Vigo and Port St. Mary's did not cancel the glory he acquired in Flanders.

But he survives, and Talmash lies as low as envy or jealousy could desire him; though it is impossible to imagine he was sacrificed to the resentment of a court party, yet it is easy to believe some in the ministry heartily wished his ruin.

He was too brave and too publick a spirited man, either to let himself, the parliament, or nation be imposed on; he loved a soldier, and, as he was the readiest to lead his men to battle, so he took the greatest care to see them rewarded after the combat. His principles of honour and his sense were too good to be bribed or amused, and his personal courage and integrity too great to be forced or threatened into an unworthy silence.

Such qualifications as these were, without dispute, made him obnoxious to such as hated the interest of England; and, at last, they prevailed so far as to have him employed in an attempt, where he must of necessity lose his honour or his life.

But these were not the only losses that afflicted King William; he had the misfortune to see his queen fall ill of the small-pox, and a few days robbed the English of a princess, a better than whom never mounted a throne, or gave laws to a willing people.

She died as unconcerned as his majesty her husband fought, and braved the king of terrors with as great a resolution on her bed of sickness, as he did in the field of battle; and certainly that lady's piety or courage was the greater, since, as she said herself to my lord archbishop of Canterbury, she was always prepared to die, and her royal spouse very often took the sacrament before a battle.

King William, as it is reported, was very much concerned at her death; and, if he had expressed a more visible sorrow, the nation would have resented it still more kindly, who sincerely mourned the loss of that princess, and still do upon her memory.

But, though the loss of so good a princess afflicted King William very much, yet the peace of Reswick mortified him much more; he was obliged at last, by the murmuring temper of his subjects, to acquiesce in terms very dishonourable to Europe, and not over glorious to his majesty. By this treaty of pacification, the French were to retain Luxemburgh and Strasburgh, those bulwarks of Flanders and the empire, who instead of them were only to have an equivalent, which, in fact, was far from the intrinsic value of those provinces; but, notwithstanding the inequality of these and other articles, the conduct of the duke of Savoy, and the neutrality in Italy, powerfully persuaded the allies to put an end to the war.

Soon after the peace, the partition treaty followed, and by too much precaution, the government involved the

the nation in a dreadful war, which, to their best thinking, they endeavoured to avoid. The Spaniards, who are a haughty people, so much resented the intended division of their monarchy, that their grandees made a will, or influenced their monarch so to do; by which he devised all his dominions in Italy, Spain, and the West-Indies, to the house of Bourbon, in the person of the duke of Anjou, who, notwithstanding the most dreadful imprecations of his grandfather to the contrary, took possession of those states and provinces by the assistance of that monarch, who, to prefer his family, despised all sanctions, both divine and human.

It is frequently observable in politicks, that men often lose the substance by an inquisition after the shadow; old Æsop told us this a great many years ago, and we see it every day's experience, that, greedily desiring the whole, we even lose that part of which we might have securely possessed ourselves. But it fell out quite otherwise, in relation to this partition treaty; for the house of Austria, not being contented with a part of the Spanish provinces, lost them the whole, and the balance of Europe was turned to the part of France, which they thought would have been at the discretion of the confederates.

When the peace of Reswick was brought to a conclusion, the parliament of England thought it high time to disband some of their national regiments, and all the foreigners in their service. Amongst these last were the Dutch blue guards, and my Lord Portland's regiment of Dutch horse, who attended his majesty in all his expeditions, long before and after his accession to the throne of England. His majesty was much dissatisfied at the proceedings, and made all the interest he possibly could in the house, to disannul the injunctions of his supreme council; but all to no effect; he used intreaties to the parliament, but to no purpose; and upon this occasion behaved himself much different from the haughty character he had all along maintained.

He laid the scheme of the present war we are engaged in against France and Spain, and made all the provision the grandeur of such a design required. After the unfortunate accident of breaking his collar-bone, he fell into a fever, which quickly put an end to his reign and glory.

During his sickness, he behaved himself with that greatness of soul which he had often shewed in the field, and died with the same bravery as he had expressed in the heat of action.

A Relation of the late wicked Contrivance of Stephen Blackhead and Robert Young, against the Lives of several Persons, by forging an Association under their Hands. Written by the Bishop of Rochester. In two Parts. The first Part being a Relation of what passed at the three Examinations of the said Bishop by a Committee of Lords of the Privy-Council. The second being an Account of the two above-mentioned Authors of the Forgery.

I THINK it becomes me, as a duty which I owe to my country, and to the character I have the undeserved honour to bear in the church, to give the world some account, how my innocency was cleared from the late wicked contrivance against me; in hopes that this example of a false plot, so manifestly detected, may be, in some sort, beneficial to the whole nation on the like occasions for the future: however, that the enemies of the church may have no reason to cast any blemish upon it, from the least suspicion of my guilt; and that this faithful memorial may remain as a poor monument of my own gratitude to Almighty God, to whose immediate protection I cannot but attribute this extraordinary preservation.

Perhaps my reader, at first view, will look on this relation as too much loaded with small particulars; such as he may judge scarce worth my remembering,

or his knowing: but he will pardon me, if I presume that nothing in this whole affair ought to appear little, or inconsiderable, to me at least, who was so nearly concerned in the event of it.

I have therefore made no scruple to discharge my weak memory of all it could retain of this matter; nor have I willingly omitted any thing, though never so minute, which I thought might serve to fix this wonderful mercy of God the more on my own mind; or did any way conduce to the saving of divers other innocent persons lives, as well as mine.

I cannot indeed promise, that I shall accurately repeat every word or expression, that fell from all the parties here mentioned: or that I shall put all down in the very same order, as it was spoken, having not had the opportunity to take notes of every thing as it passed. But this I will say; if I shall not be able

to relate all the truth, yet I will omit nothing that is material: I will, as carefully as if I were upon my oath, give in all the truth I can remember, and nothing but the truth.

What I write I intend shall consist of two parts: the first, to be a narrative of the plain matter of fact from my first being taken into custody, May the seventh, to the time of my last dismissal, June the thirteenth. The second, to contain some account of the two perjured wretches that were pleased, for what reasons they know best, to bring me into this danger.

For the truth of the substance of what I shall recollect on the first head, I am bold to appeal to the memories of those honourable lords of the council, by whom I was thrice examined. And, touching the second, I have by me so many original papers, or copies of unquestionable authority (which I am ready to shew any worthy persons who shall desire the satisfaction) as are abundantly sufficient to justify all that I shall think fit for me to say against Blackhead and Young; especially against Young.

It was on Saturday the seventh of May of this present year 1692, in the evening, as I was walking in the orchard at Bromley, meditating on something I designed to preach the next day; that I saw a coach and four horses stop at the outer gate, out of which two persons alighted. Immediately I went towards them, believing they were some of my friends, coming to give me a visit. By that time I was got to the gate, they were entered into the hall: but, seeing me hastening to them, they turned, and met me about the middle of the court. The chief of them, perceiving me to look wistly on them, as being altogether strangers to me, said, My lord, perhaps you do not know me; my name is Dyve, I am clerk of the council, and here is one of the king's messengers. I am sorry I am sent on this errand; but I am come to arrest you upon suspicion of high treason.

Sir, said I, I suppose you have a warrant for so doing; I pray let me see it. He shewed it me. I read it; and the first name I lighted on being the earl of Nottingham's; I said, Sir, I believe this is my Lord Nottingham's own hand, and I submit. What are your orders how to dispose of me? My lord, said he, I must first search your person, and demand the keys you have about you. My keys I presently gave him. He searched my pockets, and found no papers, but some poor notes of a sermon, and a letter from Mr. B. Fairfax about ordinary business.

Now, says he, My lord, I must require to see the rooms to which these keys belong, and all the places in the house where you have any papers or books. I straight conducted him up stairs into my study. This, sir, said I, is the only chamber where I keep all the books and papers I have in the house. They began to search, and with great readiness turned over every thing in the room, closets, and presses, shaking every book by the cover, and opening every part of a chest of drawers, where were many papers, particularly

some bundles of sermons, which I told them were my proper tools: and that all that knew me could vouch for me, it was not my custom to have any treason in them. They read several of the texts, and left them where they found them. But in one corner of a press, which was half open, they met with a great number of letters filed up. I assured them, they were only matters of usual friendly correspondence, and most of them were of last year's date. Mr. Dyve, looking on some of them, found them to be so; and said, if he had time to view them all, he might, perhaps, see reason to leave them behind: but, being expressly commanded to bring all letters, he must carry them with him. I left him to do as he pleased; so they sealed them up.

Then they went into my bed-chamber, and the closets adjoining, doing as they had done in my study, feeling about the bed and hangings, and knocking the wainscot in several places, to see if there were any private hole or secret conveyance.

After that they came down stairs, and searched the parlour and drawing-room on that side of the house, with the like exactness. In all these rooms, I observed they very carefully pried into every part of the chimnies; the messenger putting his hand into every flower-pot: which I then somewhat smiled at: but since I found he had but too much reason so to do.

When they had done searching in all those rooms, and in the hall, as they were going out, and had taken with them what papers they thought fit; they carried me away in the coach that brought them. By the way, we met my servant, Mr. Moor, coming from London. I called out to him, have you any letters for me? He gave me three or four, which I delivered to Mr. Dyve to open, who found nothing in them but matters of private concernment, or ordinary news. And so, between ten and eleven at night, we arrived at Whitehall, and I was brought to my Lord Nottingham, whom I found alone in his office.

My lord, said I, I am come upon your warrant; but certainly there must be some great mistake, or black villainy in this business. For I declare, as in the presence of God, I am absolutely free from any just accusation relating to the government. His lordship told me, he himself was much surprized, when he heard my name mentioned. I intreated him I might be examined that night, if any witnesses could be produced against me. He said, that could not possibly be, because the lords, who had the management of such affairs, were separated, and gone home: but, that I was to appear before them the next day: and in the mean time, all the civility should be shewn me, that could be expected by a man in my condition.

My lord, said I, I hope, it being so very late, you will suffer me to lie at my own house at Westminster. He replied, you shall do so; but you must have a guard of soldiers, and a messenger with you. A guard of soldiers, said I, my lord, methinks it is not so necessary to secure one of my profession: I should rather offer, that I may have two or more messengers

to keep me, though that may put me to greater charges. My lord, said he, I, for my own part, would be glad if I might take your parole: but I must do what I may answer to others; and therefore I pray be content.

At this I acquiesced; only adding, My lord, here are divers papers brought up with me, which, upon my credit, are but of common importance; yet, because they are most of them private talk among friends, there may be some expressions, which no man, if it were his own cause, would be willing to have divulged; and therefore I desire your lordship will take care they may not be shewn to the prejudice of any. He answered, You have to do with men of honour: and you shall have no occasion to complain upon that account.

And so I was conveyed home to Westminster by Mr. Dyve, and Mr. Knight the messenger, in the coach with me, and a guard attending on each side. After we came to the deanery, Mr. Dyve having diligently surveyed my lodgings, and the avenues to them, left me about midnight, with a strict charge to the messenger and soldiers, not to give me any unnecessary disturbance; but to watch carefully at my bed-chamber door till further orders, which they did.

The next day being Sunday, May the eighth, Mr. Dyve came again to me about noon, to acquaint me, that I was to attend the committee of the council that evening, by six of the clock. And, says he, My lord, I suppose you have here, also at Westminster, a room where you keep the rest of your books and papers. I told him, I had. Then, said he, I have commission to search there likewise, particularly in your cabinet. I shewed him my library, and gave him the keys: he opened all the presses of books, and viewed particularly every shelf, and examined every drawer in the cabinet: but finding nothing there of a late date, or that might afford any the least shadow of a traitorous correspondence, he went away without removing any one paper thence.

At the time appointed, I was brought by the messenger and guard to Whitehall, where a select number of the lords of the council were assembled, at my Lord Nottingham's lodgings. There were present, as I remember, the earl of Devonshire, lord steward; the earl of Dorset, lord chamberlain: the earl of Nottingham, secretary of state; the earl of Rochester; the earl of Portland; the Lord Sidney, lord lieutenant of Ireland; and Sir Edward Seymour.

When I was entered the room, and come to the end of the table, my Lord Nottingham began. But now, for the greater perspicuity of the whole proceedings, and to avoid the too frequent repetition of, said I, or said such an one, or said they, I will henceforth give all the questions and answers, and the rest of the discourses, in the name of every person as they spoke, and by way of dialogue.

Earl of Not. My lord, you cannot but think it must be some extraordinary occasion, which has forced us to send for you hither in this manner.

Bishop of Roch. My lord, I submit to the necessities of state, in such a time of jealousy and danger as this is.

Earl of Not. My lord, I am to ask you some questions, to which we desire your plain and true answers.

Bishop of Roch. My lords, I assure you mine shall be such: as I hope I have been always taken for a man of simplicity and sincerity.

Earl of Not. Have you composed a declaration for the present intended descent of the late King James into England?

Bishop of Roch. I call God to witness, I have not.

Earl of Not. Did you ever draw up any heads, or materials, for such a declaration?

Bish. of Roch. Upon the same solemn asseveration, I never did.

Earl of Not. Were you ever solicited, or applied to, by any person, for the undertaking such a work?

Bish. of Roch. I never was.

Earl of Not. Do you hold any correspondencies abroad in France?

Bish. of Roch. I do not hold any.

Earl of Not. Have you ever signed any association for restoring the late King James?

Bish. of Roch. I never signed any.

Earl of Not. Do you know of any such association? Or any persons that have subscribed one?

Bish. of Roch. Upon the word of a christian, and a bishop, I know of no such thing; nor of any person who has subscribed any paper of that nature.

Sir Edw. Seymour. My lord bishop of Rochester, we have examined the papers that were seized in your closet at Bromley. We find nothing in them but matters of ordinary and innocent conversation among friends; only we have one scruple, that there are few or no letters among them written since Lady-day last.

Bish. of Roch. Sir, I suppose there may be some of a date since that time in the bundles. If I had preserved more, they would have been of the same nature with the rest that you have, that is, concerning common intelligence, and the talk of the town; not any secrets of state, or against the government. My lords, I hold no correspondencies of that kind. When I am in the country, I desire some friend or other here to let me know how the world goes, that I may inform myself, and the neighbouring gentlemen, of the truth of things, and prevent the spreading of false news: and afterwards I file up such letters according to their dates, as you may perceive I did these, that at any time I may have a present recourse to them, to refresh my memory in any past transaction.

My lord, those are all I thought worth keeping of this kind these two last years. And I hope the clerk of the council has done me the justice to acquaint your lordships, how I was apprehended out of my house; and how narrowly I myself, and my study, and lodging chamber, and other rooms, were searched: so that it was impossible for me to have suppressed or smothered any one writing from you. And really I believe there was not a note, or least scrip of paper of any

any consequence in my possession, but they had a view of it.

Earl of Devonshire. But, my lord, it is probable a man of your interest and acquaintance, must have received more letters since than are here to be found. We see here are many concerning affairs that passed just before that time.

Bish. of Roch. My lords, a little before the conclusion of the last session of parliament, I obtained leave of the house of lords to retire into the country for the recovery of my health. During my abode there, as long as the parliament continued, I was somewhat curious to learn what passed in both houses, and therefore, as your lordship has observed, letters came thicker to me about that time. But, when the parliament was up, very little happening that was remarkable in that interval, I was not so mindful to preserve the letters that came to me, whilst all things, both abroad and at home, were rather in preparation than action.

Besides that, since the time your lordships speak of, I was twice or thrice in town for several days together; once especially, upon a publick occasion, the annual election of Westminster-school; which detained me here about a week. And these are the true reasons why you find so few letters to me since the date of time your lordships have mentioned.

Earl of Not. Will it please your lordships to ask the bishop of Rochester any more questions?

They being all silent, I said, My lords, I cannot imagine how it comes to pass that I should be thus suspected to be guilty of any contrivance against the government; I think I may appeal to all that know me, I am sure I may to all my neighbours in the country where I live, that there has no man submitted to it more peaceably and quietly than I have done ever since the revolution; and I must own, I did it both upon a principle of conscience and gratitude. Of conscience, because I cannot see how the church of England, and the whole Protestant religion, can be preserved but upon this constitution; since an invasion from France cannot but be destructive to both. And of gratitude, because, as you all know, I happened to be, in the late reign, engaged in an affair, which since I have been taught was illegal. And though, I may say, I stopped betimes, and did no great hurt, but hindered, as much as I could, whilst I acted; yet I acted so long, that I might have expected to be severely punished for what I did. But the king's and queen's part, in the general pardon, was so gracious and benign, in making it their own act, and not excluding me out of it, that their majesties have thereby laid upon me an obligation never to be forgotten.

Upon this I was bid to withdraw; and, about an hour after, the same clerk of the council was sent out to tell me, the lords had ordered I should return to my own house, and be under the same confinement as before of a messenger, and a guard of soldiers: and there I should shortly hear what their lordships would

determine concerning me. He likewise told the messenger and the guards, that he had a strict command to them to use me with all respect; only to take care that I should be safely kept, and forth-coming. Nor, indeed, had I any thing to object against their behaviour: for as Mr. Dyve demeaned himself always to me like a gentleman, and the messenger was very civil, so the soldiers themselves were as easy and quiet to the rest of my family as if they had been a part of it.

The same evening Mr. Dyve came home to me, and brought me all my papers, telling me, that the lords had heard him read them over; and, having no exception against them, had sent him to return them all safe to me again.

Thus guarded, I continued from that day, till the eighteenth of May, under the custody of a messenger and of four centinels, who watched day and night, and were relieved every eight-and-forty hours.

But then, having heard nothing in the mean time from the lords, I wrote this letter to the earl of Nottingham:

‘MY LORD,

‘AS I have all this while, according to my duty to their majesties government, with patience and humility, submitted to my confinement under a guard of soldiers and a messenger; so now, fearing that my longer silence may be interpreted as a mistrust of my innocency, I think it becomes me to make this application to your lordship, earnestly intreating you to represent my condition and request to the most honourable board, where I was examined. I intirely rely on their justice and honour, that, if they find nothing real against me, as God knows I am conscious to myself they cannot, they would be pleased to order my enlargement. I am forced to be the more importunate with your lordship in this business, because it is very well known in what a dangerous condition of health I went out of town towards the latter end of the session of parliament: and I find my distemper very much increased by this close restraint, in a time when I was just entering upon a course of physick in the country.

‘My lord,

‘I am your lordship's most humble,

‘and most obedient servant,

May 18. Westm.

‘THO. ROFFEN.’

To the right honourable the earl of Nottingham, principal secretary of state.

This letter was read in the cabinet council that day, and it had the desired effect; for thereupon I was ordered to be discharged that evening; which accordingly was done about ten at night, by Mr. Shorter, a messenger of the chamber, coming to my house, and dismissing the messenger, and taking off the guard.

The

The next morning, being May 19th, to prevent any concourse or congratulations, usual upon such occasions, I retired early to Bromley, where I remained quiet till June the ninth, little dreaming of a worse mischief still hanging over my head.

But that day, being Thursday, as I was upon the road, coming to Westminster, to the meeting of Dr. Busby's preachers, who assemble once a term at my house there, I was stopped by a gentleman, that brought me this letter from my Lord Nottingham.

‘MY LORD, *Whitehall, June 8, 92.*
‘I MUST desire your lordship to be at my office on Friday morning by ten of the clock.

‘I am your lordship's most humble servant,
NOTTINGHAM.’

*For the right reverend the lord
bishop of Rochester, at Bromley.*

I asked the bearer, whether he had any farther orders concerning me? He answered, No: but was forthwith to return. I desired him to acquaint his lord, that I was now going to town upon other business, but that I would presently wait on him at Whitehall. Accordingly, from Lambeth I went to his office. When my lord came to me, I told him, that having met with his lordship's letter accidentally in my way to Westminster, I thought it best to come presently to know his pleasure.

Earl of Not. My lord, there is a mistake; I gave you notice to be here to-morrow morning: and that is the time you are appointed to appear before the committee of the council.

Bish. of Roch. However, my lord, being in town occasionally, I thought it became me to present myself to you as soon as I could: and I now make it my request, if your lordships have any thing farther to say to me, I may be convened before you this day.

Earl of Not. I fear you cannot be so, for there is much business to be this afternoon, both at the great council, and the committee: but I will send you word to the deanery, if you can be called this evening. In the mean time you have your full liberty to go where you please.

Thus I went home; but having no notice from my lord that night, the next day, being June the tenth, about ten of the clock I came to his lordship's office; where were met the same lords as before; only, I think, the earl of Portland was not there, and the earl of Pembroke, lord privy-seal, was.

When I was called in, besides the privy-counsellors that sat about the table, there was standing against the wall a very ill-favoured man, who afterwards proved to be Blackhead; with whom I straight perceived I was sent for to be confronted.

For, as soon as I was in the room, my Lord Nottingham said, My Lord, do you know that person?

Bish. of Roch. My lord, I have seen this man's face, but I cannot immediately recollect where.

Earl of Not. I pray view him well. Has he never brought you any letters from one Mr. Young?

Bish. of Roch. I do call to mind, he has brought me a letter. I cannot, in a moment, remember from whom it was.

Earl of Not. He says it was from one Young.

Bish. of Roch. I think it was at my house at Bromley that he delivered it me; but I verily believe, it was not from any of the name of Young.

Blackhead. I was with the bishop of Rochester at Bromley: I brought him a letter from Mr. Young, and I received an answer to Mr. Young back again from the bishop.

Thus far, during the beginning of this examination, I stood with my face against the window, and my eyes being so very tender and feeble as they are, I had not a perfect view of Blackhead; but he so confidently affirming, that he had of late carried letters between me and one Young, I changed my station, and got the light on my back; and then immediately, having a true sight of his very remarkable countenance and habit, and whole person, and being also much assisted by his voice, which is very loud and rude, I did, by God's blessing, perfectly call him to mind; and said, Now, my lords, by the advantage of this light, I do exactly remember this fellow, and part of his business with me at Bromley. What he says of Young cannot be true. I know not for what purpose he affirms this; but, upon my reputation, it is utterly false, that he ever brought me a letter from one Young.

Earl of Not. My lord, he says particularly, it was upon a fast-day.

Bish. of Roch. My lords, I do remember this fellow was with me at Bromley on a fast-day: by the same token I told him, he should stay till after evening prayers, and must expect only a fasting kind of meal: but then I would return an answer to his business.

Blackhead. It was upon a fast-day. I did eat with the bishop's servants; and I received an answer from his own hand, to the letter I brought him from Mr. Young.

Bish. of Roch. My lords, this that he says of Young is a wicked lye: all my correspondencies are so innocent (as I hope your lordships can testify) that, if I had received a letter from any Mr. Young, I should have no reason so positively to deny it. I beseech you examine this fellow thoroughly, and I doubt not but you will discover some impudent knavery. I stand to it; I am sure there is no person whose name is Young, with whom I have of late years maintained any intercourse by letters.

Earl of Devon. My lord, is there no person of the name of Young, a clergyman, with whom you are acquainted?

Bish. of Roch. Oh! my lord, there are two excellent persons of the name of Young, both clergymen, to whom I have the good fortune to be very well known: the one was your brother Ossery's chaplain, and is now prebendary of Winchester; the other was
canon

canon of Windsor when I was a member of that church, and is there still. But I suppose, neither of these are the Youngs whose correspondence this man objects to me. I should take it for an honour to correspond with them. But in truth it has so happened, that I have neither written to, nor received one letter from either of them these many years, to the best of my knowledge.

Blackhead. The bishop, if he please, may remember it was Robert Young from whom I brought him a letter.

Earl of Not. How long ago say you it was?

Blackhead. It was about two months ago.

Bish. of Roch. I have indeed, my lords, some obscure remembrance, that some years ago, there was one writ to me out of Newgate, under the name of Robert Young, pretending to be a clergyman; and I recal something of the contents of his letter. It was to tell me, that he and his wife lay in prison there upon a false accusation, of which he hoped they should be speedily cleared. In the mean time, he desired me to recollect, that he had officiated some weeks for the chaplain at Bromley college, and had preached once or twice in the parish church there. He intreated me to give him a certificate of this, because it would stand him in much stead in order to his justification: and withal, that I would send him something out of my charity, for his and his wife's relief in their great distress.

This, my lords, I dare say, was the whole substance of that letter, and this was two or three years ago at least.

To that letter I am sure I made no reply in writing. Only, having not the least remembrance of him myself, I enquired in the neighbourhood, and among the widows in the college; intending to have sent him some alms suitable to his condition and mine, had I found him worthy.

But upon enquiry, I received from all hands, so very ill a character both of this Young and his wife, that I resolved to give him no answer at all; and I have never heard any thing more of him to this day.

But now I beseech your lordships, to give me leave to speak to this person myself: and they intimating I should do as I thought best, I said to him:

I conjure you, in the presence of these noble lords, and especially of the great Lord of heaven and earth, that you will declare the truth of what I am going to ask you.

When you came to my house at Bromley, upon a fast-day it was, I think the first fast of this year; did not you desire to speak with me, as having a letter for me? When I came to you into my hall, did not you first kneel down, and ask me blessing? Did you not then deliver me a letter, affirming it was from a country minister, a doctor of divinity? Did not you tell me you were his servant, or bailiff? And that your master had sent you on purpose many miles, to receive an answer yourself to that letter from my own hand?

Blackhead. I never brought a letter to the bishop of Rochester from a country minister; I know no such doctor of divinity: nor ever was servant to any: I only brought a letter to the bishop from Mr. Young.

Bish. of Roch. My lords, what I say is most certainly true. This man had never any other business with me, but in relation to that letter, pretended by him (for now I find it was but a pretence) to be written to me by an eminent country divine in Buckinghamshire, a person of a considerable estate, as he told me. My lords, I cannot yet call to mind the doctor's name; but the business of the letter I am, in great part, master of; and it was to this purpose:

That there was a person (naming him) who had applied to him to be his curate; but that he had reason to suspect he had counterfeited my hand and seal for holy orders; therefore he desired me to send him word, under my own hand, by the bearer, his man, whether I had ordained such a one, in such or such years: that if I had, he would encourage and entertain him, if not, he would take care he should be punished for his forgery.

Now, my lords, upon the receipt of so friendly a letter, by this very messenger, I bid him stay a little, and I would give his master satisfaction out of my books, whether I had ordained any man of that name, which I thought I had not. Accordingly, my secretary and I did severally turn over all my papers relating to such affairs, as carefully as we could; and finding no such man's name in them; in which we could not be easily deceived, because I keep methodically (as no doubt every bishop does) all recommendations, subscriptions, testimonials, and titles of those I admit into orders; I wrote the supposed author of the letter as civil an answer as his seemed to deserve.

That I was extremely pleased and thankful, that a mere stranger to me should be so careful of my reputation: that my secretary and I had diligently examined all the books where such things are recorded: and I could assure him, I never had ordained any such person, either priest or deacon, within the space limited in his letter, or at any other time: that I should look upon it as a signal service done to the church in general, and a special favour to me in particular, if he would, as he promised, cause the counterfeit to be apprehended, so that the course of law might pass upon him.

This letter, my lords, all written with my own hand, I delivered to the person here present: and he went away with it, asking me blessing again upon his knees, and promising I should speedily be made acquainted with the success.

Earl of Devonsh. I pray, my lord, how was the letter superscribed you sent back by this man?

Bish. of Roch. My lord, it was to the same person, with the same superscription as he subscribed himself, and directed to the same place where he said he was minister; though the name of place or minister I cannot yet recover. But let that letter of mine be produced, and it will put an end to this whole controversy.

Blackhead.

Blackhead. The letter I received from the bishop was superscribed to Mr. Young, and to no other.

Bish. of Roch. My lords, this is a horrid falshood. I well remember now, this fellow was at my house a second time some weeks after the first. When he came, I was in the garden with some gentlemen, my neighbours, where, first asking me blessing, he told me his master, the doctor, had taken up the person who had forged my orders: that the man stood upon his vindication; but that his master was bringing him up to London; and then I should hear further from him: adding, that his master was a man of such a spirit, and such a plentiful estate, that, whenever he suspected a man to be a rogue or a cheat, he would spare no pains to discover him, nor think any cost too much to get him punished. These, my lords, I well remember, were the knave's very words: and I hope your lordships will likewise deal with him in the same manner. I took this second message still more kindly, and ordered my servants to entertain the messenger very civilly.

Blackhead. I brought no such message. All my business with the bishop was from Mr. Young, which, I suppose, was of another nature.

Bish. of Roch. What I say is true, that I am confident several of my servants do remember the particulars. For this man stuck not to declare his business before them all; very much magnifying his master, and his house-keeping, and vapouring what an example he would make of the counterfeit priest, without putting me to any trouble or expence.

Earl of Devon. Has your lordship none of those servants near at hand?

Bish. of Roch. My lord, some of them are in town; and one, my secretary, Mr. Moore, by an accidental good fortune, came hither with me: he was without when I was called in. I doubt not but he will satisfy your lordships what was this man's errand to me: he is a young man of great honesty, and, I believe, would not tell a lie to save my life; I am sure I would not have him.

Whilst they were calling in Mr. Moore, I added, My lords, I appeal to the great God of heaven, to judge between me and this wretch, touching the truth or falshood of what we say, and to deal with us both accordingly at the last day of judgment: and I dare also appeal to your lordships to judge between us, by what appears to you; for did you ever see greater villainy, and consciousness of guilt in any man's countenance than in his?

By this time Mr. Moore being come in, I said, Moore, apply yourself to my Lord Nottingham. I charge you do not, for any consideration of me, speak any thing which you cannot justify for truth.

Earl of Not. Mr. Moore, do you know that person there? Pointing to Blackhead.

Mr. Moore. My lord, I do know him so far, that I have seen him once or twice in my lord's house at Bromley.

Earl of Not. What business had he at Bromley?

Mr. M. The first time he brought a letter to my lord.

Earl of Not. From whom?

Mr. M. My lord, it was from a country minister in Buckinghamshire, a doctor of divinity, as he wrote himself; his name was Hooke.

Bish. of Roch. My lords, I now very well remember that was the name, Hooke, or something very near it; there may be the difference of a letter, I will not stand upon that; nor can it be expected I, or my servant, should be positive, as to every letter of a name, in so sudden a question.

Earl of Not. Mr. Moore, what was the business of that letter?

Mr. M. My lord, it was concerning one that offered himself to be the doctor's curate, whom he suspected to have counterfeited my lord's letters of orders. The doctor desired my lord to look into his books, whether he had ordained any such person; my lord and I did thereupon search all the places, where the memorials of such affairs are kept, and we found no such name; and so my lord himself wrote back to the doctor, by this very man that stands here.

Earl of Not. Mr. Moore, will you take your oath of all this?

Mr. M. I am ready to take my oath of it, if your please to give it me.

Earl of Not. What say you, Blackhead? You see here is a young man, the bishop's secretary, comes in by chance, and confirms punctually what the bishop had said before, concerning your message to his lord; and he offers to take his oath of it: if you did bring a letter from one Dr. Hooke, why do you not confess it? It can do you no hurt.

Blackhead. I know of no such divine as Dr. Hooke, nor any thing concerning one that counterfeited the bishop's orders; the letter I brought was from Mr. Young.

Mr. M. My lords, this fellow cannot but know, that what he says is shamefully false; I assure you, I have the original letter at home to produce, and doubt not, but divers of my lord's servants remember him and his business as well as I do; for he was a second time at Bromley, some weeks after.

Earl of Not. What was his business then?

Mr. M. He said, he came to acquaint my lord, that his master, Dr. Hooke, had seized on the person who had forged his orders. My lord asked him, whether he had also seized the false instrument? And, if he had, desired it might be transmitted to him. This man answered, he believed his master had got it; that he was coming up to London, and bringing the cheat with him; and had been there sooner, had he not sprained, or hurt his leg; but, when he was come, the doctor would give my lord notice, or himself wait upon him. My lord was much pleased with this second message, and gave orders to have the bringer of it well used. He was so, and freely discoursed with the butler, and the other servants, touching his business there; so that I am verily persuaded, several of them

them remember all these circumstances of it, and perhaps more than I do.

Upon this, Blackhead being again urged by the lords with so plain a testimony, perfectly agreeing with what I had said, and he still persevering obstinately to deny every part of it, I and Mr. Moore were ordered to withdraw, Blackhead staying behind.

As I was going out, I said: 'My lords, I cannot comprehend to what purpose this fellow persists in this lie; I am sure he can never prove that I have injured the government, in word, or deed, or writing.' Then I could not but again observe to the lords, what visible marks of falsehood and treachery there were in Blackhead's face; for, indeed, all the while he looked as if he would have sunk into the ground, though (as I was told afterwards) before I came into the room he had appeared very brisk, and bold, and full of talk. But, upon my first coming in, his complexion, which was naturally very fallow, turned much paler and darker; and he was almost speechless, saying nothing to any purpose, more than what he thought was necessary to keep him firm to the main lie: that he had brought me a letter from one Young, and no other.

But, after my being withdrawn about half an hour, I was called in again, and Blackhead sent forth.

Earl of Not. Now, my lord, the business is out, the fellow has confessed he brought the letter to you, written not in the name of Young, but as from one Dr. Hookes; Hookes was the name, not Hooke; your lordship was in the right in saying you would not stand upon a letter.

Bish. of Roch. My lords, I could not trust my memory so far as to a letter; but one thing I was sure of; that was the only letter this rascal ever brought me, and it was not from any whose name was Young.

Earl of Not. Well, that business is over, he has confessed it; and now, my lord, pray take a chair and sit down.

Earl of Devonsh. Pray, my lord, sit down.

Bish. of Roch. No, my lords, I desire you to excuse me.

Earl of Not. My lord, we have some few questions to ask you, and therefore pray repose yourself.

Bish. of Roch. If you please to permit me, I had rather answer what your lordships have farther to say, standing thus as I am at the table.

Earl of Not. Then, my lord, we shall ask you: Have you ever written to the earl of Marlborough within these three months?

Bish. of Roch. I think I may safely affirm, I never writ to my Lord Marlborough in my life; but I am certain, and upon the faith of a bishop I declare, I have not written one word to him these three months.

Earl of Not. Have you received any letter from my Lord Marlborough within these three months?

Bish. of Roch. I protest solemnly I have not received any.

Earl of Not. Have you received any written, or

printed papers from my Lord Marlborough, within that space of time?

Bish. of Roch. As in the presence of God, I declare I have not. My lords, I have had some acquaintance with my Lord Marlborough, both in King James's court, and in the parliaments since; but I cannot call to mind that ever I wrote to him, or he to me.

Earl of Not. Then I think, my lords, we have nothing more to do, but to wish my lord bishop a good journey to Bromley.

With that, they all rose up and saluted me, testifying their great satisfaction, that I had so well cleared myself, and confounded my adversary: more especially, two noble lords of the company, to whom, I said, I would now particularly appeal, gave me an ample testimony of their belief of my innocency in this accusation, and of my dutiful disposition to the government.

My Lord Nottingham then told me, in the name of all the rest, they had no farther trouble to give me. I intreated them to suffer me to add a few words; they permitting me, I said:

My lords, I heartily thank you for confronting me with this fellow; else I could not so well have made out my innocency, but I might still have lain under a suspicion, whereof I had not known the least ground. Had this been a trial for my life, I should have been glad to have such honourable persons for my judges; but now I have much more reason to bless God, that you have been my compurgators; that you are witnesses, as well as judges, of the detection of this villainy against me; whereof, I must acknowledge, as yet I do not fathom the bottom: wherefore I must intreat, that I may put myself under your protection for the future; for, although this fountain of wickedness has been now stopped in this particular, as to myself, yet it seems to run under ground still; and, unless especial care be taken, it may break forth again in some other place, on some other occasion, to the ruin, if not of me, yet of some other innocent person.

Earl of Devonsh. No, my lord, you need never fear this fountain can break forth any more, to do you or any other good man any prejudice, he having been so palpably convicted of knavery and lying.

Bish. of Roch. My lords, I hope so. As for myself, I take my own innocency to be abundantly vindicated by this your general declaration in my favour. I make no question, but your lordships will next vindicate yourselves, and the justice of the government, by bringing this wicked man to condign punishment, and by examining the main drift of his design, and who have been his accomplices.

They all assuring me, I might rely upon them for it, I withdrew.

All this while I had not the least conjecture, or imagination, who this Young should be, with whom Blackhead pretended I held so close a correspondence.

But

But my next appearance before the committee of the council, will clear up what remains of the whole wicked mystery.

In the mean time, returning home that evening to Bromley, I presently met with a plentiful concurrence of evidence from most of my servants, of their discourse with Blackhead, and their knowledge of his business, in reference to Dr. Hookes's letter.

First, The butler, Thomas Warren, told me, that according to my order to use him kindly, he had done so both times he was with us: particularly, the second time he had entertained him, with one of the petty canons of Windsor, who came thither by chance, in the parlour next the garden: that thence he brought him down into the cellar, where Blackhead drank my health with knees almost bended to the ground: that then he earnestly desired him to shew him my study; saying, I have heard your lord has a very good study of books: my master Hookes has a very good one: he often lets me go into it, and I doubt not but you have the same liberty: I pray let me see his books. The butler answered, My lord has but few books here, only such as he brings from time to time from Westminster, for present use, and they are locked up in presses, so that I cannot shew them if I would. I pray then, said Blackhead, let me see the room, I hear it is a very fine one. The butler said, he could not presume to do it without my leave. Then, said Blackhead, let me see the rest of the house. The butler excused his not being able to do it then, because there were some ladies with his mistress. The same request, he assured me, Blackhead repeated almost twenty times: but still he denied him.

Then Thomas Phillips, my coachman, and John Jewel, my gardener, confirmed most of what the butler had said: all of them agreeing, that both the times he was at Bromley, especially the second, he had talked publicly with them of the business he came about from his master Dr. Hookes: enlarging much in commendation of the said doctor, what a worthy man he was; what hospitality he kept; and how he would never rest, till he had brought to punishment the knave that had forged my hand and seal for orders. They added, that, after I had dismissed him, he lingered about in the garden, the hall, and the great parlour, a long time; and was full of such discourses.

Moreover, the gardener, and William Hardy, the groom, and Thomas French, and one or two of the other servants, who remained at Bromley whilst I was in custody at Westminster, did all assure me, that this man, who brought first the letter, and then the message from Dr. Hookes, had been a third time at my house whilst I was under confinement. That it was upon a Sunday, which by computation proved to be Whit-Sunday, May 15th; that they found him in the midst of the house, before they knew he was entered. He told them, that passing that way, he came to condole for my mishap, and to enquire what the matter was; hoping it was not so bad as was reported at

London. They answered, they knew nothing of particulars, yet doubted not but I was innocent. That he then again desired to see the house; but all the doors were locked, except the great parlour, which has no lock upon it. That he would have inticed them to town to drink with him; which they refused, but made him drink there; and he coming after dinner, they persuaded a maid-servant to provide him some meat; which she did, but unwillingly, telling them she did not like the fellow's looks; that, perhaps, he might come to rob, or to set the house, now so few servants were at home: that he rather looked, (as indeed he did) like some knavish, broken tradesman, than an honest rich clergyman's bayliff, or steward, as he also called himself; and it has proved since, that her conjecture was true.

All this, and more, my servants repeated to me, touching Blackhead's behaviour in my house, and his discourse concerning his master Dr. Hookes; and they offered to depose it all upon oath. And, above all, the next day, being Saturday, June the eleventh, Mr. Moore coming from London, immediately found the original letter that Blackhead had brought me from the pretended doctor.

Wherefore, being furnished with all these fresh materials, especially with the letter itself; and being not a little surprized to hear that the rogue had, the second time of his coming, been so earnest to get into my study, or any of the other rooms; and that he had the diabolical malice against me, to come to my house a third time, on pretence of condoling my misfortune, which I then thought it was probable had chiefly proceeded from his malicious perjury against me. All this considered, I resolved to go to London on Monday morning with these servants, and to carry the letter that he brought me as from Dr. Hookes, to lay the whole business before the lords of the committee, and to desire their farther examination of Blackhead upon these particulars.

Accordingly on Monday, June the thirteenth, I went and attended the meeting of the lords that morning in the usual place. When there was a full committee, I sent to them by a clerk of the council, intreating that I might have a short audience. After some time I was introduced. There were present (besides most of the lords before mentioned) three others, whom I had not seen there since my first appearance before them, the marquis of Caermarthen, lord president, the Lord Godolphin, and Sir John Lowther.

When I came into the room, and was just going to propose the business that brought me thither, my lord Nottingham prevented me, and said:

My lord, do you know that person there? pointing to a man who stood behind the privy-counsellors, near the door which leads into the publick room.

Bishop of Roch. My lord, I do not know him.

Earl of Not. My lord, I pray observe him well.

Bish. of Roch. Upon my credit I never saw this man before in my life, to the utmost of my knowledge.

Then the person standing there looked boldly upon me, and said, Do you not know me, my lord? Do not you remember that I officiated some weeks at Bromley-college, for Mr. Dobson, in King James's time? And that I preached in the parish church there once or twice?

Bish. of Roch. My lords, I solemnly affirm I do not know this man: I never saw him before: I never knew that he officiated in Bromley-college; I never heard him preach in the church there: he is a mere stranger to me: he may have served for the chaplain of that college, in King James's time: but I was not then concerned who officiated there. He may have preached in the church, and I not have heard him: for about that time I was clerk of the closet, and was seldom or never at Bromley on Sundays, by reason of my attendance on the Princess Anne of Denmark, either at Whitehall or Windsor, or Hampton-court, or Richmond.

The same person presently took me up, with insolent confidence, You will know me better when Captain Lawe appears: I warrant you don't know Captain Lawe neither.

Bish. of Roch. My lords, if any of your lordships please to ask me any thing, I shall answer with all respect: but I do not understand that I am bound to satisfy this saucy fellow's questions; yet, because he has asked me so familiarly touching my acquaintance with one Captain Lawe, I assure you I know not any such man in the world as Captain Lawe.

But, my lords, by this person's discourse, I am induced to believe he may be the Young with whom the other knave, Blackhead, pretended the last time that I held a strict correspondence by his means.

Earl of Not. This man's name is Young, Robert Young.

Bish. of Roch. Then, my lords, because my lord president, and some of the other lords, were not here then, I must beg leave of those that were, that I may repeat what I then remembered concerning one Robert Young. Whereupon I recollected the substance of what I had said, of a letter I had received some years since, dated at Newgate, from one of the same name, who pretended himself to be a clergyman.

I added, it seems, my lords, by his own confession, this is the very same Young. But, as I never saw him before he was in Newgate, so I declare, upon the faith of a Christian, I never saw or heard from him since that letter: however, I am very glad you have him now; I make no doubt but he will be found in the end such another villain as Blackhead was proved to be on Friday last.

But, my lords, said I, the business that brought me to wait on you now, is to intreat you to take that same Blackhead into further examination, and to enquire a little more into his part in this wicked contrivance, whatever it is.

My lords, since I went to Bromley, my servant, Mr. Moore, has had the good fortune to retrieve the very original letter that Blackhead brought me from

his counterfeit master, Doctor Hookes. Then I delivered the letter in at the table, and my Lord Nottingham read it aloud. And to shew with what a treacherous insinuation, and plausibility of style it was written, to draw from me an answer under my own hand, I here set down the very letter itself, word for word:

' MY LORD,

' **B**EING destitute of a curate, one Mr. James Curtis came to me, who produced letters dimissory (bearing date March 13th, 91) and likewise letters of orders under your hand and episcopal seal. Now, my lord, willing I am to employ any that your lordship shall recommend, and give him all the encouragement imaginable; but being since, by his own words, suspicious that his instruments are forged, I have therefore on purpose sent my man to know the truth thereof, and, in order thereunto, I humbly beg your lordship to give an account in yours by this bearer, promising, for the church of England's credit, and likewise your lordship's honour, that, if he be an impostor, I will see him brought to condign punishment for such his forgery; but, if he be not, I beg your lordship's pardon for this trouble, occasioned by my candid affection for your lordship, and all clergymen, being not willing to have them imposed upon.

' I am your lordship's most obedient servant,

Windgrave,
April 6, 92.

' ROBERT HOOKES, D. D.'

Now, my lords, proceeded I, I thought it would be for your service to acquaint you, that I have received, from divers of my servants, a farther account of all Blackhead's demeanor, the first, second, and third time he was at my house at Bromley; for he was there a third time also, which I knew not of before I went home on Friday.

Then I summed up what, it has been said before, my servants were ready to depose to that purpose: concluding thus, My lords, my servants are attending without: I pray that Blackhead may be brought before them face to face, and that they may be admitted to give it upon oath, what they have to say concerning him.

Upon this several of the lords said, send for Blackhead; and he was sent for.

But, before he came, they called in Mrs. Young, the wife, it seems, of the aforesaid Robert Young; but what a kind of wife, and which of the two wives he had at one and the same time, will appear in what follows:

When she was come in, my Lord Nottingham said to her, Mary Young, whence received you this paper? taking up a paper that lay upon the table.

Mary Young. I had it from Captain Lawe.

Earl of Not. What did he say when he gave it you?

Mrs. Young. He bid me deliver it to my husband?

Earl

Earl of Not. What did he say it was?

Mrs. Young. He said it was a sociate, or some such word.

Earl of Not. What! did he deliver you a paper of this treasonable nature, in the manner as it is, to be given to your husband, without sealing it up, or inclosing it in another paper?

Mrs. Young. Yes, my lord, he did.

Earl of Not. Did he tell you any of the names to it?

Mrs. Young. Yes: he said there were the late archbishop of Canterbury's, the bishop of Rochester's, and some other lords names to it.

Earl of Not. What passed afterwards between you about it?

Mrs. Young. I gave it my husband, and when Captain Lawe came for it again, my husband said, No, these lords, whose names are subscribed, have not been so liberal in the relief of my wants as formerly; and therefore I will make another use of this paper; and so locked it up.

By this time Blackhead was brought in, and the woman ordered to withdraw, and to be kept by herself.

Earl of Not. Blackhead: the last time you confessed you brought the bishop of Rochester a letter from Robert Young, under the false name of Doctor Hookes.

Blackhead. Yes, I did.

Earl of Not. Can you know that letter when you see it?

Blackhead. I cannot tell? I doubt I cannot know it?

Earl of Not. Here it is; (and it was given into his hand) is that the same letter you delivered the bishop?

Blackhead. I am not sure it is.

Earl of Not. Consider it well; look on the superscription, you cannot but remember that. You began to be somewhat ingenuous last Friday; if you relapse, it will fare the worse with you.

Blackhead. Yes, this may be the letter: this is the very same letter.

Earl of Not. And you received an answer to this from the bishop for Doctor Hookes, which you carried to Robert Young?

Blackhead. Yes, I did, I own it.

Earl of Not. But what made you, when you were at Bromley the second time, so earnestly desire of the bishop's butler, and his other servants, that you might see the rooms in the house, especially his study?

Blackhead. No, I do not remember that I desired to see the study; the house I might, out of curiosity.

Earl of Not. But here are some of the bishop's servants without, who are ready to swear, that you pressed very often to get a sight of his study; saying, you had the freedom at your master Hookes', to shew any stranger his books, and you doubted not but the butler could do the same there.

Blackhead. I cannot deny that I did desire to see the bishop's study: the other rooms I am sure I did.

Earl of Not. What reason had you to be so importunate to see that, or any of the other rooms? Had you any paper about you that you designed to drop, or leave in any part of the bishop's house?

Here Blackhead stopped, as very loth to out with it; till divers of the lords urged him to tell the truth. At last he went on, though with much hesitancy.

Blackhead. Yes, I must confess I had a paper in my pocket, which I designed to put somewhere in the house.

Earl of Not. What did you with it?

Blackhead. I did leave it in the parlour next the kitchen.

Earl of Not. In what part of the parlour?

Blackhead. In the flower-pot in the chimney.

Good Lord bless me, cried I. I seriously protest, I never heard that any paper was found there by my servants. To be sure they would have brought it me.

Earl of Not. But, my lord, it will be worth your while to send presently to Bromley, to see whether there be any paper still, and what it is.

Bish. of Roch. My lord, I will send one away immediately. Only my servants are without, expecting to be sworn. Be pleased first to call them in, and dispatch them.

Earl of Not. Nay, my lord, there is no need of their testimony now. For this fellow has said already more than they know. He has confessed, not only that he desired to see your house, and particularly your study, but that he did it with intention to leave a paper somewhere in it; and that he did leave one in your parlour, and in the flower-pot of the chimney.

Bish. of Roch. Then, my lord, I will send away forthwith.

Earl of Not. Stay, my lord, let us first examine him a little farther. Blackhead, what paper was it you left in the bishop's chimney in the flower-pot?

Blackhead. It was the association.

Earl of Not. Was it this paper here? Shewing the association that lay upon the table.

Blackhead. Yes, it was.

Earl of Not. How came you by it? And who advised you to lodge it there?

Blackhead. I had it from Mr. Young, and he advised me to leave it in the bishop's house, as I did.

Earl of Not. Did Young direct you to put it into the flower-pot in the parlour?

Blackhead. Yes, he did, and I put it there accordingly in the flower-pot.

Earl of Not. But were not you a third time at the bishop's house? It was upon a Sunday, which it seems was Whit-Sunday?

Blackhead. I was.

Earl of Not. You pretended to condole for the bishop's imprisonment: it is manifest that could not be your business. What was it?

Blackhead. I was desired by Mr. Young, seeing the association was not found by those who apprehended the bishop, to go to Bromley, and try to recover it, that being the original. I did so, I came into the house

house before any of the servants were aware, I went into the parlour unseen, and took the paper out of the same place where I had put it, and delivered it again to Mr. Young.

Bish. of Roch. My lords, I am very much surprised at all this. I cannot but admire the wonderful goodness of God, in this my extraordinary deliverance. It appears, by what this fellow confesses, that this forged association was in my house, in a flower-pot, for many days together; and that it was there at the very time I was seized on by your lordships order. For he says he put it there the second time he was at Bromley, which was a pretty while before I was in hold, and took it not out till the third time, which was upon Whitfunday, the ninth day after I was under confinement; and, by a strange and marvellous providence, that parlour, where he says it lay so long in the chimney, was never searched or enquired after by the clerk of the council, or the messenger.

The other part of the house, on the left-hand of the hall, where my study is, and bed-chamber above stairs, and a parlour and drawing-room below, all these they searched very accurately; particularly, I well remember, the messenger thrust his hand into the flower-pots in every chimney; which seemed very odd to me then, but I now understand the meaning of it.

At this, my Lord Sydney, my Lord Nottingham, my Lord Devonshire, and some others of the council affirmed, that they perfectly remembered, both Blackhead and Young did especially direct them to give order to those, who should be sent to take me, to search all the flower-pots.

By this time it was thought seasonable by the lords to confront Blackhead with Young.

But, in the mean while, the counterfeit association, being handed about the table, was at length delivered to me; it was to this purpose, as much of it as, by a transient view, I could carry away in my memory:

‘**T**HAT we, whose names were subscribed, should solemnly promise, in the presence of God, to contribute our utmost assistance towards King James’s recovery of his kingdoms: that, to this end, we would have ready to meet him, at his landing, thirty thousand men well armed. That we would seize upon the person of the princess of Orange, dead or alive; and take care, that some strong garrison should be forthwith delivered into his hands; and furnish him with a considerable sum of money for the support of his army;’ or to this sense.

March 20.—91.

And the forged subscriptions were, as I remember, after this manner:

Marleborough.

Salisbury.

W. Cant.

Tho. Roffen.

Cornbury.

Basil Firebrace.

John Wilcoxe.

Now, upon the first sight of this paper, I presently said, I protest, my lords, I am very much amazed

to see my hand so well counterfeited; all the difference is, they have done me the favour to write it finer than I can: otherwise, I acknowledge it is so like, that I verily believe I myself, had I seen it in another place, should have been apt to doubt whether it were of my writing, or no. I am confident it might, upon the first blush, deceive the best friends I have.

But, my lords, here is another innocent person’s name, whose hand I know very well, and I dare venture to say, it is even better forged than mine; I mean, Archbishop Sancroft’s.

Lord Godolphin. My lords, I am very well acquainted with Archbishop Sancroft’s hand, and really it is here most exactly counterfeited.

Moreover, my Lord Godolphin, my Lord Sydney, and others said, that the earl of Marlborough’s hand had been so well feigned, in a letter pretended to be written to Young himself, that it was very difficult for his most intimate friends to observe any distinction; and in that letter the bishop of Rochester was said to have the paper in his keeping; which appears now to have been meant of the false association’s being in my custody.

Nay, my Lord Sydney assured me, these very impostors had brought him a letter, supposed also to be written by me to Young; which, being but of ordinary matters, he thought not worth the keeping, but he well remembered, the subscription of my name was very like this in the association, as well indeed it might.

By this time, Young being come into the room, my Lord Nottingham spoke to him:

Young, look upon that letter (shewing him his own to me, under the name of Dr. Hookes) do you know that hand?

Young. No, I don’t know it.

Earl of Not. Did not you send that letter to the bishop of Rochester, by Blackhead?

Young. No, I know no Hookes; I never writ to the bishop of Rochester, but in my own name, with my own hand.

Earl of Not. What say you, Blackhead?

Blackhead. I did receive that very letter from Mr. Young’s own hand, and delivered it to the bishop of Rochester with mine.

Earl of Not. (Taking up the association, and shewing it to Young) Did not you give this paper to Blackhead, and order him to put it into a chimney in the bishop of Rochester’s house, and into a flower-pot, if there were any?

Young. No, I never desired him to carry it thither, or to put it into a flower-pot.

Earl of Not. What say you, Blackhead?

Blackhead. Mr. Young did give me that paper, and directed me to leave it in the bishop’s house; and, if I could, to put it in a flower-pot in some room; which I did in the parlour.

Young. There is no such matter; I absolutely deny it.

Upon

Upon this, the earl of Nottingham, the Lord Sydney, and some others of the counsellors, asked Young, Why then did you give us such express directions, to send, and search the flower-pots, among other places, in the bishop's house?

Young. I said nothing of flower-pots. I bid you take care that the bishop's person should be exactly searched; because, when he went abroad, he carried the association about him; when he was at home, he put it in some private place for fear of surprize: perhaps, I might say in the chimney.

The lords replied, Nay, we all well remember, you particularly mentioned the flower-pots.

Earl of Not. Young, when you perceived that the persons sent to seize on the bishop had missed the association, did not you then desire Blackhead to go a third time to the bishop's house, and to take it out of the pot, where he had laid it?

Young. No, I know nothing of it.

Earl of Not. What say you, Blackhead?

Blackhead. At Mr. Young's request, I went to the bishop's house a third time; it was upon a Sunday; I privately got into the parlour, and took out the association out of the same flower-pot where I had laid it, and returned it back to Mr. Young.

Young. This is a combination between the bishop of Rochester and Blackhead, to baffle the whole discovery of the plot.

Which saying of Young's could not but raise a general smile among all the company, they lifting up their hands with great indignation at his unparalleled impudence.

Bish. of Roch. I thought, my lords, the last time I was here, Blackhead was the most brazen-faced fellow that ever I saw; but now I find this same Young to be a much viler miscreant than he. This is so base a suggestion against me, and so impossible for me to be guilty of, and I know your lordships so little suspect it of me, that I need not make any answer to it in my defence.

Lord President. Young, thou art the strangest creature that ever I heard of: dost thou think we could imagine, that the bishop of Rochester would combine with this thy confederate, to have an association written, with his own hand to it, and then laid in his own house, in a flower-pot there? which, if it had been found, must have endangered his life: and we see it was the most remarkable good fortune to him that almost ever happened to any man, that it was not found there.

But Young still persisting, that he believed I had taken Blackhead off, they were both ordered to withdraw. And I assure my reader, that, during this whole examination, though Young's forgery was so evidently convicted by the confession of his own companion, and instrument, yet he behaved himself with a daring unconcerned confidence, with a bold and erect countenance, though it had naturally very much of a villain in it. His whole carriage, indeed, was such as became the discipline he has undergone for these divers years; having so long been almost a con-

stant inhabitant, together with his wife, of many of the common gaols in England and Ireland; as you shall find before I leave them.

But to make haste to the conclusion of this narration; the lord president called for the letter which Young had sent to me under the name of Hookes. When his lordship had viewed it deliberately, he asked also for the association, and, having compared them for some considerable time, he broke forth in these words: Really, my lords, it is a very great providence, that this letter, sent by Young, under the name of Hookes, to the bishop of Rochester, was preserved by his servant: for this very letter, and the association, were both, apparently, written by the same hand; you may perceive there is no manner of difference in the writing, but only that the letter is written in a less hand, as letters are wont to be, and the association in a greater, as a publick instrument.

At this the whole board, one after another, had a perfect sight of both, and all applauded the happiness of the discovery: for it was as clear as light to all that were present, that the letters and words of both, were of the very same form and figure. Particularly, my Lord Godolphin farther observed, and made it plain to them all, that the W in W. Cant. in the subscription, was the very same letter with the W in Whereas, which was the first word of the counterfeit association.

For my part, I could not forbear exclaiming, *Great is truth, and it will prevail.*

After all this, I asking the lords, Whether they had any farther service to command me? And they saying, No, I spoke these few words:

My lords, I must always acknowledge, that, next the signal providence of God, in so visibly protecting an innocent man, your lordships fair and honourable way of proceeding with me, in not shutting me up close in the Tower immediately upon my first accusation; but in openly confronting me with these varlets, whilst the matter was fresh in my memory; and in so strictly and impartially examining them now, has been the principal occasion, that my innocency has met with a vindication as publick and unquestionable, as I myself could have wished and prayed for. But still, my good lords, I do again most humbly recommend to your lordships, the prosecution of this black contrivance to the bottom, for the sake of truth and justice, and for the safety of every other honest man, whose lot this might have been as well as mine. I am sure your lordships all believe, that there can be no greater service to the government, especially at this time, than to have such perjured informers, so plainly discovered, to be severely punished according to their demerits.

And so I took my leave of their lordships.

This is the substance of what I can remember, as far as my part goes in this surprizing adventure. As to the account I promised of my wicked accusers, my reader shall have it as fast as my weak eyes will give me leave to write it.

Aug. 1, 1692. Bromley.

THO. ROFFEN.

The Second Part of the Relation of the late wicked Contrivance against the Lives of several Persons, by forging an Association under their Hands: Being a farther Account of the said Forgery, and of the two Authors of it, Stephen Blackhead and Robert Young, alias Youngs, alias Brown, alias Hopkins, alias Hutt, alias Green, alias Jones, alias Smith, alias, &c. Written by the Bishop of Rochester.

Quo teneam Vultus mutantem Protea Nodo?

TO THE READER.

IT is well known to divers persons of worth and honour, that this second part was finished, and has lain by me some considerable time: excepting the additions of some very few original papers lately come to my hands, which serve only to explain and confirm some passages I had written before.

The cause of my not printing it sooner, was an expectation of Robert Young's speedy trial. But that being now deferred till the next term, upon occasion of Mr. Aaron Smith's sickness, I have been prevailed with no longer to delay the publication of it.

If any shall still surmise, that I might have done better to let him alone yet a little while, till the justice of the nation had passed upon him: I answer, that well-nigh all, that I say of him, relates to such of his crimes, which the justice of this, or a neighbouring nation, has already passed upon.

And though I can prove, this villainous contrivance of his plot has been at least of a year and a half standing; and do know many steps of it more than are hitherto commonly known; and have seen many letters to this effect, all written by Robert Young's hand, some in his own, some forged for me, and divers other persons far more considerable; yet my reader will find, I pass all, or the greatest part of that by, and leave still enough to be produced against him at his trial.

I do indeed briefly touch upon his late endeavours to suborne one Holland, to support his perjuries by perjuring himself. But his discourse with Holland to that purpose, and the instructions he sent him to swear by, having been both averred already upon oath, in an open court of justice, before a great assembly at Hicks's-Hall; I know no pretence, why I should be bound to conceal what was then, in so solemn a manner, made publick.

The truth is, the chief reason that urges me, at this time, to make known to the world the certain discoveries I have made of Robert Young's most detestable villainies of all kinds, is, that I am assured, this infamous man does still persist in his causeless and wild malice against me, and other innocent persons; and attempts, at this time of day, to justify his forged association, by the false testimonies of others like himself.

Wherefore, since he will not give me over, it is high time I should begin with him: and whilst he goes on in such a barbarous manner, to strike at my life, surely none can blame me if I debase myself so much as to write his.

But if any one shall still suggest, that I have troubled myself too much, and spent too many words on so inconsiderable a rascal: I have this yet to say, that since he could think himself so considerable, as to hope to be an evidence against mine, and several others lives; I should be wanting to myself, to them, and indeed to the publick, should I not prove him to be a dangerous rascal, now it has come so unexpectedly into my power to do it.

It seems also the more seasonable for me at this very time to shew him to the world; since Blackhead has made a second escape out of the messenger's hands; and since there goes about a letter (forged, one would think, by Young himself among his infinite other forgeries) wherein it is declared in Blackhead's name, but in Young's English, that Blackhead has done no wrong to no man upon earth but Young.

Whether this can possibly be true, I leave to any man upon earth, that has read my first part, to judge. And whoever shall peruse this my second part, I doubt not but he will be convinced, that whatever Blackhead has done, I have done Young no wrong.

IN the former part, I promised to give some account and character of those wicked wretches, that brought me into the troubles there described.

I come now to make good my promise. Only I fear, let me do what I can, the account of them, which I at first designed, should be very short, will be much longer, and rise to a far greater bulk, than I intended: especially, in what I have to say of Robert Young.

But for that, I hope, my reader will reckon it to be his fault, and only my penance: since his life has been so highly criminal, and this is so clearly attested, that I must be somewhat large, or else I cannot do him all the right he deserves, and fully satisfy the world concerning him.

I must confess, I could never have been brought to foul my fingers with so base a subject, had I not been provoked, and almost challenged to it, by this same Young's intolerable insolence, even after he found himself detected of manifest forgery.

For, the last time I was discharged by the lords at Whitehall, on June the thirteenth, whereof I have already given a full relation; whilst I was passing through the outer room, in my way home, there being a crowd of people; I stopped, and said, I pray gentlemen, Is Mr. Young here? I would fain have another sight of the man, who has put himself upon me as my old acquaintance, and intimate friend: though I never saw him in my life, till this very day.

Divers of the company presently shewing me, where he was, sitting by himself; I said to him, Robert Young, your conscience cannot but condemn you, for having thus mortally injured me, and other innocent persons. I cannot call to mind, that ever I gave you the least provocation: I am sorry now for your own sake, that you are still so obstinate in defending your forgeries, after they have been so undeniably detected. For you know, there is one of your own confederates within, who has plainly confessed them.

At this he briskly, and most audaciously, replied to me, without the least concernment, that I could observe, "Confessed! No; You shall find to your sorrow, all is not confessed yet: a parliament will come, and then you shall hear from me." I left him, praying God to give him grace to repent; and only adding, that else he was more in danger of his own damnation, than I of his accusation in parliament.

Now therefore, because of this impudent defiance, I have taken some pains to inquire into the man, and his former course of life.

And notwithstanding the time of my inquiry has been so short (for he was never personally known to me, till I saw him at Whitehall, on the thirteenth of June last) nay, though the scene of his impious actions has been so large, that I have been forced to collect my intelligence, from far and near; yet I have been so fortunate in my discoveries of him, and his meet-help, that now I look upon the loathsome heap of scandalous materials, I have got together against him; I am almost ashamed to make it publick.

But, perhaps, it may be no unacceptable, I am sure

it will be no unseasonable service to my country, to present it with a faithful picture of one of the most graceless wretches, that ever yet entered upon the stage of evidencing; which I think is as bad as can be said of him, in so few words.

As to a discovery of the whole plot and contrivance against myself and others; I have been able to penetrate no farther yet, than to find that it was hatched and ripened in Newgate, wherever it was first laid, or designed.

Of the managers or abettors of it, there are but very few, hitherto, come to my knowledge: though, no doubt, there are more still behind the curtain. And many other honest men, in all likelihood, had been accused after the same manner, had this first attempt taken effect.

For how can it be imagined, they would only have introduced the good Archbishop Sancroft, and the poor bishop of Rochester, and joining us with three or four persons of honour, and a citizen or two, have then supposed us to be so mad, as to engage under our hands, to seize on the queen's person; to surprize the Tower; to raise a mighty army; and to bring the city of London into subjection.

No; without all question, if this false association had once passed for authentick, many other papers of the same nature would soon have been produced out of the same forge; to the involving of many other innocent persons, both of clergy and laity, in the like counterfeit guilt.

But, till time shall bring to light more of this detestable work of darkness, the whole ignominy of it must be shared at present among the pretended witnesses, whom I have already heard named.

Of these there was one Captain Lawe, mentioned both by Young, and his wife. And they boasted much of his concurring testimony, when he should appear. Yet of him I have nothing more to say, than that I find; there really was such a man as Lawe, a prisoner too in Newgate; and freed from thence the fifth day of August, 1691: a captain, Young said, he was; and he might as easily make him one, as he made himself a priest; which (I thank God for the church's sake) he was no otherwise than in fiction.

How this captain got his liberty, I have yet no reason, that I know of, to examine strictly; seeing he has hitherto had either the modesty or the cunning to withdraw himself, and not to venture being an evidence in so bad a cause.

For the present, therefore, I leave Captain Lawe, as I found him, with no other mark of disgrace, but what his friend Young has fixed upon him, by naming him as a man likely to deserve the title of the third discoverer of his plot.

Of Blackhead too, besides what relates to myself, which the reader has had before, I have but one story more to insert here; though that indeed is home, and to the purpose. For this very Stephen Blackhead was prisoner also in Newgate, and condemned on January 15, 1689, to stand in the pillory, and to lose his ears, toge-

together with one Lewis and one Patrick, being all three convicted of one and the same forgery.

Lewis and Patrick, it seems, were so ill befriended, as to have the rigour of the law pass upon them. By what favour Blackhead came to be reprieved and pardoned, it is not now my business over-curiously to inquire: else I could perhaps tell a story, how the knave, being himself a broken taylor, and employed in the soliciting of other debts; and having, as is usual, some bills and letters of attorney intrusted with him for that purpose, had the good luck, and the honesty, by delivering up, and cancelling one of them, to save his ears, and purchase his pardon.

But, perhaps, I do not well to anticipate any part of Blackhead's other knaveries, not doubting, but he will, in time, supply abundant matter, to deserve a like history of himself: it is more than probable, that some other good and peaceably-minded man, having been as vilely trepanned by him, as I have been, though perhaps, by some other way, than a flowerpot, will have the same reason to search into all his tricks, and to set them out with as much variety, in as ample a manner, as I shall now endeavour to do Robert Young's.

It is this Robert Young, that I conceive, has most merited to be my proper subject. By what appears yet, Blackhead was only the tool, and the instrument; Young was the chief, if not the first contriver of this treacherous design. Blackhead was touched with some remorse, so far as to reveal some part of the truth: Young persisted to the last, without any relenting. And, when one would have thought he should have been quite overwhelmed with what his colleague confessed, he had the face, in so honourable a presence, with a prodigious and inimitable turn of impudence, to impute Blackhead's confession to my having suborned him.

As to Robert Young, therefore, I will first give a true draught in little of his whole life: that my reader, keeping the principal passages of that in his memory, may know where to require satisfaction in any particular, from my original papers.

But now, in the very beginning of Robert Young's story, I might be at some loss, what is really his name; for, in several places, he has gone under divers names; and behaved himself so, as quickly to wear them all out, and to make it necessary for him to change them often.

Thus, on sundry occasions, he has passed under the names of Brown, Smith, Hutt, Jones, Green, &c. In Dublin, he sometimes called himself Marsh: in Raphoe, Hopkins, to render himself more acceptable, in his ill projects; taking the true names of the worthy archbishop and bishop of those sees, at that time.

Yet, after all, I find the name of Young is most likely to pay all his scores; for, notwithstanding his many divings, under other disguises, it has so happened, that he has still risen up again at last, in his own true name of Robert Young.

There may be also as great a controversy raised,

what countryman he is. In some of the original papers in my keeping, he passes for an Irishman; in some, for a Scotchman; in his own letters (which I have the least reason of all to believe, and, being myself an Englishman, I am most unwilling to believe) he gives himself out for an Englishman, born at Chester. Wherefore, till I am more familiarly acquainted with him, than he himself says I am, I must be forced to leave his country uncertain: though I am confident, there will be no great contention or emulation between the three kingdoms, to which of them he owes his birth.

In the same letters, wherein he says he was born at Chester, he affirms, that his grandfather was Sir Peter Young's son, and his grandmother the duke of Lenox's daughter. Had he really been descended from Sir Peter Young, I might still urge, that he is the more to blame in rendering an honest stock, as he calls it there, infamous, by making it degenerate into the most enormous crimes.

But how can I credit him in this matter of his extraction from Sir Peter Young, and the illustrious house of Lenox; when, in the very same paper, there follows, immediately, that which, to my knowledge, is a horrid lie: that he was ordained priest by the bishop of Clogher. For I shall give infallible proof, that his priest's orders he only imposed on himself, by his own false hand.

But, to clear up this whole business, I have also by me a true copy of an account, he gave of himself; wherein, quite forgetting this romance of his being a Cheshire man, and his kindred to the duke of Lenox, he gives this narrative of his own life.

It is dated May 26, 1683; and declares, that he was born at Warrington in Lancashire, that he went over into Ireland, and to school at Iniskillin: that he thence removed to Dublin college, being eighteen years old; where he continued seven years, and was made master of arts, eleven years since: that thence he went to be curate in Leighlin; and, for three years last past, was chaplain to the bishop of Ferns and Leighlin: that he preached all the courses, for the dean and prebends, at ten shillings a sermon: that he had all the book-money; that is, the fees for marriages, burials, and christenings, there being no other parish church, but the cathedral: that he lived in the bishop's house, till his death, since Christmas: that two years before, he married the bishop's house-keeper: that he had testimonials from the college of Dublin, and was ordained by his own bishop.

Now would not any plain honest man take this to be a simple and true narrative of the man's birth, his education, and conversation? But nothing is more certain than that every line almost of all this is full of gross falsehoods. And, as ill-luck would have it, after he and his reputed wife had rambled over England for divers years, and cheated multitudes of well-disposed persons, by the help of false and lying certificates, they being at last apprehended and imprisoned at Bury, as you will hear, confessed before the magistrates, that all
their

their testimonials and recommendations were false and forged.

Wherefore it is time for me to leave still in the dark, as I find it, that age of Mr. Young's life, which he has made either to be merely fabulous, or so mixed with truth and fable, that there is no distinguishing between them. I now apply myself to that part of it, which, from undoubted testimony, I can affirm to be historical. And I shall date the beginning of this period about the year 1680.

In that year, or near thereupon, his first famous exploit, that occurs to me worthy of himself, was his marrying a second wife, Mary Hutt, whilst his first lawful wife Anne Yeably was living; with whom he had cohabited five years, and had three children by her.

Then, to qualify himself for employment in the church of Ireland, and to maintain his family (which he had taken such a way to increase) he did really insinuate himself into deacons orders by the hands of the bishop of Killaloe; whom he circumvented by forging the archbishop of Cashell's, the bishop of Waterford's, and other clergymen's hands, to false, but very ample testimonials of his morals and learning.

But, as for his priests orders, he was beholden to no bishop for them: he had only recourse to his own incomparable faculty of counterfeiting hands and seals; so that, if that same Dr. Hobbes, you wot of, had been but an honest man, he might easily have found out the false priest, without ever troubling himself to write to me about him.

However, being after this manner ordained deacon, and having ordained himself priest, he got to be entertained as a curate, first at Tallogh in the diocese of Waterford; whence, for divers crimes, he ran away with another man's horse, which he never restored: then at Castle-Reah in the county of Roscommon, whence he was forced to flee for getting a bastard: and, lastly, at Kildallin in the diocese of Kilmore.

Nor had he been long in this last cure, but he was accused, for many heinous offences, before the bishop of that see, who, at the time of my writing this, is the most reverend archbishop of Dublin: whose just description of the man, I shall give in its due place; wherein his grace has represented him, as the most impudent, lying, profligate wretch on the face of the earth.

Wherefore, to escape the justice of his diocesan, who knew him so thoroughly, he fled into the diocese of Raphoe. But, being pursued thither, and traced out by the notoriety of some of his new pranks, he was apprehended by my old friend Bishop Hopkins, and first imprisoned at Lifford; then removed to the gaol of Cavan: where he was presently loaded with many of his former crimes; especially for having two wives then living; Simon Hutt, the father of the second, being then an inhabitant and inkeeper in Cavan.

Whereupon the good bishop of Kilmore, now archbishop of Dublin, fearing Robert Young might come to be hanged in his gown, degraded him from his orders; if I may call them his, since the one of them he

had surreptitiously gotten, the other was really none at all.

Shortly after he was indicted, and should have been tried for his having two wives: but he had so ordered the matter, by an admirable artifice (which I shall tell by and bye) that the two women could never be brought together at his trial, to own him for their husband.

By this means he was discharged of a crime, whereof I shall presently give manifest proofs, besides his own confession, under his own hand; which, I hope, the reader will not think he did counterfeit too.

But, still being in Cavan gaol for fees and debts contracted there, to free himself thence he made application to the duke of Ormond, at that time lord-lieutenant of that kingdom; pretending, that if he were once out of prison, and had leave to appear before his grace, he could make notable discoveries of dangerous plots against the government; in which some of the nobility, and several bishops, were concerned.

Whereupon, the popish plot having been just before in full vogue there, as well as here, the duke thought it expedient to grant him his liberty, in order to his coming up to Dublin, to make good what he had so confidently promised.

But the knave had his end, and having got out of gaol, by a pretence so plausible, he never thought of calling at Dublin, but retired secretly to Iniskillin, and let the discovery of that plot shift for itself: which, they that knew him best may think, was the honestest action of his life; to break only a promise, that he might avoid being an Irish evidence: and perhaps some of my friends may be apt to say, *Si sic omnia*.

Whilst he was lurking at Iniskillin, he inticed thither his second wife Mary Hutt, who has ever since run the same fortune with him, and been the inseparable companion of all his frauds, and was the very woman that appeared against me before the lords, to justify the association. So that from that time we hear nothing more of his true wife, Anne Yeably. It seems he then intirely cast her off, after he had allured her by the most solemn vows of living with her alone, and for ever renouncing the other, to be the chief instrument of his not being convicted at Cavan; and that by no less than a downright perjuring herself for his sake.

But, whatever became of her, it is certain, that it was with Mary Hutt he fled into England, in or about the year 1683. And, from that time to this, they have run a constant uninterrupted race of all kinds of wickedness in this kingdom, scarce ever passing a month, or a week, of these eleven years, without either being actually in some prison, or committing such crimes as deserved the deepest dungeons.

The first news I hear of him, after his arrival in England, was upon his making application to the venerable Archbishop Sancroft, for some employment in our church. This he did in the garb, and under the character of a distressed Irish clergyman; and, to prove himself such, he exhibited his counterfeit orders from the bishop of Clogher. And I must not omit, that, as

a testimony of his modesty, this his first visit at Lambeth, and the producing his orders there, was within a month after he had been degraded in Ireland.

But the wise and wary archbishop immediately suspected him and his letters of orders, they being not in form, or the usual stile, nor the seal fixed in its due place. Against all which exceptions the falsary fenced as well as he could with a shameless lye. Yet he received no other answer, but that his grace had no cure void in his gift.

But Young would not be put off so; shortly after he came again, desiring and pressing the archbishop to recommend him to be a chaplain to some ship, or to some cure in one of our western plantations. Which his grace again refused, and upon surer grounds than before: for, in the mean time, he had sent to Dr. Foley, chaplain to the archbishop of Dublin, then in England, for a better information concerning this bold and importunate man, which produced the letters hereafter set down from the lord archbishop of Dublin, and the lord bishop of Ferns and Leighlin, touching his forging of orders, his degradation, his double marriage, and other his good qualities.

Thus failing at the archbishop's, he forthwith sent his woman to Windsor, where the court then resided, with a petition to the king; therein she sets forth, that her name was Mary Green, the wife of one Robert Green, an Irish minister; who, going into the West-Indies, upon urgent affairs, was taken captive by the pirates of Sallee. Therefore she prays that the king would be graciously pleased to recommend her sad condition to the clergy of England; and that his majesty would request them (so her secretary words it) to contribute their charity toward her husband's ransom.

This petition was read in council, June 18, 1684, and referred to the lord archbishop of Canterbury, and the lord bishop of London. But we may be sure the petitioner, or her husband, came no more to Lambeth for an answer to the reference. They took a shorter way, and much easier to themselves; they forged a favourable report upon the petition, under the archbishop and bishop of London's hands and seals; by virtue of which (together with the archbishop's true hand and seal, which they had gotten by chance, and affixed a false recommendation to it) they wandered a long time over England, sometimes together, sometimes asunder, he passing for her brother, sometimes under the name of Robert Hutt, sometimes of Robert Green; and so cheated the king's subjects of very considerable sums.

But at length this plot was unluckily spoiled by their coming in their progress to play their pranks in Suffolk, the archbishop's native country, especially in Bury; where exhibiting their false recommendations to Mr. Cleggat, the minister of that town, the vagabond and his quean were seized upon suspicion; and, being severally examined, they themselves confessed before divers justices of the peace the whole train of their forgeries in this particular. Whereupon they

were tried, and found guilty, and sentenced to stand in the pillory in the market of Bury, October 6, 1684; he going under the name of Robert Young, alias Hutt; she of Mary Green, alias Hutt, alias Peirson, alias Young.

Some time after this, having made a property of the name of Green, and of the captive Irish minister long enough, and squeezed out of it as much money as it would afford; and not being to be terrified from so gainful a traffick by one pillorying at Bury, they still carried it on, only changing the scene, and altering their stile: she, that before was Mary Green, is again sent out, and furnished by her friend, with a new set of forged instruments and names.

In some of her false recommendatory papers, she passed for Mrs. Mary Jones, wife of Mr. Robert Jones, rector of Ashford: in others, for Mrs. Mary Smith, wife of Mr. John Smith, supposed rector too, at the same time, of the same Ashford, in the diocese of Canterbury; whereas neither Jones, nor Smith, was ever rector there, no more than Doctor Hookes is rector of Wingrave in Buckinghamshire.

However, each of these her new husbands was pretended to be a prisoner for a vast debt, upon the account of suretiship: and she carried about with her divers counterfeit letters of the hand still of Archbishop Sancroft, desiring (and in one of her papers making his grace humbly to beseech) the contributions of the bishops and clergy for the poor man's enlargement.

This cheat was indeed more gainful to them than the former. The archbishop's hand was so admirably well imitated, especially in the subscriptions of his name, that she generally met with a very kind reception; and particularly applying herself to three bishops, who, of all the bench, were the archbishop's most intimate friends, even they were deceived by a legerdemain so well devised, and nothing doubting, but it was his grace's true hand (though they knew it almost as well as their own) they and their clergy were very bountiful to her.

Nor was Robert Young himself all this while idle, but sometimes he accompanied this Mrs. Jones and Mrs. Smith, as her brother; sometimes he came after her as her receiver; sometimes he went a different road from her, as her agent deputed to solicit good people's charity to so pious a work: shewing another false letter under the hand of Dr. Faulconberge, secretary to the archbishop; wherein were set down divers sums, as given by several of the clergy, to draw in others; and, among the rest, I thank her, she owns the receipt of 4*l.* from the bishop of Rochester.

I admire how it was possible this their wicked trade was not sooner discovered; which it had been in a nation less charitable than ours. But here they successfully drove it on the better part of the year 1687, till at length the archbishop was alarmed from divers quarters, by notice that his hand and seal went a begging about the kingdom; which occasioned the advertisements, that were given to the whole nation, in the Gazettes of September and October, 1687, to beware of

of Mrs. Jones and Robert Smith; and to apprehend them, that they might be dealt with according to law: whereupon Mrs. Jones was very closely traced to Chester, and searched for there by the lord bishop of St. Asaph's order. But she prevented the diligence of his messenger, and escaped to London.

Not long after this, they both came to Bromley. The occasion of it was (as I have understood since) that Mr. Goodwyn, who officiated sometime for Mr. Dobson, falling suddenly ill, and going to London for cure; and being at a loss for the supply of a chaplain at the college of widows, had by chance this Young offered to him, as a grave Irish clergyman, of good preferment in that church, but at present out of business, having fled that kingdom with his family, upon the beginning of the duke of Tyrconnel's rage against the Protestants.

By help of this imposture he and his wife were entertained at Bromley, though, by good hap, they made a very little stay here. Yet, as short as it was, he has left signal marks behind him of his wickedness, and particularly of his owning that he had the knack to counterfeit any man's hand in England.

However, during his small time in the college, the good widows had respected him, and his fellow traveller so kindly, that he remembered it two or three years after, when he was in Newgate. I will presently produce the very letter written thence, in which he is not ashamed to beg of an hospital, and in a canting strain, to intreat they would make a collection among them, towards his being removed to the King's bench.

The whole letter is full of prevarications: but there is one I cannot forbear mentioning now. For though the true cause of his and his reputed wife's being clapped up in Newgate, was their forging several bills of exchange, and receiving the money upon them, for which they both then stood convicted, and had been pilloried; yet he solemnly protests, and thanks God, that he was not a prisoner for any ill thing, but only because an Irishman (whom I pray God forgive, these are his very words) swore against me, that, by virtue of bills, I raised money for the use of King James: whereas (says he) you all remember I stood up for the church of England, and stood in the gap against the Roman Catholics in the worst of times.

But after a short time of sojourning here, of about six weeks, or two months, in the year 1687, Robert Young soon perceived, that the poor town of Bromley was not a proper seat for him to set up his rest in; where he could only expect a bare subsistence by reading prayers, as a substitute to one who was himself a substitute to the chaplain of the college: whereas he knew, and had practised, a far more ready way of getting a plentiful livelihood; whether honest or dishonest he mattered not.

Wherefore, removing hence to Wapping, and thence to Whitechapel, he began to look out for some fitter place for a new scene of action; where he might more

profitably exercise his best-beloved faculty of counterfeiting hands and seals.

At length he cast his eye on St. Alban's, a town, which, by reason of its great trade, and convenient distance from London, and, being so great a thoroughfare, he pitched on to practise in it some of the cleanliest feats, I must say, of his knavish dexterity in that kind.

Between St. Alban's and London, he began to ply in the beginning of the year 1688, and it was not long before he crept into a great familiarity in the post-house there. By what arts of courtship he became so intimate on a sudden in the family, I leave it to the ensuing papers to inform my reader.

However, by this means, he procured the absolute command of all the mails of that road; and so had the opportunity of opening and perusing, and taking out, and putting in, what letters he pleased, between the chief traders of those parts, and their correspondents in London.

Having thus furnished himself with proper tools, and chosen as fit a shop to work in, as any in England, he presently fell to his usual way of commerce; whereof I shall only mention three or four instances; they being the very same for which he and his supposed wife were afterwards condemned of forgery at the Old Bailey.

His first cheat was thus: in July 1688, he went to Northampton, and, under the name of Robert Smith, paid to Mr. John Clarke, an inhabitant there, the sum of twenty pounds, and took his bill of exchange for it, to one Mr. Jonathan Kendall of London: Mr. Clarke also sending a letter of advice, that he had drawn such a bill upon him for the use of Mr. Robert Smith.

Robert Young, whom we must now call Robert Smith, forged another bill *verbatim* by the true one, for the same sum of twenty pounds, payable to himself under the same false name; and, straight coming up to London, delivered the forged bill to Mr. Kendall; which being so very exactly done, Mr. Kendall made no delay of paying it, and had Robert Smith's receipt, dated July 16.

As soon as this was over, honest Robert immediately took horse, and hasted down to Northampton; where, arriving on July 17, he forthwith went to Mr. Clarke, and told him, that he had offered his bill at London, but Mr. Kendall refused to pay it, and therefore desired his money again, producing the true bill; which Mr. Clarke receiving, and seeing no imaginable cause of distrust, paid the twenty pounds without demur.

Thus far Mr. Clarke and Mr. Kendall only sustained the loss of twenty pounds, and, perhaps, somewhat smiled at the clever contrivance. But that which next follows, was more extraordinary, and struck deeper into their purses.

And how can my reader now think it probable, that both Mr. Clarke and Kendall should be again cheated by the same hand, of a much greater sum, within less

than three months after? Yet so it really happened; and, in such a manner, that it was almost impossible for the wit of man to prevent it.

His second St. Alban's cheat, therefore, was this: being now become perfect in the exact character of Mr. Clarke's writing, he forged a bill, dated Oct. 5, 1688, as drawn by Mr. Clarke on Mr. Kendall, for one hundred and fifty pounds, payable at sight to his own Mary Young, under the name of Mrs. Mary Clarke.

And, because there was a necessity that a letter of advice should go before the bill, he counterfeited one also in this manner: In the Northampton bag, which he opened at St. Alban's, he found a long letter written to Mr. Kendall by Mr. Clarke, touching divers particular affairs then transacting between them. This letter he intercepted, transcribed it throughout, and, about the middle of his false copy, inserted these words, That he had drawn on Mr. Kendall a bill of one hundred and fifty pounds, to be paid upon sight to Mrs. Mary Clarke; and so went on with the other business, as in the true letter. This forged letter he put into the Northampton mail; so it went safe to Mr. Kendall at London.

The next morning after, Mrs. Mary Clarke came to him with her bill. Whereupon Mr. Kendall, not in the least suspecting that the bill or letter of advice were forged, because he was confident, they were both of Mr. Clarke's own hand-writing, and the letter giving him an account of several other businesses, which he thought could not possibly be known to any, but to Mr. Clarke, and himself, he presently paid to Mary Clarke the one hundred and fifty pounds, and so lost the whole sum beyond recovery.

His third cheat on the same road was in this manner: About the latter end of February, in the same year, 1688, he sent his second false self now again under the name of Mary Young, to Mr. Jonathan Mathew of Daventry in Northamptonshire. She paid him nine pounds; for which he gave her a bill of exchange upon Mr. Richard Shipton of London, payable to the said Mary Young, which she received March the 14th.

By this true original of Mr. Mathew's own hand, on the 18th of March following, he forged another bill in the name of the said Mr. Mathew, for two hundred pounds, charged also on the said Mr. Shipton. And, having still the liberty to search the Daventry mail at St. Alban's, and finding there a letter from Mr. Mathew to Mr. Shipton, he made the same use of it as he had done that of Mr. Clarke's to Mr. Kendall; transcribed it intirely, and, in the same surreptitious manner as before, put in an advice of his having drawn a bill of two hundred pounds, and for whom. Which letter was immediately sent by the post to Mr. Shipton.

The false bill and letter of advice, I am assured, was so accurately counterfeited, that Mr. Mathew himself could not discover the difference, nor disown it upon view; but only in that he was certain he had never drawn any bill of that importance.

Mr. Shipton therefore was easily deceived by the

similitude of hands; and Robert Young having sent Mary to London, to receive the money, he paid it without the least scruple; since this letter of advice also mentioned other things which Mr. Shipton knew to be true.

Mr. Mathew, as soon as Mr. Shipton sent him word, that he had paid in his name a sum so considerable, dispatched immediately a servant up to London, to let him know, he had never drawn any such bill upon him, and had given him this timely notice, that, if possible, he might retrieve the money.

Thenceforth, they both used all imaginable endeavours to discover the authors of the fraud. Which Mary Young perceiving, by their frequent letters to each other, Robert having still the advantage of opening at St. Alban's; she wrote Mr. Mathew a most insulting letter; telling him, that she had made bold to borrow of Mr. Shipton two hundred pounds upon his credit, but would repay it, when she was able. And, to amuse him the more in his search, she addeth a flam story, that she had got his hand by corrupting one of the letter-carriers in London; and that, therefore, he need not trouble himself to enquire any farther about the matter: subscribing herself, Mary Young, alias Brown, alias Stewart, alias Forbus, alias Boner, &c. of which pretty piece of impudent raillery, my reader shall have the true copy, when it comes in its course.

His last forgeries practised at St. Alban's, that have come within my observation, were upon Mr. Olds of Coventry, and Mr. Billers of London.

But, before I proceed to these, I must acquaint my reader, that Robert Young had owed Mr. Olds and Mr. Billers an ancient grudge, of as long standing as the year 1683; because then he could only defraud them of ten pounds, and a ring, and not of one hundred pounds, as he designed. The case was thus:

Robert Young, in June 1683, forged a bill in the name of Mr. Joseph Olds of Coventry, for one hundred pounds, upon Mr. John Billers of London, payable at sight.

He likewise forged a letter of advice of the said bill, which he procured to be put into some post upon the road. And accordingly it was delivered in London to Mr. Billers on June the 12th.

The next day, being June the 13th, Robert Young, in a canonical habit with a scarf on, presented to Mr. Billers the forged bill for one hundred pounds; the counterfeit was exact, and Mr. Billers had received a letter of advice before; whereupon he straight ordered his cash-keeper to pay the reverend Mr. Young his bill.

Robert, seeing the money come so freely, would have taken it upon content; the servant would not pay it, except he would tell it over; which at length he did.

But, before he could carry it away, the servant whispering this to his master, and Mr. Billers himself observing something in the bill, that gave him reason to suspect it, came to them, and said to Robert, that he desired to be better satisfied in the said bill, and that he was the person, whose right it was to receive it, since he knew him not.

Robert

Robert replied, He was a country minister, altogether a stranger in town, and known to none but the archbishop of Canterbury. 'Well, said Mr. Billers, when you bring me any of the archbishop's gentlemen to give me an account of his grace's knowledge of you, you shall presently have the money.'

But Robert pretended very urgent occasions for it, and that he was to pay away some of it that night; and therefore earnestly intreated he might have the whole, or at least ten pounds of it for the present. Mr. Billers consented to this last request; Mr. Young gave a receipt for the ten pounds; and, to prevent a farther trouble of telling the money again, Mr. Billers desired him to seal the rest up in the bag where it was put. Mr. Young had no seal. Mr. Billers pulled off his finger a gold ring set with a cornelian stone; bid Mr. Young seal the bag with it; gave the ring into his keeping, and appointed him to bring it again the next day, when he came for the residue of the money. Mr. Young very fairly went away with the ten pounds and the ring, but never came again for the remainder of his bill, or to bring witness, that he was acquainted with the archbishop.

Having now set forth this matter of fact of Mr. Billers' keeping back ninety pounds from Mr. Robert Young, even just when he was in the very act of receiving it, I leave it to my reader to judge, whether Robert did not owe him a good turn. My next business is to shew how he paid it him: some years, indeed, had passed, before he took his revenge; which I somewhat wonder at; but he took it at last to some purpose.

The manner how it was done I shall express as briefly as I can, because the circumstances of this were very near the same with his other aforementioned St. Alban's forgeries.

About the middle of February, 1688, he sent his faithful instrument Mary, under the name now of Mrs. Sarah Harris, to pay the same Mr. Olds ten pounds at Coventry, for which he gave her a bill of exchange upon the same Mr. Billers, payable at sight: so, for very good cause, Robert took care all, or most of his bills should be worded.

By this means Robert renewed his acquaintance with Mr. Olds's hand, and soon perfected himself in it, by watching over all his letters of correspondence with Mr. Billers, which must come from Coventry through St. Alban's, where he governed those that governed the post-house.

Being thus prepared, he began at first to play at small game, that he might keep his hand in use; for, finding in one of Mr. Olds's letters two bills, the one of fourteen pounds ten shillings, the other of twenty pounds, both payable to Mr. Billers, he took possession of the letter, forged indorsements on the bills, in the name of Mr. Billers, that they should be paid to his servant, James Moreton (whose true name was James Young, and he was really Robert's servant) and accordingly both these bills were paid, Aug. 5, 1689, to James Moreton, alias Young; as, it seems, nothing can be long to Robert Young, without being intitled to an *alias*.

This James Moreton, alias Young, I say, did actually receive both the bills; and, thinking it was but reasonable he should have a share in the profit, as he had in the knavery, paid the sum of the one bill to his master, and kept the other to himself: the first cheat (and the last, I believe) that was ever put upon Mr. Robert Young.

But, after these less gainful experiments, it seems, Robert Young thought it now a fit season, that his main plot upon Mr. Olds and Mr. Biller should begin to work; for, by his long familiarity with the northern mails, he had learned, that, at this time, there was a considerable cash of Mr. Olds's remaining in the hands of Mr. Billers.

Wherefore, by the same method which he had used in his other cheats of this kind, he forged a bill of two hundred pounds to be paid at sight to the same Mrs. Sarah Harris, proceeding in the same steps as before; that is, he intercepted one of Mr. Olds's letters, transcribed it, adding an advice of having drawn the said bill of two hundred pounds for Mrs. Sarah Harris; then suppressed the true letter, and put the false one into the post; which was delivered to Mr. Billers, at London, upon August the 11th, 1689.

The next morning came Mrs. Sarah Harris to Mr. Billers, and produced her forged bill: he could discover no deceit in the hand, owned he had received the letter of advice, and was just giving order for the payment; when, by good fortune, he recollected, that he had heard Mr. Shipton of Friday-street had, not long before, been defrauded after the same manner, by a woman coming, as this did, in the morning, and of the same sum of two hundred pounds.

The fresh remembrance of this gave him just grounds of being jealous of the like trick; so that, while the money was telling out, he thought it would not be amiss to send and desire Mr. Shipton to come and take a view of this Mrs. Harris, intimating the reason why he sent for him.

Mr. Shipton came accordingly, and, upon the first sight, declared her to be the same Mary Young, that had lately cheated him of his two hundred pounds.

She, being thus unexpectedly charged with this crime, confessed it upon the place; whereupon she was apprehended, and committed to the King's-bench, after she had received above five hundred pounds, in a short space, by the like ways, whilst she was such a kind of agent at London for Robert Young, as my reader will find she owned upon oath afterwards at Litchfield.

But in the King's-bench I must leave her for a short time, that I may look out after her dear friend, and inquire how he behaved himself, in this sad catastrophe of their affairs, after they had so long proceeded smoothly and prosperously.

It was high time for him now to intermit his correspondencies at St. Alban's, and to remove to a greater distance from London; so that the next footsteps, I have traced of his rogueries, were at Litchfield whither, I find also, he had made some excursions in the year 1688: but now, in the year 1689, it seems, he

he went thither, resolving to settle there for some time.

There he appeared in a genteel habit, with his man, James Young, alias Moreton, to wait upon him: there he personated again an Irish clergyman, of considerable preferments in that church, and a plentiful temporal estate. He kept two horses, rode often abroad in an equipage, rather fitting a highwayman, than a divine. He had plenty of gold and silver, and some plate; the product, no doubt, of his late cheats upon Mr. Clarke, Mr. Mathew, and Mr. Olds, besides some remains, probably, of what was collected for Mr. Green, Mr. Jones, and Mr. Smith, whilst they, good men, perhaps, lay in prison for it, all the while.

During his abode at Litchfield, he professed himself to be a single man, and, upon that pretence, made love to divers women, in the way of marriage; believing, that his former Mary was lodged so safely in the King's-bench, that she could never get out to disturb his designs.

But there he was deceived: for, when the fire broke out in Southwark, she made her escape, and so had leisure to look out after him, and came time enough to prevent his intended marriage.

For just then he was in close pursuit of a young woman at Tamworth, who had at least one thousand pounds to her portion, and he was in a great probability of obtaining her. But Mary, having got loose by the above-mentioned accident, wrote him divers letters, that all her money was spent; and that she would be with him shortly, though she begged by the way. Which, at last, she made good, and arrived there, some few days before his new-designed wedding, and challenged him for her husband. Or else, undoubtedly, he had served Mary Hutt the same trick, for the sake of a thousand pounds, as my reader will find he really served Anne Yeabbsly, for one hundred and fifty pounds.

But this had like to have cost Mary her life: for Robert, being enraged at the disappointment, practised with his man, to meet her in her coming down; and either to cut her throat, or drown her. And, when he refused (which was a wonderful honesty in any one, that could submit to be his man) Robert's next attempt was to dispatch and kill his man, as he went abroad, one day, with him a shooting.

My reader, no doubt, will be amazed at this horrible story; yet I say no more than what his man himself declared upon oath, at Litchfield, and what all the country thereabout believes to be true.

But, the gun not going off, his man fled from him, first to Litchfield, and thence to Coventry; where, he acquainted Mr. Olds, a mercer there, whom I have already so often mentioned, with the several cheats, that his master Robert Young had formerly acted upon him, by forging bills of exchange.

Mr. Olds, having never before, by all his search, been able to discover the contrivers of those forgeries, without delay, repaired to Litchfield, and lighted upon Robert Young, whilst he was yet flush of money and

plate; which he pretended to have brought out of Ireland, where he affirmed he was a dean.

Mr. Robert, being thus unawares charged with all these cheats, freely confessed them all to Mr. Olds; and, that he might not lose his new-gotten reputation in the church there, and all his hopes at once, privately made up the business, and repaid to Mr. Olds all he could demand: that is to say, the fourteen pounds, ten shillings; the twenty pounds; and the ten pounds; and the value of the gold ring: which unlucky blow to his fortune made him, for the future, be content to be served without plate.

But this was also the occasion of a worse mischief, that shortly after befel Robert Young and Mary; I say Mary also. For, before this, she arrived safe at Litchfield; and though, at first, he positively denied her to be his wife, and forswore her too, according to his custom; yet, in a short time, I know not how, they were pieced together again, as seeming indeed to be born for one another's society.

I have already told my reader, that Mr. Mathew of Daventry had used all possible industry, and written a vast number of letters, and made many fruitless journeys, in quest of the author of his two hundred pound forgery. But all in vain, till now the noise of it, spreading all over the country, came, at length, to Mr. Olds at Coventry. He presently gave intimation by letter to Mr. Mathew, how he himself had likewise been cheated of divers less sums, and recovered them again, by composition: and that his knave was still in a flourishing condition at Litchfield; and he might probably be the same man.

Mr. Mathew, upon this intelligence, quickly posted down to Litchfield: beset the house, over night, where Robert and Mary lodged: the next morning Mary was soon taken, and Robert also, after above an hour's search, was pulled out from under a heap of furze, in a corner of the cellar.

They both immediately confessed the fact; and Robert would fain have stopped Mr. Mathew's mouth, as he had done Mr. Olds's, with the small reliicks of his ill-gotten wealth.

But, that not sufficing for a sum so considerable, Robert stoutly denied all again, and defied him to do his worst: whereupon they were both clapped up in Litchfield gaol.

During this time, news was come to the secretaries office at Whitehall, of the aforefaid violations on the post-office, at St. Alban's; and that the persons offending were in custody at Litchfield. Whereupon, the right honourable the earl of Shrewsbury, then principal secretary of state, granted a warrant to Mr. Legatt, the king's messenger, to bring them up to town, as being accused for dangerous practices against the government: the persons, abused by the former forgeries, giving their consent, that they should be so removed.

Mr. Legatt brought them up, and laid them first in the Gate-house in Westminster; whence, by a warrant of the lord chief justice, they were removed into

Lor-

London, and lodged safely (one would have thought) in Newgate.

To Newgate they had directly steered their courses the greatest part of their lives; and thus, at last, wrought their way thither, *per varios casus, per tot discrimina*. There they were tried and condemned for these forgeries, and underwent again the punishment of the pillory; he being fined, for one fault, a hundred marks; for the other, a hundred marks; and she twenty marks.

If my reader shall ask, Why Robert was found guilty of no more than two of these cheats? It was, because there was no other proof against him for the rest, but the confession of Mary, who plainly confessed him to be the author of all. But that, it seems, in law, is not evidence sufficient, because they supposed her to be his wife; it was a pity the judges and jury had not known how little she was his lawful wife.

However, in Newgate they continued above two years, for want of payment of these fines, till the twenty-fifth of May last, when his fines were paid: I suppose his wife's fine was discharged too. For they both came forth in triumph, and new cloaths on, that day, with the association in their hands; after they had prevailed with Blackhead to steal it in, and steal it out of my chimney.

Thus, according to the fashion, I have given a true pourtrait of these precious evidences of a new plot. My next business will be to exemplify all this more largely, by authentick proofs: which, if I mistake not, I shall do so unquestionably, that none shall be able to disbelieve what I say against Young, but such as can believe what Young has said against me.

But first I will dispatch Blackhead: touching whom, I will only give a copy of the record of the sessions at the Old Bailey, where he was condemned for forgery.

London ff. Deliberat' gaol' dominor' regis & regin' de Newgate tent' pro civitat' London, apud Justice-Hall in le Old Bayly London, die Jovis (scil.) 15^o die Januarii, anno regni Will' & Mar' nunc regis & regin' angl' prim' &c.

Felix Don Lewis, Thomas Patrick, Steph. Blackhead, convicti pro fabricand' & publicand' falsum script' obligator' in nomine cujusd' Thom' Faulkener pro summ' 60l. ponantur & quilibet eor' ponatur supra pillor' uno die in Cornhil prope Excamb' London ab hora undecima ante merid' usq; ad hor' prim' post merid' ejus diei; et quilibet eor' habeant un' aur' ibid' absciss' & quod quilibet eor' habeat & sustineat imprisonment' in gaol' de Newgate per spatium unius anni integri sine bal' vel manucaptur' juxta form' statut' ejusd'.

By this it appears, Blackhead and his two companions were convicted of cheating one Mr. Faulkener of sixty pounds, by a false bill or bond; and were condemned to stand in the pillory in Cornhill near the Exchange, for two hours; to lose each of them an ear;

and to continue prisoners, for twelve months, without bail or mainprize in Newgate: where, no doubt, that intimacy between Blackhead and Young was contracted, which had been so fatal to me, had not God marvellously defeated their conspiracy against me.

Having thus, for the present, rid my hands of Blackhead, I proceed next to Young. And, the first scene of his villainies, that have come to my knowledge, having been in Ireland, I will now give certain demonstration of the particulars, out of the original papers themselves: which seem to me to describe the caittiff so plainly, that I need only set them down in their order, without any comment of mine upon them.

The principal crimes, I have already objected against him in Ireland, were his marrying a second wife, whilst his first was alive: his counterfeiting certificates for deacons orders: his intirely forging of his priests orders; and his feigning the knowledge of a dangerous plot, in that kingdom; wherein he would make out, that divers great persons were engaged.

There are, also, several others of his rogueries, such as his having a bastard by a kitchen wench, at Castle-Reah, whilst he was, a short time, curate there: his lewd life, and cheating divers people of money by counterfeit bills, at Tallogh, where he was also sometimes curate: his running away with another man's horse, when he was forced to flee thence, for his other pranks, and the like. All these, and more such, will come in, as by the bye; and it will be enough for me only to give my reader this notice, to mark them in the papers I am going to produce: the method of which shall be this:

First, He shall have Robert Young's general character, in a letter from the present lord archbishop of Dublin; and another from the lord bishop of Ferns and Leighlin; both written so long ago as the year 1683: whilst he was only under suspicion at Lambeth; and before he had entered upon so many vile practices in England.

In these letters, he is, even then, described to be as wicked a liar, as the little carmelite friar Moor, and to be as very a rogue as the Spanish wits have fancied their Gusman. Who the carmelite friar was, I know not; Gusman is sufficiently known. But, in the sequel, it will appear, that our rogue has far outdone the very Spanish romance of theirs.

Secondly, He shall have the lord bishop of Raphoe Hopkins's letter to the lord bishop of Kilmore, when R. Young was apprehended in that diocese under the name of Robert Hopkins; for which name also he showed his forged letters of priests orders, upon his examination by the said bishop, which shall also follow.

Thirdly, Here are the copies of the original certificates confirming the truth of both his marriages.

Fourthly, Here are divers letters of Robert Young's own hand, when he was imprisoned at Cavan, and in danger of his life for having two wives.

1. A Letter to one Justice Waldrum, to offer him a bribe, if he would take bail for him.

2. An-

2. Another letter to the lord bishop of Kilmore, confessing some of his knaveries, but solemnly denying his having married two wives.

Next, here is a letter to Roger Yeabsey, brother to his first wife Ann Yeabsey, alias Apsey.

Then another to George Yeabsey, her father; then two letters to herself.

In all these he confesses his two marriages: however, proposes, to her and her brother, a way to save his life by forswearing themselves: that they should get a certificate at Cork, signed by a publick notary, that Ann Yeabsey was really married to one Robert Young, and that Roger her brother was present at the marriage, and that then they should both come to Cavan, and, upon his trial, deny that he was the man; and, if they did him this service, he promised, with horrible imprecations upon himself, that he would only stay to receive Mary Hutt his second wife's portion, and then run away with Ann Yeabsey, his first wife, into England.

Lastly, To complete all, I will produce two of his letters to his second wife Mary Hutt; the one after he had fled out of the diocese of Kilmore; the other after he had got to Iniskillin out of Cavan gaol.

The first is full of the like blasphemous curses and execrations upon himself, if ever he was married to any other woman but her; therefore inviting her to come and relieve him, with dreadful promises and vows of never forsaking her.

In the second, to say nothing of his impudent reviling of the lord bishop of Kilmore, he desires her to steal away from her friends to him, and to bring the bond with her (a true one, without doubt) to bring also all the money she could get, and to be sure to pay no body: which was accordingly done, and so with her he fled, and took sanctuary in England.

A letter from Dr. Foley, containing part of a letter from the present lord archbishop of Dublin, concerning Robert Young; written in the year 1683, to the lord archbishop of Canterbury.

Tunbridge, June 27, 1683.

May it please your grace,

LAST night I received a letter from my lord archbishop of Dublin, concerning Mr. Young; part of it runs thus:

'If he be Robert Young whom I degraded, he is the veriest villain alive: he has now, or had when I knew him, several wives living. A notorious cheat, has counterfeited several hands and seals. by which he has deceived men of money, and stolen into credit and holy orders. He has been in several gaols, as namely Lifford, where he was laid up by the bishop of Raphoe, now Derry, who is going now for London; and if you can procure him to see him, I am confident he remembers him well enough. He was long in Cavan gaol, and to be tried for his life;

where I got, and have by me, very many of his papers, which would enable any man to write the Scotchman's life, which I think would transcend the Spanish rogue. For fear he should hang in his gown, by the advice of the lord primate, I degraded him for the least of his villainies; because the canon was express, and he guilty, as was proved, of marrying without license. In brief, he is a notorious wicked man, and so well furnished with the necessary instruments of it, that I think friar Moor, the late convert, cannot exceed him in lying. He is a black swarthy man, of a suspicious countenance. He has several names. He assumed mine at some places; Hopkins's at Raphoe; and was here lately by the name of Brown; but, hearing that I was here, I suppose, made off again. The last wife he married was one Simon Hutt's daughter of Cavan. I send you the inclosed, which I pray reserve for me. It is a letter he wrote to his second wife, after he fled from me. Keep the letter for me; I send it, because I am mightily of opinion he is the man. Here is another letter to his former wife, Ann Yeabsey, at the same time; by which you will be satisfied that Robert Young is a very ingenious person, and a man of deep contrivance. Had he been in time and place, he would have made an excellent evidence; and, had that trade gone on, I had doubtless been in a plot; for he declared he had a plot to discover, in which some noblemen and several bishops were concerned. I am confident I had been one; and the bishop of Waterford (whose hand and seal he counterfeited to me, and the bishop of Elphin) another; from whom he pretended orders, and the bishop disowned upon my letter to him.'

Dublin.

June 2, 1683.

Thus far the archbishop.

I send inclosed to your grace the two letters, which my lord sent me, and beg your grace will please to keep them by you, till I can wait on you for them; because he desires to have them again. I am bold to say, that your grace will hereafter be a little suspicious of clergymen who come out of Ireland, without better testimonials; and that it will be for the honour of our clergy and university, that wicked and ignorant men, who pretend to be of them, and are not, be animadverted on by your grace, with some severity. I beg your grace's blessing, and am

Your grace's, &c.

SAM. FOLEY.

A letter from the lord bishop of Ferns and Leighlin, now archbishop of Cashel, to Dr. Foley, concerning the same Robert Young; written in the year 1683.

S I R,

Dublin, June 2.

ACCORDING to your desire, I waited on my lord archbishop of Dublin, to inquire of his grace concerning one Young, whom he degraded for several noto-

notorious crimes; as having two wives, counterfeiting the archbishop of Cashel's hand to the bishop of Killaloo, for his being made deacon; which the bishop (not discovering the cheat) did; and then his counterfeiting the bishop of Clogher's hand for the order of priesthood, which he never had: he went likewise under several names, and was in several gaols, particularly in that at Cavan for a great while. The man, my lord, says, is about his grace's own stature, that is, somewhat tall; neither lean nor corpulent; of a pretty long, black, ill visage; his hair, if his own, is black, thin, pretty long, and hangs flag without any curls. He is a Scotchman, about twenty-seven or twenty-eight years of age; and will lie as fast as the little carmelite fryer Moor (to use his grace's own expression). And this is all I can say of him. I am

Yours, &c.

NARCISSUS FERNS and LEIGHLIN.

A letter to the lord bishop of Kilmore, from Bishop Hopkins, then lord bishop of Raphoe; written in the year 1680, concerning Robert Young's apprehension in his diocese, under the name of R. Hopkins.

My Lord,

Raphoe, Nov. 11, 80.

YOUR lordship's to me came very seasonably, that is, one day before Mr. Young: and he came very confidently, expecting much kindness for name's sake; for he thought it fit to assume mine; and, at his first accost, thrust into my hands letters dimissory, lewdly forged, as from the bishop of Killaloo; with the seal to them vilely cut, and the date of *æto die Octobris*. This alone would have given me suspicion of an imposture; but, being forewarned by your lordship, I was certain I had the man, though he lurked under another name. The contents of the letters were the amplest form of commendation, which I keep by me, but shall remit when your lordship requires it. I put many cross interrogatories to him, till, at last, one lie so contradicted another, that the man was perfectly confounded, and began to speak truth. There were two other justices then with me: we took his examination, a copy of which I have sent here inclosed. When I pressed him upon the point of polygamy, he utterly denied it, as indeed it concerned him; as also that he ever was at Londonderry, much more that ever he was school-master there; and this some who were present believed to be truth. Besides, some affirm, that to their knowledge, Sarah Mallon, who was afterwards married to one Young, was, upon his decease, married to one Mr. Laughtin, a minister in the diocese of Londonderry, with whom she now lives. I know not whether he can be so well vindicated from others, for your lordship speaks of two or three more. However, his misdemeanors and forgeries were so many, that we committed him to the county-gaol, where, I hope, he will not long continue. For, as at your lordship's desire I have secured him, so I must desire that

your lordship would speedily take order to have him sent where the fullest evidence may be given against him. I am

Your lordship's, &c.

EZECHIEL RAPHOE.

The examination and confession of R. Young, before the lord bishop of Raphoe, and others, in the year 1680.

County Donegal.

THE voluntary examination of R. Young, late of the parish of Kildallin, in the diocese of Kilmore, and county of Cavan, clerk, taken at Raphoe the tenth of November, 1680, before the right reverend father in God, Ezechiel lord bishop of Raphoe, Richard Inett, clerk, and Matthew Cocken, esq; justices of the peace of the said county of Donegal.

Who being voluntarily examined, upon suspicion of being guilty of several forgeries and misdemeanors, saith, that he was curate at the said parish of Kildallin for three quarters of a year; that he came thence in October last; that he had not any certificate or dismiss from the bishop of that diocese; that he confessed the counterfeiting of letters dimissory from the lord bishop of Killaloo, and the seal and subscription thereof are false; as also the name of R. Hopkins in those letters dimissory mentioned, he intended to have taken on him; but that his own name is Robert Young; that he was about three years since ordained deacon by the bishop of Killaloo. That he is a married man; and that his wife's name is Hutt, daughter to Simon Hutt, and is now with her father in the town of Cavan; that he was never married before: and saith, that he is not guilty of counterfeiting any letters of orders; but confessed, that he did counterfeit and forge a letter from one Dr. Smith of Limerick, to the bishop of Killaloo, upon which letter, he ordained the said examinee deacon, as aforesaid, and further saith not,

ROBERT YOUNG.

Capt. coram nobis
Ezechiel Ropotensi.
Rich. Inett.
Mat. Cocken.

Copies of the original certificates and papers, confirming the truth of both Robert Young's marriages, and both his wives being alive at the same time.

The certificate upon oath of George Yeably, or Apily, his first wife's father, concerning R. Young's first marriage, with three other certificates of his cheats.

Memorandum,

Jan. 17, 1680.

THE day and year above written, George Apily, of the Breedas, in the parish of Arda, in the county of Cork, yeoman, came before me, Richard Pine, one of his majesty's justices of the peace for the said county, and

and made oath, that on, or about the 18th of May last was five years past, he, this deponent, was present, and gave his daughter, Ann Apsly, in marriage with one Mr. Robert Young, clerk, at Ralph-cormack in the county aforesaid; and that he saw them lawfully joined in matrimony (Dr. Smith, minister) and lived together several years afterwards. He afterwards, that is to say, about two years last past, was curate under Mr. Francis Beecher, in the parish of Tallogh, in the county of Waterford; and that his daughter Ann had three children born and begot by him, and that she, his daughter, is now living.

GEORGE APSLY.

Jurat. coram me R. Pine.
17 Die Jan. Ann. Dom. 1680.

Thom. Neesham, *Notario publico, præsente.*

Jan. 17, 1680.

I Richard Burt of Tallogh, in the county of Waterford, esq; do certify, that (upon perusal of the within contents) the within named Robert Young was entertained and licensed as a curate in the parish aforesaid, and afterwards deposed for reasons unknown to me; but did soon after, viz. about Christmas 1679, feign and counterfeit my name and hand-writing to an acquaintance and kinsman of mine at Fealher; for seven pounds (Mr. Cook by name) and did, by vertue of his other counterfeit letter in my name, receive (as I am assuredly told) the sum of three pounds of one Henry Ruffel of Clonmell. The truth of all which I certify under my hand and seal, the day and year above written.

RICHARD BURT, *Vice Com.*

Jan. 17, 1680.

I Thomas Elms of Tallogh in the county of Waterford, feltmonger, do certify, that the aforesaid R. Young, on, or about the first of December, 1679, did hire an horse, with bridle and saddle, to ride to Cashel, of me, at the rate of twelve pence per day; all which he hath deceived me of to my great damage. And I certify under my hand the day and year aforesaid.

his
Thomas † Elms.
mark.

Being present,

Richard Burt, *Vice Com.*
Francis Foulke.

Garret Roche.
Roger Power.

Thom. Neesham, *Notarius Publicus.*

The counterfeit bill of Mr. Burt.

S I R,

Tallogh, 17 Dec. 1679.

THE bearer hereof, Mr. Robert Young, minister of our town, is bound for Cashel to the archbishop, to pay some money. Therefore I intreat you

to do me that great kindness, as to let him have three pounds, and I will pay you, when you call for it. If you do me this courtesy, I will requite you for it: so hoping you will not fail, I rest your loving friend,

RICHARD BURT.

To Mr. Henry Ruffel,
goldsmith, at Clonmell.

December 18, 79.

RECEIVED of Henry Ruffel the sum of three pound: I say, received by me,

R. YOUNG, Clerk.

The certificate of divers other persons, touching Robert Young's first marriage.

WE, whose names are subscribed, do hereby certify all whom it may concern, that R. Young, who lately supplied the cure at Tallogh, was, as we are credibly informed, married at Rath-cormack, by Dr. William Smith, to Ann, the daughter of George Yeablsy, about five years since; during which time, the said Robert Young and Ann did cohabit, or dwell together, as man and wife, at the house of the said George Yeablsy; where they had three children; which said George Yeablsy and Ann his daughter do now dwell at Monoth, within four miles of this town of Tallogh. All which we do certify this twenty-first day of January, 1680.

Thomas Beecher, *Prebend. de Clashmore.*

Richard Gift.

Richard Giles.

John Yeablsy.

George Oburn.

William Gift.

Robert Benger.

William Page.

Francis Cooper.

Thomas Clark.

Thomas Bateman.

Richard Burt. *Vice Com.*

The certificate of the dean of Kilmore, concerning Robert Young's second marriage with Mary Hutt.

I Edward Dixy, dean of Kilmore, do hereby own and acknowledge, that I married Robert Young, formerly clerk and curate of Kildallin, in the diocese of Kilmore, and Mary Hutt, daughter of Simeon Hutt, of the town of Cavan, vintner, on the first day of July last, in the presence of the under-named persons, and others, who, with myself, do hereby certify the same, and subscribe hereunto this 5th of March, Ann. Dom. 1680.

Edw. Dixy, *Decan. Kilmor.*

Hen. Gillorist, *Notar. Public.*

Simeon Hutt.

Lettis Hart, sen.

Lettis Hart, jun.

Ann Hollend.

Alexander Makeland.

Thomas Lavender.

AT the request of Mary Young, alias Hutt, we do hereby certify, that Robert Young, in the above-said certificate mentioned, lieth in the gaol of Cavan, and standeth charged with being the husband of two wives, viz. Mary Hutt, now resident in the corporation of Cavan, and one Ann Absly, in the county of Cork, unknown to us. And we do hereby desire some of his majesty's justices of the peace for the said county of Cork, that they will be pleased to bind over the said Ann Absly, her father, and some other persons, who were present at the inter-marriage of the said Ann to the said Robert Young; that they may appear the 30th instant, to give their evidence against the said Robert Young.

*Dated at Cavan, the
5th of March, 1680.*

Humphry Perriot, *Vice Com.*
Richard Lewis.
Samuel Townly.
John Maxwell.
Henry Waldram, *Sov. of*
Cavan.
Mer. Hart.

An order of the justices to summon George Yeabsly, his son Roger, and Ann Young his daughter, to appear at the assizes at Cavan, at the tryal of Robert Young.

By his majesty's lords justices of the assize for the province of Munster.

WHEREAS George Absly of Breedas, in the parish of Arda, in the county of Cork, yeoman; Roger Absly of the same, in the said county, yeoman, son to the said George Absly, and Ann Young, are material evidences in his majesty's behalf, against Robert Young, now prisoner in his majesty's goal of the county of Cavan, and charged with being married to two wives, both being alive: these are therefore, in his majesty's name, to will and require you, George Absly, Roger Absly, and Ann Young, to appear before his majesty's lords justices of assize for the north-west circuit of Ulster at Cavan, on the thirtieth day of this instant, then and there to give your evidence, in his majesty's behalf, against the said Robert Young. Whereof you may not fail, at your peril.

Dated at Cork, this seventeenth day of March, 1680.

HEN. HEN.

WILLIAM DAVIS.

Robert Young's letter to the lord bishop of Kilmore, confessing his guilt of some crimes, but denying his double marriage.

May it please your Lordship,

HAVING deliberately considered the evils I have really done, and the greater evils that have been misreported of me to your lordship, I cannot but acknowledge the justice of your lordship's displeasure; and I am now so far from making any defence for the disinge-

nuous shifts, my necessities and fears have put me upon, that I have already been my own accuser, and do as much condemn myself as the severest judge can do. And I hope no temptation of secular advantage shall ever hereafter make me so far swerve from the severe rules of virtue, becoming a Christian and a clergyman. But though I am willing, in all humility, to submit myself to your lordship's censure, for what I have done amiss: yet I hope your lordship's goodness will be my sanctuary, where I am manifestly wronged. There are so many persons of credit here, that knew the gentlewoman, that was affirmed, and, as I hear, sworn to be my wife in these parts; that I doubt not but it will be made clear to your lordship, that that report was the issue of ignorance and malice; and I hope a little time will acquit me of what other reports I suffer under in that matter. But, while I am here in confinement, I am in a manner debarred of all expedients to clear my innocence, at least to do it speedily. And, in the mean while, I suffer all the hardship of a goal amongst people, from whom I can expect no relief, and at so great a distance from such as might relieve me, that I can hope for little comfort from them. May it therefore please your lordship, so far to favour my innocence in this matter, as that I may be brought to hearing before your lordship; where, if it appear that I have any other wife but her, with whom I have lived in your lordship's diocese, I shall quietly submit myself to the severity of the laws; if not, I hope my penitence and reformation may in time mitigate your lordship's just displeasure for the confessed faults of

Lifford, Novem.
26, 1680.

Your lordship's

Most humble suppliant,

ROBERT YOUNG.

A letter from Robert Young to Justice Waldram, offering him a bribe to let him be bailed.

May it please your Worship,

MY mind I thought your worship understood, therefore if your worship does not understand what I mean (as I suppose you do) I will discover it to your worship. I have not any to make my complaint to, but to your worship. Therefore I most humbly beg your worship to take bayl, and I will give you forty shillings. Moreover, my brother will bring a letter from Captain Sanderson, that my brother is sufficient bayl, and that Captain Sanderson is satisfied to take him, provided I get any other: and I, not being acquainted with any, in these parts, fears I cannot procure another easily; but, if your worship will take any other bondsman with my brother, I will give you the aforesaid sum of money, before you take bayl: and I will take my oath to your worship, that I will not tell it to any body. Dear Mr. Waldram, do me that charity, for I ly in a sad condition; indeed, you will

will do me a singular kindness, and shew a great deal of charity, in so doing; for I know, if your worship please, it lyes in your hands. I desire your worship not to discover any thing, to the bearer, or any other. I intreat your worship, to write your worships mind to me by the bearer, that I may fend him for Captain Sanderson's letter to your worship. So I wrest

Your worships most humble suppliant to command,

ROBERT YOUNG.

A letter from Robert Young to Roger Yeabsey his brother-in-law, to come and save his life, by forswearing himself.

Dear Brother,

Cavan, Feb. 5, 1680.

COME along to me, with your sister, for I have fallen under a sad business, and I will lose my life, if you and your sister does not come to deny, that I am not the man. For Christ's sake, dear brother, come along with her, and I hope you shall not be the worse for it; for my life lyes in my wife's, and your hands: so that I am certain, you will do what lyes in you; if you do not come, I will be put to death; but, if you and my wife comes, you may have many a merry day with me hereafter. So I rest

Your loving brother,

ROBERT YOUNG.

A letter from Robert Young out of Cavan gaol, to his first wife, Ann Yeabsey, to the same purpose.

WHEN I left you last, I came to Belturbet in the county of Cavan, where I served as curate for the space of half a year, and had thirty-five pounds a year. Upon which, I spoke to my brother-in-law to bring you down to me, but he seemed unwilling to go so far. At which time, I used too oft, which is my sorrow this day, at one Simon Hutts in Cavan, cursed be the time, that ever I went there. Whereupon Simon Hutt proffered me a hundred and fifty pound with his daughter; and he getting me drunk one night, I was married to her, and was ready to cut my own throat, the next day; but I seeing what a priminary I had by my ludness brought myself in, I saw that it could not be avoided: whereupon I resolved only to stay till I had gott the money promised, and then to come to you, my dear honey, and so for you and I to go for England, where we should never be known. But my journey was stopt, for Simon Hutt heard something of my marriage to you, before the portion was paid, and so sent up to know, whether it was so, or no. And so the messenger brought word, that one Robert Young, a minister, was married to one Ann Yeabsey, daughter to George Yeabsey, near Tallogh: but, for all that the messenger brought, they knew not

whether I was the man or no. So that it may be denied with safety, to preserve my life. For they have clapt me in goale upon suspicion, where I lye in a deplorable condition, and nobody to help me. Therefore, dear honey, for Christ's sake come to me, and bring my brother Roger along with you; for the assizes is the sixth of March; where I will be tried for my life, and there is not any in the world can preserve it, only you, my dear honey, if you come and say, that I am not the man, you were married to, and bring my brother Roger along with you to justify the same; I will be set at liberty, and then I shal get what money is promised, and go over to England with you. And I wish, that I may never thrive in this world, if ever I leave you hereafter; for I care no more for this husy, than for the durt under my shoo. O curse of God light on me if ever I leave you hereafter, if you prove so real to me, as to come and deny that I am none of your husband! for there is no way to save my life but that. I wish that I may never see the kingdome of God, if I do not prove as real, constant, and loving husband to you, as ever man did to woman. Dear heart, I know that I have committed a grievous and abominable fault; but I may blam bad company, and my drink for it. Therefore, for Christs sake, dear honey, forgive me, and come along with the bearer, and clear me. And the curse of God light on me, if I prove false to you, after saving my life; for now my life lyes in your hands. I will earnestly repent for what I have done, and I hope God Almighty will forgive me. If I had a hundred wives, it is you alone that is my lawfull wife, and shal be to my dying day; for Christs sake, come and say, that I was not the man you were married to. I say, dear heart, come along with the bearer, and bring my brother Roger along with you. If you do not clear me, I will be put to death; and is it not better for you to come, and tell a ly to preserve your husbands life, and to enjoy him, as long as you live, and I lives: than for to have him put to death, and never to see him again? And this I will assure you, that there will be an order from my lord chief justice to bring you down against the assizes: so that I sent the messenger to prevent that, by giving you timely notice; for you may come and stay in my brother-in-laws house, until such time as we do get our business done. And I will go with you unknown to any body; so hoping you will come and save the life of your loving husband; I rest, dear heart,

Your loving husband, and till death,

Cavan, Feb. 5,
1680.

ROBERT YOUNG.

Here I have sent you the inclosed to my father, and my brother Roger.

Pray present my duty to my mother, and my love to my brother John, and William Haskins, and my sister Else; and my blessing to my poor child, if she be alive.

A letter

A letter to her father George Yeabsly from Robert Young, proposing the means how he might get off, by his son and daughter's perjuring themselves.

Dear Father,

Cavan, Feb. 5, 1680.

I HAVE declared the reasons and causes of my marriage in my wife's letter, which you may peruse; therefore, dear father and mother, forgive me, for it was a folly of youth-hood, and if you come to prosecute to put me to death, I cannot help it. But if you give your consent to my wife, to preserve my life, this shall be a warning to me so long as I live. O! dear father, you know that David, a man after God's own heart, was guilty of both murder and adultery. And therefore, dear father, preserve my life, if you please; and I protest to God Almighty, I will never forsake my poor wife, your daughter, so long as life continues; for it is she that is my lawful wife. And therefore, for Christ's sake, dear father, send my dear wife and my brother Roger, to clear me by the same means that I have prescribed in my wife's letter. If I were cleared, I could gett mony enough to do you and I good, as the bearer can tell you. After I am cleared, I will carry my wife and my brother Roger down to se my grany, whom I dare not as yet write to. If you have a mind to save my life, do not come yourself; but send my wife and my brother Roger down to me: and go to Tallow, and gett a certificate drawn, and have it signed by Mr. Burt, and Mr. Neesham, that Ann Yeabsly is your daughter, and that she was married to one Robert Young, that they may believe she is the same woman; and that Roger Yeabsly is your son, and that he was standing by when Robert Young was married to your daughter; and if you have a mind to save my life, they must deny that I am the man: for there is no way to preserve my life but that. Write also to Simon Hutt, in Cavan, that you would a comt to se if it were the same person, to prosecute him, but only you fell sick; and therefore you sent your son and daughter to prosecute, if it be the same man. So having no more at present to write, I rest

Your loving son,

ROBERT YOUNG.

My duty to my mother, and love to my brother John, and sister Elfe, and my brother Haskins, and all the rest of our friends in general.

A letter to his second wife, Mary Hutt, denying his first marriage, with terrible curses.

O, my dear Heart,

YOU know it was for love of you that I brought this misery upon myself, God Almighty help me; I was fully resolved to tell you the contents of all my letters, whenever I could have the opportunity of

speaking to you: for my landlady can tell you, that I was fully resolved to shew you the letters, but could not, by reason I could not gett speaking to you. O, my dear, have I thrown myself, for the love of you, into a'l this misery, and you to serve me thus: surely, if you have the heart of a stone, you will not do it. O, if I had but only you here, I would a reckoned all this nothing; but if I be requited thus I cannot help it. O, I wish to Christ I were ten foot under ground, and then you would have your hearts desire as I perceive. Those letters that I write, was only for that woman to come and clear me; for I was afraid that if I had writ any otherwise, she would not come. But upon those letters, I was certain would a com't and cleared me: and then I was in good hopes to have enjoyed you again. If I had my liberty and your consent, I would quickly have brought you out of all your misery. I write purposely to that woman against you, for to have her come and clear me, which, if she did me justice, I am certain she cannot do to the contrary. I wish I may never leave this place alive, if ever I was married to any other woman upon the face of the earth but you. But if you will be pleased to give me a meeting, I will satisfy you why I write so to that woman; and you will find it so at long runing; though I dare not say that my soul is my own here. For Christs sake take pity on me, and let me not starve in this deplorable condition. For Gods sake pay my landlady but only for one months diet unknown to any; and if I do not prove what I said formerly to be truth, then never pay another week for me again. My dear heart, for Christs sake do not heed these letters, for I write them only in design to gett my liberty, and to enjoy your sweet company again. God let me never se the face of God Almighty, if there was any other design in it. You may believe me a poor miserable soul. I hope you will take all this to consideration, for if I had but only your favour, I did not care for any thing; but if not, pray put an end to my days. I wish that I may never se the kingdom of God and Christ, if ever I was married to any woman but yourself. Indeed I should not take such an oath as this, if I found myself guilty, and knowing not how long I have to live. O my dear soul, you will believe any body before me; I have seen the day, you would not believe any before me; but now it seems the case is altered. I will take the sacrament to-morrow, and take it on my death if I were going to dye, that those letters were write upon no other design; O I wish that I may never se the face of my Saviour, if ever I was married to any other woman but yourself. Surely you may believe me in this sad condition, and know not how long I have to live. If you will but only to do me the charity as to come and speak to me, I will give you full satisfaction why I write to Absly: if you remember, I told you somewhat of that woman before I left Belturbit. O my dear heart; will you not do me the charity as to give me a meeting, that I may satisfy

satisfy you? O! will you, my dear, leave me comfortless in this sad condition? God knows, I ly weeping and writing. I thought I was well enough so long as I had you on my sid; but now it seems all comfort is fled from me; O will not death make an end of this misery! if not, I wil if I can conveniently. If you give me any comfort, I will endeavour to clear myself, and take a good heart still: but if not, I wish they would put me out of this misery: for I am sure I shall die with a clear conscience. If you forsake me, I have none to take my part; but if not, I hope you and I shall have joyful days for all this. So hoping you will pity my condition, I rest, dear soul,

Your loving husband till death,

ROBERT YOUNG.

I hope you will send me an answer by the bearer, what you are resolved to do. If you will pay for my diet unknown to any, my landlady will say that she took my word.

Another letter to her from Iniskillin, after he was got out of Cavan gaol.

My dear Heart,

I AM safely arrived at Iniskillin, and am well at present, and cares not for all your barking dogs at Belturbit and Cavan both. Let them do what they can, I care no more for them than I care for the filliest dog in the street. But as to that, I will leave it off at present. I hope you are mindful of your promise to me in Harris's garden, made to me there. Here I have sent the bearer purposely for you, and I gave him 6s. for going for you. Dear heart, do not fail but come along with him to me, for my life lyes where you do: if I had your company, I did not care for all the world. Dear heart, I say again, come to me, for I will assure you have as many tears from my eyes, as there are letters in this letter, from your poor husband. Therefore, dear heart, if ever you intend to se me alive, come to me now; if you do not, I will make this town my burial-place. I hope you will take no bodys counsell in this case but your own. If your friends will not let you come to me, pray (if you have any love for me) steal away to come to me. Send all your linnen and cloaths of woollen, and my cloaths also out before you, and seal all that you cannot bring along with you; and be sure not to pay a farthing to any body, but keep it yourself; take my counsel, I desire you. Dear heart, you and the bearer may contrive the business I suppose, and be sure bring the bond or mony along with you, for you know I have but little money when I pay the bearer. I could a had a place, but only it is too nigh your bishop, that dog. Do not fear, for I will soon get a place if I would look for it. So, hoping you will come to your poor husband, I rest, dear heart,

Your loving husband, till death do us part,

ROBERT YOUNG.

Pray do not trust any thing with the bearer, but come yourself.

Dear heart, be sure to bring the bond along with you, if you love me; and all the papers that you find in my box. I hope you will not fail to perform all that I have spoken.

All these letters of Robert Young's I have set down, just as I found them under his own hand, in his own way of spelling, as I shall do the rest of his which are to follow; and perhaps some reader or other, who is more acute in such matters than I am, will shrewdly guess thereby, and by divers unusual words and expressions, and his manner of syntax, what countryman he is.

That which next follows, is another of his disingenuous *shifts* (as he modestly calls them) performed also in Ireland, I mean, his profane invasions of holy orders; that of deacon, by deluding the lord bishop of Killaloo with forged certificates; that of presbyter, by his own sacrilegious self-ordination.

To prove this, I shall produce also the undoubted evidence of original writings; wherein, as in those foregoing, and indeed in most of the other papers I have by me concerning him, it may easily be observed, that, besides the main crime they chiefly intend to prove, there is also, here and there, a casual mention made of divers other steps towards his present pitch of perfection.

And particularly, in this whole cheat relating to his orders, it may be observed, that he had always ready divers sets of testimonials, letters dimissory, and letters of orders fitted to his several names, and pretended to be from several bishops: but let the papers speak for themselves.

A letter from one Dr. Nicholson, of Castle-Reah, to the lord bishop of Kilmore, concerning Robert Young's forging certificates.

Castle-Reah, in the County of Roscommon, Dec. 22, 1680.

My Lord,

I RECEIVED a letter from your lordship concerning Mr. Young; I am glad he is secured. Upon better recollection of his doings, I remember exactly, that he produced letters of priests orders here, not from your lordship, as I at first supposed, but from the bishop of Killaloo, and that by the pretended recommendation of the archbishop of Cashell; under whose hand he shewed a letter here, directed as to the bishop of Killaloo; and another from the bishop of Killaloo in answer to that, and to acquaint the archbishop, that he had ordained Mr. Young; several others here saw his letters. I hope his forgery and sacrilegious invasion of the priesthood will receive due punishment, for the necessary discouragement of others of the like impudence.

I am your lordship's, &c.

EDWARD NICHOLSON.

A letter from the same Dr. Nicholson, to the lord bishop of Elphin, concerning Robert Young's heinous miscarriages.

My Lord,

Castle-Reah, Oct. 11, 1680.

I DO verily believe, that Mr. Young was never ordained by your lordship, nor any else: he produced parchments in this diocese from the bishop of Kilmore, as ordained presbyter by him, and that by mediation of a letter from the archbishop of Cashel, which he shewed me here, and I suspected it counterfeit; as also I did his letter of orders; for which suspicions, if I had had as great evidences then as I have had since, I should have seized his papers; but being then glad to be rid of him, I dispatched him, without giving him the interruption to meddle with his papers. As to the character of him, I am sure he was a most unconscionable ignorant villain; he got a bastard here by a kitchen-maid, at the inn he first lodged at; which he owned himself to me; and, being needy, I bestowed on him forty shillings more than I owed him, to carry him away: yet, when he went to Dublin, he counterfeited letters, under my hand, to my brother, a merchant there, to get fifty shillings worth of goods; and did also the same for Mr. Dalton, to his son-in-law in Dublin. Both the letters were returned to us by the post, and we never heard from him since; but we hear he had a wife living, and another before her, and was seeking for a third very busily. We have heard so much of him since, that we all think it a great pity he was not rather hanged, than employed to serve at the altar: I am certain, if any conscientious person that could apprehend him, would make it his design to rid the church of such a scandal, he would sufficiently appear to have deserved that, if not to be quite packed out of the world. And I assure your lordship, it is no grudge at his person, but perfect charity and zeal for the church, which forces me to give this testimony of him, in obedience to your lordship's commands, which require my character of him; and if your lordship could be a means of preventing him from further proceeding in the profanation of holy things and offices, it would, no doubt, be acceptable service to God and his church; which is only submitted to your lordship's wisdom, by

Your lordship's, &c.

EDW. NICHOLSON.

A letter from one Mr. Fletcher, to the lord bishop of Kilmore, to the same purpose.

My Lord,

James-Town, Oct. 19, 1680.

I SUPPOSE, my lord of Elphin will be particular with your lordship in the matter of Mr. Young; Mr. Cooke, who was surrogate of Elphin diocese, tells me, he had never letters of orders from that bishop. It is certain, he fled from his cure at Castle-

Reah, having got a wench with child; and fame says, he has two wives besides the last.

I am your lordship's, &c.

BEN. FLETCHER.

A letter from the lord bishop of Waterford, to the lord bishop of Kilmore, concerning Robert Young.

My Lord,

Waterford, Feb. 5, 1680.

I SHOULD have sent your lordship an earlier account of your last to me concerning Young, but I did desire to inform myself the best I could, for your better satisfaction, of his having a wife in these parts, and being chaplain to the earl of Barrimore, and tutor to his son. As to the former, you will receive here inclosed a certificate from the high sheriff of the county, and several of the best of the inhabitants of Tallogh, to which I refer you; and, as to the latter, I have spoken with some persons of quality from those parts, who tell me plainly, that Young was never chaplain to the earl of Barrimore, nor went tutor to his son to Oxford; for his son was never there; but, for farther satisfaction, I have employed a friend to the earl of Barrimore himself for his certificate, which every day I now expect. This Young's rogueries and forgeries must needs redound to the great discredit of the church; and I think your lordship has done very well, in taking up his pretended letters of ordination. I humbly intreat you farther, that you would be pleased to take up that forged testimonial, he shewed you in my name, and to send it to me, who am

Your lordship's, &c.

H. WATERFORD and LISMORE.

Robert Young's counterfeit letter, from the lord bishop of Waterford, to himself; together with his forged testimonials from the same bishop.

S I R,

Waterford, March 30, 1680.

ACCORDING to your expectation I have sent you the inclosed, and truly am sorry you left my diocese; but, however, I will be kind to you, if any thing offers itself worthy your acceptance. So, concluding with my blessing to you, I rest,

Your, &c.

H. WATERFORD and LISMORE.

Locus Sigilli. ' These are to certify, That Mr. Robert Young, cler', and master of arts (whose testimonials from the university of Oxford, in Magdalen college, I have often perused) is a man whom I have known from a child; and knows him to be of a sober and religious, yea, a singular

“ lar life and conversation ; who be-
 “ haved himself in my diocese, as
 “ becometh a labourer in God’s vine-
 “ yard. And, as concerning whose
 “ parts, I myself has often sounded
 “ them, and knows him to be a sin-
 “ gular scholar ; yea, I may say, as
 “ well qualified for the function as
 “ any within my episcopal see, which
 “ is not all I have to speak in his
 “ commendation. All this I do cer-
 “ tify, as witness my hand and seal,
 “ this 30th day of March, *Ann. Dom.*
 “ 1680.

H. WATERFORD and LISMORE.

*A letter from the lord bishop of Waterford, to the lord
 bishop of Kilmore, and another from the earl of Barri-
 more, touching Robert Young’s never having been the
 earl’s chaplain, or tutor to his son, as he pretended.*

My Lord, Waterford, Feb. 18, 1680.

I ACQUAINTED your lordship in my last, that I
 daily expected an account from the earl of Barri-
 more, concerning Young’s pretended chaplainship to
 his lordship ; I do now send your lordship here in-
 closed an account thereof from the earl ; and do ear-
 nestly intreat that your lordship will be pleased to take
 up that forged certificate Young shewed you in my
 name, and to send it to me. Our post will not give
 me leave to write any more, but that I am

Your lordship’s, &c.

H. WATERFORD and LISMORE.

My Lord, Castlelyons, Feb. 11, 1680.

I RECEIVED a letter from Mr. Dalton, wherein
 he gives me an account of one Young, who has
 impudently and falsely called himself my chaplain, and
 my son Buttevant’s tutor. I never saw him but once
 that he brought me a letter from the now high-sheriff
 of your county, to recommend him to Colonel Wi-
 tenham (late deceased) at Castletown : if he had been
 never so much my chaplain, if he failed in the least
 part of that duty he owes your lordship, he should not
 have been owned by, my very good lord,

To the lord bishop
 of Waterford.

Your lordship’s, &c.

BARRIMORE.

*A letter from the bishop of Waterford to the bishop of
 Kilmore, touching Robert Young.*

My Lord, Waterford, Oct. 11, 1680.

I HEARTILY thank your lordship for communi-
 cating to me the inclosed silly forged certificate,
 concerning Mr. Robert Young the cin mentioned.

This Young I never knew till about three years since,
 when he came to the archbishop of Cashell, with a
 letter of high recommendation from Dr. Smith to be
 ordained deacon. The archbishop being somewhat
 indisposed, and not suspecting the letter, writes to me
 that I would do that office, and inclosed Dr. Smith’s
 letter to him therein. I knew the archbishop’s hand,
 and his secretary’s hand that transcribed the letter : but
 Young, it seems, not contented therewith, breaks
 open the letter by the way, and adds a silly postscript
 (as near as I can remember) in these words : ‘ More-
 ‘ over, dear brother, fail not to do this office for Mr.
 ‘ Young, for he is a good scholar, and moreover a
 ‘ very good preacher.’ This postscript gave me some
 suspicion : I charged him with it, but he stood stiffly
 to it a great while, that the postscript was the arch-
 bishop’s as well as the letter ; but, at length, con-
 fessed he had broke open the letter by the way, and
 added the postscript himself. Then I began to exa-
 mine Dr. Smith’s letter, and went into my study to
 compare it with some I had of Dr. Smith’s, which I
 found to be nothing like, and charged him with that
 too ; and, after a little while, he confessed he had
 bribed a kinsman of Dr. Smith’s to forge the letter to
 the archbishop ; whereupon I gave him a reproof, and
 dismissed him from me, *re infecta*. The next news
 that I heard of him, was, that he had forged a letter
 from the archbishop of Cashell to the bishop of Kil-
 laloo, to be ordained deacon, and thereupon he was
 ordained. But how he came to be ordained priest by
 the bishop of Elphin, I cannot give your lordship any
 good account ; yet this I have heard, that, whilst he
 was labouring his ordination there, in few days, he
 was to have married some poor woman in those parts,
 had not some person of the neighbourhood, where he
 lived here in Munster, being casually there, discovered
 that he had a wife and children then living here in
 these parts : an account whereof, if occasion be, may
 easily be had. And now, my lord, I have an humble
 and earnest request, that your lordship would not re-
 turn this forged testimonial to Young, but either de-
 stroy it yourself, or send it by the next, to

Your lordship’s, &c.

H. WATERFORD and LISMORE.

If Young be not free to part with his testimonials
 and letters of orders too, (if your lordship think good)
 I pray let him be secured, and in short time there will
 be enough to be said against him.

*A postscript of a letter, together with a letter to the lord
 bishop of Kilmore, both from the lord bishop of Elphin,
 concerning Robert Young : having counterfeited priest’s
 orders from his lordship.*

Elphin, Oct. 4, 1680.

The inclosed gives your lordship an account of
 Mr. Robert Young, who was in an ill name before
 he left us ; and since it appeareth that he is *ἀνοληθὴς*,
 fills

fills his own hand, the church cannot do herself greater right, than to cast such unfavoury salt to the dunghill.

My Lord,

MR. Young, alias Hopkins, coming into these parts, and producing letters of orders from Dr. Roan, bishop of Killaloo, was by me admitted in writing under my own hand and seal, to serve a cure in this diocese; that wretched and unworthy man was not by me ordained deacon or presbyter: I had much rather have laid my hands on briars than on such heads. The inclosed has been viewed by such as know his hand, and compared; all conclude it a forgery, the instrument formed by himself, the register's hand counterfeited. How he should get my seal, I am not able to say, unless it was taken off the licence I granted him; and of that there are strong presumptions. I shall acquaint those that knew him there, that he is now in safe custody; and if he should escape without some brand, his scandalous crimes being divulged and spread abroad, it would tend to the great dishonour of God, and to the great discredit of our whole profession. I shall not give your lordship farther trouble, but shall beseech God to direct you herein; and likewise shall watch all opportunities to serve you, and approve myself

Your lordship's, &c.

JOH. ELPHIN.

The counterfeit orders themselves.

TENORE præsentium nos Johannes Providen' Divin' Elphin' Episcopus notum facimus universis quod nos Dei omnipotent' præsidio in Ecclesia Cathedr' Sanctæ Mariæ Elphinensis vigesimo sexto die mensis Novembr' Anno Dom. millesimo sexcentesimo septuagesimo septimo, Sacrosanctos ordines Celebrantes, dilectum nobis in Christo Robertum Young, in Artibus Magistrum de vita sua laudabili morumque & virtut' suarum donis nobis multipliciter commendat' & per nos etiam examinat' & approbat' & ad Sancta Dei Evangelia Primitus jurat' de Agnoscendo supremam Regiam Autoritat' in omnibus causis tam Ecclesiasticis quam civilibus, & de recusando & Refut' omnes & singulas jurisdictiones forinsecas quascunque juxta form' Statut' hujus Regni in hujusmodi casu editi & provisi, manuali insuper subscriptione sua assensum & consensum suam præbentem quatuor primis Canonibus Ecclesiæ Hiberniæ editis Anno decimo Regis Caroli primi beatæ memoriæ, ad sacrum Presbyteratum ordinem juxta morem & ritus Ecclesiæ Anglicæ & Hibernicæ editos & provisos, admissimus & promovimus: ipsumque Robertum Young in Presbyterum ritè & Canonicè ordinavimus tunc & ibidem. In cujus rei testimonium sigillum nostrum Episcopale præsentibus apponi Fecimus & subscripsimus die mense & Anno & nostræ consecrat' An. undecimo.

Locus sigilli.
Joh. Elphinensis.

THOM. BANNERSTER,
Registrarius.

Aprilis 22, 1679.

* Exhibit' fuit hæc licencia in ordinario visitationis cursu Reverend' Decan' de Lismore.

THO. NEESHAM, Registrarius.

* Exhibit' in visitatione ordinaria tent' apud Cavan Septimo Aprilis 1680.

I think my reader will say, I have given a sufficient heap of evidence concerning Robert Young's life and conversation in Ireland. And to prove that all these allegations against him are undeniable, (for I would not willingly bely Robert Young himself) I will briefly shew by what certain means I came by my intelligence.

Having, among other papers sent me by Archbishop Sancroft, found the aforementioned letter of Dr. Foley's, inclosing one from the lord archbishop of Dublin, I sent a copy of it to that excellent person, my dear and honoured friend, Sir Charles Porter, lord chancellor of that kingdom; withal, intreating his lordship to enquire a little farther into Young's character there. Whereupon my lord chancellor took such care, that in a short time I had the originals of all these papers transmitted to me by the favour of the lord archbishop of Dublin; together with a letter from his grace to myself, justifying them all to be authentic, as may be seen in their lordships own letters, which I here subjoin, as a testimony of the great obligations they have hereby laid on me, and right they have done the world, in respect to Robert Young.

Three letters from my Lord Chancellor Porter to me.

My good Lord,

Dublin, July 28, 1692.

SO soon as I received your lordship's of the eleventh, with the inclosed from Dr. Foley to Archbishop Sancroft, and found my lord archbishop of Dublin was most likely to give me an account of the person you desired from Dr. Foley: I went to him, and told him what reason I had to enquire after one Robert Young; and desired he would give me some directions, how I might certainly know his character. I did not shew him Dr. Foley's letter; but he remembered him and his rogueries so perfectly, that he gave me the same with what is in the letter; and withal said, he did believe he could recover some papers which would give me a full account of all that passed: and, within a day or two after, he came to dine with me, and brought them with him; which I now have in my custody, and have perused. They are such as shew by his own confession, as well as proof, that he had two wives at the same time in this kingdom, for which he was in gaol; and I find by some of his letters, that he writes to his first wife (wherein he owns his second marriage) he desires her to save his life, by swearing he was never married to her; and promises, if she will do it, that he may gain his liberty, he will immediately

immediately go into England with her, and never more see his second wife, who was the daughter of one Simon Hutt in Cavan. It appears by these papers, that he counterfeited the hands and seals of the bishops of Elphin and Waterford to letters of his admission into priests orders, and the hands of Dr. Wilson, (now bishop of Limerick) and Dr. Nicholson, and the archbishop of Cashell, all certifying in his behalf, as to his morals and learning. In a word, I never met with so infamous a villain. He was degraded by the archbishop of Dublin, when bishop of Kilmore. I know not how he got out of gaol, where he was committed for having two wives, the truth whereof appears by several letters under his own hand. But I will inform myself, and then give your lordship an account. I know not whether you would have the originals of all the papers or copies relating to this rogue; when I know your mind, I will take the best care I can to observe it.

I am your lordship's, &c.

CHARLES PORTER.

He has counterfeited other mens' hands in bills, and got the money thereupon; one of which I find among the papers.

To the lord bishop of Rochester.

My Lord,

Dublin, August 17, 1692.

I HAVE yours of the 9th instant, and, having shewed it to my lord archbishop of Dublin, he has freely consented I shall transmit you the original papers, which, as soon as I can light of a safe hand to bring them to your lordship, shall be done, they being now with publick notary for authentick copies to be kept here. My lord archbishop has also writ your lordship a letter relating to the man, and the matters of those papers, which he sent me just now. I will not be wanting in giving it all possible dispatch, that your lordship may have opportunity to publish what you intend.

I am, my lord, your lordship's, &c.

CHARLES PORTER.

To the lord bishop of Rochester.

My Lord,

Dublin, Aug. 26, 1692.

I HAVE now sent you the original papers about Young: Mr. Roberts has promised me to deliver them to your own hands; he goes from this place to-morrow. I have sent also my lord archbishop's letter to your lordship (of which I formerly sent you a copy) in the same box; and have caused a publick notary to make copies of all those relating to Young, which I keep by me, as I must also desire your lordship to do the originals; for I have undertaken you will do so: and you will find by what his grace writes, that he desires the same.

I am your lordship's, &c.

CHARLES PORTER.

A letter from my lord archbishop of Dublin to me.

My Lord,

Dublin, Aug. 17, 1692.

BY permission of my lord chancellor, I had the view of your lordship's letter to him concerning Mr. R. Young, whom I found employed as a curate in the diocese of Kilmore, when I served there. He was delated to me for many extravagancies, the least of which was marrying without banns or license. Though after his avoidance, by running out of my diocese, upon his apprehension in the diocese of Raphoe, whither he had betaken himself, and was sent back to Cavan gaol by warrant of the justices, procured by Simeon Hutt, whose daughter he had married, and her father had discovered to be married to another woman then living; I took the advantage of using all the force of the canon in that case, and degraded him, being then apprehensive of the danger of his hanging in his gown. For this crime he was indicted, but both the women could not be brought together; and if they had, the then riding judge (which as I remember was Mr. Herbert) declared the fact within benefit of the clergy: he was not sentenced, but left still in Cavan gaol for fees and debts contracted there; where Simeon Hutt, an inn-keeper and inhabitant there, by his interest and proper concern, found means of intercepting, and getting into his hands some of the letters of his own hand-writing, and brought them to me. The other, which are written to me, are all realities, and his pretended orders I received of himself before he run away. But, my lord, as I was saying, he was left in gaol, and not knowing how to get out, he used means of applying to my lord duke of Ormond, then lord lieutenant, pretending he could make notable discoveries of dangerous plots against the government. The popish plot was then on foot, and his grace, as imported, very tender and cautious of discountenancing his offered service, gave him his liberty, and ordered him to come up to Dublin, and make out what he could. The Scotchman had his end, never appeared, but run away into England with his second wife, and I never heard of him till this overture with your lordship. I indeed did write to Dr. Foley, then in England, to make some enquiry after him, and to give notice of him, that there was such a privateer abroad, and to obviate, as much as I could, the evil practices of so vile a man, and the dishonour of the church he pretended to. It is certain he stole into deacons orders unobserved; he forged his priests orders, and was self-ordained. He was extremely vicious, and had ignorance and impudence enough to offer at any thing. Much of his story (it is so long since 1680) is out of my head, and I wonder how these papers, now sent to your lordship, escaped the general plunder I underwent, when all my books and papers were utterly lost for ever. I cannot otherwise account for their preservation, than that they were all tied together, and thrown into a box of loose and useless letters, which they who took the rest of my goods neglected, because they

they had store of better things: and consequently were preserved by a servant of mine; and by a very casual view, since my return out of England, after the late general dispersion, came into my hands as I left them, utterly beyond any purpose or design of mine. However, it fell out happily enough, if your lordship can make any use of them, for the vindication of any honest and innocent person, or the detection of a notorious villain. I beg your lordship would let me know, by some means or other, that you received them, and that you will preserve them; for if they be any way available to your lordship, they may be so (though that be, as this was, more than I can possibly fore-think) to somebody else.

I am, my lord, your lordship's, &c.

FRANCIS DUBLIN.

To the lord bishop of Rochester.

I have now brought the true Robert Young and his false wife safe into England, though, I confess, I had rather any man in England had done it than myself. But now they are here, I will proceed with them in the very same plain and just method as I did before in relating their actions in Ireland; I will trace out their crooked paths as near as I can, step by step, and follow them close at their backs, with an honest hue and cry of original papers, describing them and their crimes.

I have already declared, that, after their arrival in England, about the year 1683, upon Robert Young's unlucky repulse at Lambeth, one of the most memorable enterprizes, in which he and his woman displayed their art, was the taking upon them the names, first of Green, then of Jones, then of Smith, (all counterfeits of clergymen in distress) and then authorizing the whole cheat by forged recommendations of Archbishop Sancroft's: beginning thus to practise on other mens' purses, by forging his grace's hand, that, when they were more perfect in it, they might attempt with it to strike at his life.

I begin, first, with their cheating dealings under the name of Green, which was the first considerable figure I know of, that they made of themselves in England.

By this having deluded vast numbers of good people in several dioceses, especially that of Norwich, (whereof I have by me a large list of the parochial collections) they came at last, as I have said, to be detected and punished for it at Bury.

Now, to clear up this part of their history which concluded there, it will be very material that I should recount distinctly the occasion and manner of their being apprehended, and some of Robert's most notorious enormities even whilst he was imprisoned in that gaol, which was for the space of a year.

When Robert and Mary brought the recommendation falsified under the hands of the lord archbishop of Canterbury, and the lord bishop of London, to Mr. Cleggat, minister of that town; and boldly required

him to ask the charity of the inhabitants thereupon; both Mr. Cleggat, and Mr. Samuel Batteley, a very worthy person dwelling there, (whose brother was then the archbishop's chaplain) soon discerned the knavery, and immediately repaired to the magistrates for a warrant to seize them.

In the mean time Robert Young, alias Youngs, alias Hutt, alias Green, suspecting he was discovered, went directly to his inn, and, with his sister and wife, Mrs. Mary Green, alias Young, &c. presently took horse, and rode as fast as they could out of town, in hopes to have escaped.

Mr. Batteley, believing they would do so, left the constable to bring the warrant, and ran straight towards the inn to look after them; when he soon perceived them on horseback, making all possible speed away. But, by good luck, their horse being weak and poor, he overtook them, laid hold on the bridle, and led them back. Whereupon they were committed, tried, and, upon their own confession, condemned and pilloried; as by the record paper will appear, when it shall be produced.

After this Robert —, what shall I call him? remained in Bury gaol divers months, for not paying his fees, till the summer of the year 1685. That being the first year of King James's reign, and about the time of the duke of Monmouth's invasion, he thought it a proper season for him to declare (as he had done before in Ireland, upon the like exigency of his affairs) that he could make out a certain discovery of seditious and treasonable practices, wherein divers considerable persons thereabouts were engaged.

To this purpose he not only actually swore treason against one John Pannel (to whom he owed a spite, who was then a fellow-prisoner with him for debt, and is now an officer in the said borough) but also sent up a petition, which he called, A full discovery of treason by Robert Youngs, clerk, to be delivered to the king and parliament then sitting; wherein he offered to prove (if he might have his freedom, and be brought up to London) that divers wicked traitors in that country, particularly ten Presbyterian ministers, one lord, two esquires, a colonel, a captain and a cornet, and a gentleman, had been long plotting and contriving the death of the king, and the subversion of the government.

But, of his whole behaviour at Bury, the following papers, being of undoubted authority, are an abundant proof. It will be enough for me to name them as they pass along by me.

Only here I intreat my reader once for all to observe what is most for my purpose, that such has been the constant method of his life, both before and since, as far as I have been able to obtain any knowledge of it: whenever he was out of prison, he has forged hands to bills, and recommendations to get money: and, when he happened to be imprisoned for those forgeries, then he has fallen to counterfeit mighty discoveries of plots against the state, to gain his liberty.

First, then, here are the several confessions of Robert Young and Mary Hutt themselves, before the justices of peace at Bury, in 1684.

Number I.

Borough of Bury St. Edmonds.

The information of Mary Green, alias Hutt, alias Peirson, alias Young; taken by Martin Spensley, Esq. mayor of the said borough; Thomas Holland, Esq. John Sotheby, Esq. and Robert Sharp, gent. justices of the peace for the said borough, the 15th day of September, 1684.

THE said informant saith, that the paper and seal thereunto annexed, pretended to be a certificate from the bishop of Elphin in Ireland, was counterfeited in Ireland, and brought over from thence by her in April or May last; and that she neither hath, or ever had, any husband called by the name of Robert Green; but that all in the same certificate mentioned concerning him is counterfeit; and that the person, who is now in her company, came with her out of Ireland, and that he is her brother, and his name is Robert Hutt; and that they came together to London, where, in the square at Essex-stairs, she met with one whose name she doth not now remember, that writ the petition, which she carried to Windsor, and with her own hands presented it to the king, who delivered it back to one Mr. Bolstred, without any further answer to it. Whereupon she repaired to the archbishop of Canterbury, and shewed him her counterfeit certificate from the bishop of Elphin; and he, having viewed it, recommended it to Sir John Nicholas, to whom she repaired accordingly, and shewed him the petition which she had delivered to his majesty, and left it with him; and afterwards (as he told this informant) he carried the same to his majesty at Hampton-court; and that, it being read, because it concerned Ireland, the king recommended it to the duke of Ormond, and afterwards this informant had the answer to it from him, mentioned in the paper to which Sir John Nicholas's name is subscribed. And further saith, that the paper, to which the archbishop of Canterbury and bishop of London's hands and seals are set, is also counterfeit, and was written by another person, whose name she remembereth not; and that the same person did set the archbishop and bishop of London's hands and seals to it: and saith, that, by virtue of the said paper and seals, she and her brother have gathered a great deal of money, and thereby abused many of the king's subjects.

MARY HUTT.

The information of the said Robert Hutt, taken before us the day and year aforesaid.

* I am certainly informed, that there never was one Wright, scrivener, in Oxford; so that he has abused the name of Wright, as he has done that of Green, Jones, Smith, and divers others.

WHO saith, that the said Mary Hutt (who goes by the names aforesaid) is his sister; and that he never knew any person by the name of Green or Young, that was her husband; but says, That he living in or about Cork in Ireland, and she in Connaught, above an hundred miles distant, in March last she came to this informant's house, and told him, that she had been married to one Green, a clergyman, and that he, going to sea, was taken by the Turks, and she was going to London to petition his majesty for money for his release; and that she had a certificate from the bishop of the diocese of the truth thereof, and thereupon desired this informant to go along with her, and pressed him so hard therein, that at last he left his own occasions with a friend, and went with her to London, by the name of Green, and knew no other name she had; and at London carried her to one William Youngs, a drummer, living in Petty-France, beyond Westminster, near the sign of Whitehall, where they stayed all the time they were about London; and during that time she went to Windsor, to petition his majesty; and, finding no satisfaction there, she applied herself to the archbishop of Canterbury, and bishop of London, Sir John Nicholas, and others, as in her said information is set down. But saith, that he knew nothing how she came by the said certificates and papers, or who drew her petitions, he knows not. But saith, that upon and with them he hath gone about the country with her, and hath collected several sums of money in several countries in the papers thereof mentioned, he not knowing but all her papers and certificates were true.

Martin Spensley, mayor.

ROBERT HUTT.

The further information and examination of the said Robert Hutt, taken the day and year aforesaid.

THE said examinee saith, That his name is Robert Young, not Hutt, and that the said Mary is his wife; and that they came out of Ireland at the same time afore-mentioned; and that he is in priests orders according to the church of England, and received the same from Dr. Roan, bishop of Killaloe in Ireland, and had a cure of eighteen pounds per annum at Calthorn there, and that he hath preached in St. Margaret's church in Westminster; and confesseth, that all the papers and certificates aforesaid are counterfeit, and were made by one * Wright, a scrivener, in Oxford; and he set the hands and seals to them, except that from the bishop of Elphin in Ireland, which is signed by Thomas Bannester, and was made by him; and he obtained the bishop's seal to it, for which he had ten shillings. And further, That, about two years since, he was in England, and applied himself to the archbishop of Canterbury for some preferment, and dined with him; but finding none, he returned

into

into Ireland; and, being destitute of friends, he applied himself to this ill course, presuming thereby to obtain charity from the people. And further faith, That the said Wright set Sir John Nicholas's hand, in answer to the petition to the king; and for that, and for setting the hands of the archbishop of Canterbury and bishop of London, he had a guinea.

Thom. Holland.
John Sotheby.
Rob. Sharp.

ROBERT YOUNG, clerk.

Secondly, here are copies of Mary Hutt's petition to King Charles the second, under the feigned name of Mary Green; and of the forged reference and commendations upon it.

Number II.

To the king's most excellent majesty, and the right honourable lords of his majesty's most honourable privy-council:

The humble petition of Mary Green, wife of Robert Green, of the kingdom of Ireland,

Most humbly sheweth,

THAT your petitioner's said husband being minded to take a voyage into the West-Indies upon some extraordinary occasions, it was his hard fortune to be taken by a Saltee man of war, about six months since, as may appear by a certificate under the hand and seal of the right reverend father in God, the lord bishop of Elphin in the kingdom of Ireland; and that he still remains under the extreme burthen of slavery in Saltee, his ransom being set at a thousand dollars; which your petitioner, in regard of her great poverty, is no ways able to raise; she having two small children, being with child of a third, hath not wherewith to provide for herself and them, but is like to perish for want of relief.

Your petitioner therefore most humbly prays, That your majesty will be graciously pleased to recommend your petitioner's and her husband's distressed condition to the consideration of the clergy of England; and, in his behalf, to request them to contribute their charity towards her husband's ransom, and your petitioner's present relief.

And your petitioner shall ever pray, &c.

Read in council, June 18, 1684.

THE petitioner is referred to his grace the archbishop of Canterbury, and bishop of London, to do therein as to them shall seem meet and convenient, for the redemption of this said Robert Green, clerk.

JOHN NICHOLAS.

WE recommend the petitioner to the clergy of (provided this our order continue no longer than three months) England, intreating them freely

to contribute their charity toward the ransom of the said Robert Green. Moreover (on his majesty's command to us) we require, and earnestly desire the respective ministers of all cities, towns, &c. to go from house to house, to receive the charitable benevolence of well-disposed Christians, whom we hope will likewise contribute to the enlargement of a poor distressed clergyman.

Given under our hand and seal, at Lambeth-house, June 16, 1684.

W. Cant. Here ☉ the seal.
H. London. Here ☉ the seal.

Number III.

Robert Young's petition to the magistrates at Bury, acknowledging his crime.

To the worshipful mayor, and the rest of the justices for the borough of St. Edmonds.

The humble petition of Robert Youngs, clerk.

SHEWETH,

THAT the petitioner being not only sensible, as it is apparent, of his bidding adieu to all truth and honesty, and measuring the same by his own humorous fancy, making every thing ridiculous, that was not suitable to his owne ignorant conceptions; but penitent likewise, thinking himself bound for the future to take a notice, that honesty is the best policy.

Forasmuch therefore, as your poor suppliant being a stranger, and such to most in this kingdom, and having little or no friends or acquaintance, humbly beseecheth,

That your worshipes will be graciously pleased to accept of such baile, as your poor suppliant can conveniently produce, whereby he may not in a goal be compelled to end his days, but have his liberty to compose those differences now depending. The Lord create in your worships bowells of compassion towards him, who prays for

Your, &c.

Next, here is Robert Young's first letter to the lord archbishop of Canterbury, 1684, confessing his crime of forgery; but, in all else, giving a very lying account of himself. A letter very singular for the elegance of its stile; and recommended to the reading of all who call themselves Presbyterians.

Number IV.

Bury, Sept. 30, 1684.

May it please your Grace,

THIS rude and imperfect supplication, being now to pass into your grace's hands, shal I be so bold as to begg your grace to peruse it: in prosecution whereof, I do conceive my birth and education, will in your grace create a better understanding of me, my life and conversation, than that which the envious man

man really represents it to be: for envy is ever working upon some or other; for which cause, it is the proper attribute of the devill, who is called the envious man, that soweth tares amongst the wheat by night. But to return, your poor suppliant is (by birth) an Englishman, born of an honest stock at Chester, a town of marchandize on the sea-coast of England, whose grandfather was Sir Peter Young's son, and grandmother the duke of Lenox's daughter; the truth whereof, if questioned, may sufficiently, by a gentleman in London, be proved: knowing some persons to delight in giddiness, and accounts it a bondage to fix a belief, affecting freewill in thinking, as well as in doing. Your poor suppliant likewise (after some knowledge in schoole learning) was removed to Trinity colledge near Dublin; where, in good literature, he for the space of seven years remained: and from thence, by the inttigation of Dr. Smith, dean of Limerick, was employed as a reader; which duty by me was faithfully performed for the space of two years, being then only a deacon. From thence, by the death of the said Dr. Smith, removed I was to serve Dr. John Wilson's cure, sometime fellow of St. Magdalene college in Oxford, who, as chaplain to his grace my lord duke of Ormond, came for Ireland, on which provision (though inconsiderable) admitted I was into full orders, by the late bishop of Clogher, who was a man of that divine nature, that all that knew him had a loss of him: the very memory of whom may justly draw a fountain of water from mine eyes; his favour to me ward cannot easily be forgotten. Thus, in short, your grace has a description of my birth, education, life, and conversation; which leads me to expostulate my present sufferings: I am, and ever was, a faithfull son of the church of England. All dissentors were ever odious in mine eyes, 'specially that damnable faction of Presbytery. If I could, as well as others, have winked at their irregular undertakings, poverty and bondage would not now have dominion over me. But my method was to reduce such factious persons to a regular understanding, and observe wherein, and how far, they have degenerated; although others gleanings, I confess, are better than my vintage, as I am the least of the tribe: yet, I cannot sit still, but, if occasion offered itself, would once more adventure to cast in my mite against such hæresy, as those gifted persons pretended to. But, knowing to whom I speak, I must not hold your grace too long to peruse this ignorant discourse, lest I give offence. Lastly, to make an ingenious confession, your poor suppliant in the aforesaid cure, though insufficient if narrowly considered to maintain a family, continued without scandal and corruption, for the space of four years; but by the insufficiency thereof, being but eighteen pound per annum, was forced to borrow money, which sum, at the day prefixed, I could not disburse; whereupon they issued out writs against me: but I considering fortune to be like the market, where, if a man stay a little, the price will fall. Thus I thought it better to meet some danger half way,

than to keep too long a watch upon my enemies approach: for, if a man watch too long, as my case stood, though he committ the beginnings thereof to Argos, with his hundred eyes; and the ends to Briareus, with his hundred hands, 'tis odds he will fall asleep: so that I thought it my best way, for a time, to remove myself and family, to prevent future inconveniences. Whereupon I, with a discontented heart, came for England; and, if your grace call to mind, made to you my application; willing was I to take up with the least provision: but no vacancy in your grace's diocese, was the answer; and withal told me, that my lord of London possibly might answer my request. Whereupon I strait way attended my lord of London, but no satisfactory answer could I find there. On which, what to do I knew not; but the second time waited on your grace, and gave up my lord of London's answer; and withal told your grace, that willing I was to go for the West-Indias. Your grace's answer was, that provisions there lay in my lord of London, but being destitute of money and friends, disabled I was to get thither, unless I had sold myself for a bond-slave, which I was not willing to do. So that for Ireland I again repaired; but no sooner was I well there settled, in a cure far remote from the other, but news my creditors had; for which, without my salary, glad was I to flee again in a distracted condition; and came, accompanied with my wife, to Oxford; where friendship I did endeavour to create, but all in vain. From thence went I towards Bristol, thinking to have made my address to the bishop of that diocese, but supplanted I was by his death. So that myself I applied to the body of the clergy, but meet not with a satisfactory answer. My second application was to desire them to disburse money for our freight; but, meeting not with my desired success, I came away, not knowing which way to turn myself: to go and steal, I would be hanged; to take by violence a purse, I would be in the same condition: to work, I knew not which way; to begg of the clergy (so many cheats going about) I knew, being a stranger, they would, though undeserved then, pass on me the same sentence. Thus friendless and moneyless, we came to Oxford, in a sad condition, and accidentally meet with one Wright by surname; who, after some days acquaintance, put me upon this hellish stratagem upon your grace, which forgery he committed, although I am not thereby excused. Truly a terrour to my conscience was it every hower, knowing such clandestine actions to be both against the laws of God and man. O fie! that ever it should be said that a clergyman have committed such dirty actions. O! that my eyes were a fountain of water, to weep for remission, for pardon, for satisfaction, both to God and man. For sure I am the unjust shal be punished in the next world, if not in this. I acknowledge my crime to be great, the Lord give a right understanding of my error; wherein I have offended both God and man: and what shal I do, or what shal I say to mitigate this crime? 'Tis true, I am heartily sorry,

sorry, which perhaps, in your grace, may create mercy; but not pardon from my God, without a loathing and hearty detestation of such unlawfull ways of gain, and an absolution from a bishop. Truly my intention, after the receipt of twenty pounds, was for the West-Indias; no more did I desire than what would carry my family thither: but disappointed I was by the just judgement of the Almighty; all we received was spent to recover my wifes health; seven weeks did she lye sick, which the justices here are not ignorant of; and what little stock we had was exhausted, so that we have neither friends nor money. Your poor suppliant therefore, in most humble manner, beseecheth, That your grace will be graciously pleased, to regulate the hearts and minds of these justices who have committed my poor sickly wife, as well as myself; and, by your graces letter, to animate their hearts to charity, the sessions being Monday next. 'Tis true, I have in a most gross manner incurred your graces displeasure, and does not deserve the least favour, 'specially at your graces hands; for which, from the bottom of my heart, I humbly beg your graces pardon, beseeching your grace in justice to remember mercy; and though your grace may cast a severe eye upon the example, yet I humbly beseech your grace, to cast a merciful eye upon the person, to whom this shal for ever be a warning-piece, and subscribes himself,

Your graces

Most penitent and obedient servant,

ROBERT YOUNG.

My reader finds, that this first letter of Robert Young's to Archbishop Sancroft, which seems full of remorse and solemn detestation of his former wickedness, in forging his grace's name, was dated in prison at Bury, Sept. 30, 1684; but, to shew what kind of penitent he was, I will here subjoin the informations of divers persons at Bury in 1685, touching Robert Young's threatenings against the archbishop of Canterbury's life, not long after he had written this first letter.

Number V.

Bury St. Edmond's, Mar. 27, 1685.

MEMORANDUM, That we whose names are underwritten, being in company with Robert Young, (who was laid in Bury gaol for counterfeiting his grace the archbishop of Canterbury's hand and seal, &c.) he spoke these words immediately upon hearing of his late majesty's death, which was Saturday, Feb. 7, 84. [*Is the king dead? Then have at the archbishop of Canterbury's head.*] These words were spoken in his chamber in my hearing. Witness my hand,

THOMAS BOUME.

THE same day in the cell'ar, the said Robert Young declared, *That, now the king was dead, he would have*

the archbishop of Canterbury's head off. Witness our hands,

JOHN PANNELL.
MATTHEW † BAXTER,
his mark.

AND at other times, in my hearing, and others that are now out of town, the said Robert Young declared, *That, if ever he got out of prison, he would revenge himself on his grace the archbishop of Canterbury.*

JOHN PANNELL.

AT another time, some two or three days before, the said Robert Young, upon hearing of his majesty's death, did in the hearing of me John Rewse, in the said Young's chamber, in Bury prison, say these words: *Some of my enemies may repent what they have done to me: it will not be long 'ere the archbishop of Canterbury's head be off.*

JOHN REWSE.

WILLIAM ROSE, of Elmfwel, in the county of Suffolk, yeoman, saith, That Robert Young, a prisoner in Bury gaol, upon hearing of his late majesty's death, did publicly say these words following, viz. *Now, by God, have at the archbishop of Canterbury's head.* And that, at several times, he hath discovered himself to bear hatred against his grace, and hath often spoken reproachfully against his grace.

WILLIAM ROSE.

Sixthly, Here is Robert Young's second letter to the lord archbishop of Canterbury; confessing still his own guilt, but intended chiefly to weaken the evidence of John Pannell, one of those Bury witnesses, by accusing him of treason.

Number VI.

Bury, July 23, 85.

May it please your Grace,

IN the first place, all that I design in this letter, is an apology for myself, to ask pardon for my transgression against your grace (although deluded thereto), hoping that this my mean and weak supplication will be sheltered under the canopy of your profound charity. And seeing I have, by wicked advice, consented to things misbecoming an honest man, most reverend father, let not my honesty be tainted therewith, but evil counsell justly blamed; which, for ever hereafter, shal be a warning-piece to me never to commit the like again; but by honest and christian endeavours, to provide for himself and family, whose conditions are now reduced so low, that perish they must, unless by your graces clemency eased. Furthermore, I do promise to do your grace that justice, as to bring in the first actors and contrivers of that wicked action, who did not only encourage me, but several imposthims they likewise have sent abroad, which I can prove. Having thus far declared myself, and endeavoured to take

off

off such aspersions as might possibly have been thrown on me; give me leave to acquaint your grace, that I am given to understand, that one John Pannell have lately sent your grace a petition, intreating you to incense the judge, that comes this circuit, against me; which petition I humbly desire, and beseech you, for your honour, to disregard. For that person is a rebellious traytor, and have declared himself so to be; his words and intended actions are, in breve, as followeth: He called the king a popish dog, a rogue, and said, that he has taken that which was none of his own, but the duke of Monmouth; he has said likewise, that he would do his endeavour to chop off that popish rogue's head. *Si indixeris mihi ut singula dilatem, non recusabo; modo tempus mihi concesseris: nam statim hoc facere, non est harum, quoad corpus, virium: paratus semper dicere, qui sunt subditi probati & qui non.* My lord, I thought fit thus to acquaint your grace, that you may not so much as mention his name with any due respect; his factious ancestors will make him notorious enough, if no treason were objected and laid to his charge. But seeing what I have in part acquainted your grace with, will next assizes be sworn against him by three evidences, and the king likewise acquainted therewith; and the said John Pannell a great finatick. I humbly have sent your grace (out of that love and affection I bear to my king and to the clergy) this caution of the said John Pannell. So I take leave, desiring to remain

Your graces most humble servant,

ROBERT YOUNGS.

Seventhly, Here is the true hand and seal of Archbishop Sancroft, which Robert Young having torn off from a real instrument of his grace's that he had casually lighted on, prefixed a false licence to it to beg in three other dioceses; and that dated even after the former letters to the archbishop, and after he had been pilloried at Bury for the first forgery.

Number VII.

WE recommed the petitioner to the diocesse of Oxford, Lincoln and Sarum, humbly beseeching the clergy of all cities and corporations (within the aforesaid diocesses) to go from house to house to receive the benevolence of all charitable Christians, towards the relief of a poor distressed clergyman.

Given under our hand and seal, at Lambeth-house,
Jan. 2. Ann. Dom. 1685.

Locus Sigilli.

W. CANT.

Two papers relating to a false plot in King James's time, which Robert Young offered to discover at Bury, when he was prisoner there, in the year 1685: both which papers are written with his own hand, and were taken out of his pocket when he was searched for instruments, wherewith he designed to break prison there.

The first paper, which seems to be a letter to some lord at court, concerning Robert Young's plot in 1685, but is not superscribed.

Number VIII.

Bury Gaale, June 13, 85.

May it please your Lordship,

ALTHOUGH I have been, and also am unwilling to trouble you with my letters, yet, notwithstanding, the treacherous speeches and intended actions of wicked rebels forceth me thereunto at present. I lately a petition to the king and parliament sent, which petition (declaring in part the purport of what I have to say) I humbly beseech your lordship, for the love of a gracious king, to take care of, and so far, that king and parliament may therewith be acquainted. Nothing is therein delivered, but what I, by sufficient evidence, can make appear to be truth: justice will in no wise for the king here be done; the reasons, when removed, I'll produce, but here I dare not; I humbly desier, before his royal majesty, and his high honourable court of parliament, to be, as soon as may be, called up, where with justice, and not with partiality, I may be heard to speak.

[And here follows some of his former sort of Latin, which I set down as I find it in his own hand.]

De his rebus omnibus obsecro & suppliciter imploro te mihi rescribere literam, in qua si indixeris mihi ut singula delatem non recusabo, paratus semper ostendere, qui sunt probati, subditi & qui non. Nihil jam superest aliud scribendum, nisi quod supplex orem ut omnes actiones secundat Deus optimus maximusque. Et ex toto corde vale.

Ex Carcere 13^o die
mensis, Junij Ann.
Dom. 85.

Tuæ salutis & amplitudinis.

Cupidissimus, &c. R. Y.

The second paper, which is the original petition that Robert Young sent up to be presented to the king and parliament in May 1685, wherein he promises to make out the discovery of his plot, if he might have his liberty, and be brought up to London to be the king's evidence. This is also recommended to the reading of the Presbyterians.

A full Discovery of Treason, by ROBERT YOUNGS, Clerk.

To the most high and mighty prince, James the second, by the grace of God, king of Great-Britain, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. and to his most honourable and high court of parliament.

The humble petition of Robert Youngs, clerk, now a prisoner in Bury St. Edmunds, in the county of Suffolk.

In most humble and lamentable wise complaineth unto your majesty and your high court of parliament.

THAT whereas your most obedient subjecte, living under the laws of God and your majesty's realms,
in

in the days of the late gracious King Charles the second, of ever blessed memory, did in all things show himself a true, faithful, and obedient subject, according to his function, as well as in the sincere administration (according to the church of England) of God's holy word, as in due obedience to the higher powers. Your said suppliant, notwithstanding, contrary to all laws of justice and equity, was notwithstanding, in very extream manner, not only cast into prison (where he, being altogether a stranger, have these eight months by past continued) but likewise (last assizes nothing being objected against him) bound over to his good behaviour, where he will (through malice, and for fear of discovering their rebellious and clandestine actions) perish inevitably; for such is the malignity of your majesties enemies against your poor subject, that they keep him close lock't up, not suffering his wife to come to him, giving order likewise, that all pen, ink, and paper, should not be permitted to be carried to him, least he make complaint. And the more severity they show, because your obedient subject did discover one John Pannel, who, like a rebel and a traitor, did call your sacred majesty a popish dog and rogue; and said, that he, against your sacred majesty, would fight for the duke of Monmouth so long as he had blood in his body. Moreover, Feb. 7, 84, about three of clock in the afternoon, he swore, that now he would accomplish his long design'd and intended purpose. Now, said he (news being brought a little before that the late king was really dead) *I will have that popish rogues head, &c.* Now by the discovery hereof, your poor subject have to himself enemies innumerable created, and yet will (so long as life continues) stand firm and unshaken, notwithstanding all the vain attempts and impetuous assaults made against him, by such men as are given to change, and have always discovered a greater regard to their own treacherous and rebellious spirits, than to that duty and legality which they owe unto your most sacred majesty. All these things, and much more shall against John Pannel, and others (whom to discover here were to no purpose) be confirmed by three witnesses. Many are the conspiracies and conspirators, who have plotted and contrived how to bring their wicked enterprizes to an head. In order hereunto (as in conscience obliged, and as a faithful subject to your majesty) can and will make a full discovery of ten Presbyterian ministers, one lord, two esquires, a colonel, a captain, a cornet, a gentleman, who having long since plotted and contrived the death of your most sacred majesty, and the subversion of the government now established amongst us, and still continues their hellish devices, who (if in time not prevented) will (with a sad *memoranda*) make known what your faithful subject doth now in part relate, they having promised, vowed, and protested, that if ever your majesty came to the crown, enjoy it you should not one year to an end. Such evidence against them singularly shall be produced, as to the consciences of all loving subjects shall seem reasonable and sufficient; and if your poor subject does

not prove by sufficient evidence what he now affirms, your said subject offers himself then to the most heavy punishment that it shall please your majesty to appoint.

In consideration whereof, may it please your most sacred majesty, and this your high court of parliament, graciously to take the premises so far into your tender consideration, as to call up to London before your princely majesty your poor subject, who will in full discover all those clandestine actions and hellish stratagems of rebellious and treacherous rebels, who intends no goodnesse towards your royal person, whom God preserve, &c. which thing being granted, your said subject doubts not but that it shall plainly appear *de unde* by sufficient evidence, who are faithful subjects and who not. Wherefore for the tender mercy of God, your said subjecte in bonds and irons, most humbly beseecheth your majesty, and this high court of parliament, benignly and graciously to grant this petition, tending so graciously to the preservation of your majesty and the government now establish'd amongst us, &c.

And your petitioner, as in duty bound, will ever pray, &c.

In this last, and in several of the foregoing papers, my reader finds mention of one John Pannel. Upon this there depends a story which must not be omitted, because it is sent me from Bury, attested under hand and seal by persons of known credit and repute: and with this I shall end all Robert Young's transactions at Bury.

It appears, that this John Pannel had not only fallen into Robert Young's displeasure, by his having been one of the witnesses of his menaces against the archbishop's life, but also for having prevented Robert's designed escape out of the common gaol there.

Robert Young, in revenge of all this; not only wrote to the archbishop against him in the venomous manner, as appears in his second letter to his grace, that there should be high treason sworn against the said John the next assizes, and not only also named him as guilty in the foregoing petition to the king and parliament, mentioning in both the particular treasons, but effectually made good his word; and the very next assizes at Ipswich, for the county of Suffolk, in the same year 1685, prosecuted John Pannell for his life before the lord chief justice Jones.

Nay, when it was objected by the judge, that this was but a single witness, Robert immediately took care to supply that defect, and out of hand produced Mary to swear the very same words, and the very same time and place, as her foreman had sworn before her.

So that had not the lord chief justice been seasonably informed of the profligate reputation of Robert and Mary; and had not the deputy-gaoler of Bury preferred voluntary to take his oath, that Mary was really absent from Robert, and had been so for a good space, both before and after the time, when the treasonable words were pretended by Robert to have been spoken by John Pannell, the poor innocent man had

been in danger of being hanged for a traitor to King James, by the perjury of these two wretched gaol-birds.

But thus much for Robert and Mary Green, &c.

Next we shall behold the same farce acted over again by the same persons, under the disguised names of Robert and Mary Jones; John and Mary Smith: she the wives of him the rectors of the same Ashford in Kent, and both at the same time.

Nay (to shew how necessary it is that great lyars should have great memories) we shall see, that two of these pretended recommendations, from Archbishop Sancroft, do very unhappily bear date the very same day, September the third, of the very same year, 1687, for the same woman, under different names.

First, Here are the forged recommendations, pretended to be from Archbishop Sancroft, of Mary Hutt, both as Mary Jones and Mary Smith, to the lords bishops of Chichester, Norwich, and St. Asaph: the body of these letters being an imitation of his grace's own hand, but all the subscriptions counterfeited to admiration.

Numb. I.

My Lord,

THIS is to acquaint your lordship, that one Mr. Robert Jones, rector of Ashford in my diocese, is a prisoner for debt, occasioned by suretyship; he is a person well known to me, and deserves our assistance. I hope you will therefore give his wife (who will suddenly attend your lordship) licence to ask and receive the charity of your dean and chapter, towards her husband's freedom, as we in our diocese have done.

Lambeth, I am, your loving friend and brother,
June 11, 1687. W. CANT.

To the lord bishop of Chichester.

My Lord,

THIS is to acquaint your lordship, that one Mr. John Smith, rector of Ashford in my diocese, is a prisoner for debt, occasioned by suretyship; he is a person well known to me, and deserves our assistance. I hope you will therefore (as other of our brethren have done) extend your charity toward his freedom; and likewise recommend his distressed condition to your dean and chapter, or in his absence to the subdean.

Lambeth, I am, my lord,
Sept. 3, 1687. Your loving friend and brother,
W. CANT.

To the lord bishop of Norwich.

My Lord,

THIS is to acquaint your lordship, that one Mr. Robert Jones, rector of Ashford in my diocese, is a prisoner for debt, occasioned by suretyship; he is a person well known to me, and deserves our assistance.

I hope you will therefore extend your charity toward his freedom, as we in our diocese have done: and likewise give his wife (who will suddenly attend your lordship) licence to ask and receive the charity of your dean and chapter.

Lambeth,
Sept. 3, 1687.

I am, my lord,
Your loving friend and brother,
W. CANT.

This letter was sealed with a bishop's seal and a wafer; and the stamp under-marked on the back of it, to signify what part of the town it came from.

To the lord bishop of St. Asaph.

(IV)

Secondly, Here is a forged letter from Dr. Fauconberge, secretary to my lord archbishop, accompanying that letter to the lord bishop of Norwich; wherein is a false list of what sums other churches and churchmen had given, to excite his lordship and his church and diocese by those examples.

Numb. II.

May it please your Lordship,

Sept. 3, 87.

I AM commanded by my lords grace of Canterbury to send this as a cover to the enclosed; and to let your lordship know, that Mr. Robert Smith, (brother to the prisoner) is appointed as the receiver. Therefore your lordship is humbly desired to transmit, by bill of exchange, your lordships charity, together with the dean's and chapters, to the aforesaid Robert Smith, living in Maiden-lane, in Westminster, and so soon as your lordship possibly can.

Your lordship's, &c.

HEN. FAUCONBERGE

I am likewise commanded to transmit you the names of those that have already given.

By the Lord archbishop of Canterbury	20	0	0
Dean and chapter of Canterbury	45	0	0
Bishop of London	10	0	0
Bishop of Ely	10	0	0
Dean and chapter of Ely	8	0	0
Bishop of Rochester	4	0	0
Dean and chapter thereof	7	0	0
Bishop of Winchester	12	12	0
Dean and chapter thereof	9	0	0
Bishop of Sarum	5	0	0
Dean and chapter thereof	12	0	0
Bishop of Chichester	4	0	0
Dean and chapter thereof	5	0	0
Bishop of Exon	4	0	0
Dean and chapter of Exon	10	0	0
Bishop of Bath and Wells	5	0	0
Dean and chapter thereof	5	0	0
University of Oxford	25	0	0

Thirdly,

Thirdly, Here are letters of those three bishops written at that time, acknowledging that they were every one deceived by an imposture so well managed; though they were some of the archbishop's most familiar friends, and perfectly acquainted with his grace's hand.

Numb. III.

May it please your Grace,

I HAVE returned the letter which came to me in your grace's name on the behalf of Mr. Jones, pretended to be of your diocese; and now find enough in it to have made me suspect the cheat: but your grace's name (too well counterfeited) and the great deference I make to it, superseded all further consideration. And, although I communicated it to the dean and chapter (who are not unacquainted with your grace's hand) yet none of them saw through it. It is much to be feared, that the cheat is still carried on, and too successfully: for he must be more sagacious than I am, whom such a letter coming by the post, then followed within two or three days by the woman herself, would not impose upon. After all, I am much more concerned for the abuse that is put upon your grace, than for that little which I suffered by it; and heartily wish the cheat detected and discovered, that your grace's name may be no longer prostituted to so vile a purpose, whilst so great a veneration is paid to it by all good men.

I am, my lord,

*To the lord archbishop of
Canterbury's grace.*

Your grace's, &c.

JOHN CICESTR.

May it please your Grace,

Norwich, Sept. 5, 87.

IN pursuance of the inclosed recommendation, I applied myself to Mr. Dean, and the prebends of this church, for their charity, towards the relief of Mr. John Smith, rector of Ashford in your grace's diocese, as the letters set forth. Mr. Dean, and the prebends, allotted five pounds to Mr. Smith, which sum, with my own mite, would have made up ten pounds, and this sum was to be paid by Mr. Dean at his arrival in London; and of this I gave a hint to Dr. Paman in my letter to him: but since we learn from the Gazette, that the whole contrivance was a cheat and a forgery; and, for the further discovery of it, I have sent the inclosed to your grace.

*To my lord archbishop of
Canterbury his grace.*

I am your grace's, &c.

WILLIAM NORWICH.

May it please your Grace,

Sept. 6, 87.

I HAVE received your grace's letter of the 3d instant by this post; the effect of it is, to bespeak the charity of this church for one Mr. Robert Jones, rector of Ashford, who is a prisoner on the account of sure-

tiship; the cause for which he suffers, does not at all commend his suit; but that which follows does very much: that he is known to your grace; and that you judge him to be one that deserves our assistance: on that account he shall have it from me in such proportion, as your grace shall think fit; and of that your grace shall judge at my coming up to London, which will be about six weeks hence, if God permit; or, if you will not judge, I will tax myself as I would do any other man in my condition, and so much beyond, as I ought to be stricter with myself than any other.

I am, my good lord,

*To my lord archbishop of
Canterbury his grace.*

Your grace's, &c.

WILL. ASAPH.

My most honoured Lord,

Sept. 13, 87.

I SEND your grace, here inclosed, that piece of forgery which came this day se'nnight, as a letter from your grace. I saw your name to it so well counterfeited, that I did not examine the hand in the rest of the letter; nor took notice of the false spelling in the word *acquaint*, and twice *diocesse*; which I should have boggled at otherwise. But your name, which I doubted not to be of your grace's own hand, was enough to assure me the whole letter was yours. And whether you writ it in haste, or had an amanuensis to write it, I was not curious to examine; or whether it was forged, which I now understand was the case. The woman rogue, by whom, or for whom it was forged, having thus made ready the bait, and hanged me upon it, came and drew up her line the next day; there she had five pounds upon her hook; and with it she got a subscription into her paper, which she carried forward to Bangor; and there, I doubt not, having baited the water with a letter from your grace, and having a subscription to second it, she hooked as much more between the bishop and the dean.

I am, my good lord,

*To my lord archbishop of
Canterbury his grace.*

Your grace's, &c.

WILL. ASAPH.

Having now followed Robert Young, and his pretended wife, to the end of the first great turn of their affairs in England, it is but reasonable, that I should use the same exactness as I have done in that part of their story which was acted in Ireland, that I should declare by what means I have had the certain information, which enabled me to trace them so narrowly also in this part of their adventures.

It was soon after my deliverance from them, on June the 13th, that I desired Mr. Needham, chaplain to Archbishop Sancroft, to let him know what danger he had escaped, together with myself and others. Immediately thereupon, his grace gave him notice of his own former rencounters with the same Robert Young; and withal ordered him to let me have a sight of most of the foregoing papers.

Having perused them, and perceiving they would effectually contribute to the farther confusion of the wretch, I intreated his grace to resign them to my disposal, and to recollect what he could farther remember on this subject.

To which request, I received these following answers from that excellent prelate: whose name alone would be sufficient authority in matters of far greater concernment than this; there being no good man that I know of, who has him not in the highest esteem for his integrity and piety.

A letter from Archbishop Sancroft to me, dated July 13, 1692.

My good Lord and Brother, Fresingfield, July 13.

I HAVE just received your's of July the 5th, and, having read it over, immediately take up my pen to tell you, that, in compliance with your earnest desires, I give up, and consign into your lordship's hands, all the papers concerning Young the Falsary, which I sent to Mr. Needham, to be made use of, and disposed, as your lordship, in your discretion, shall think fit; with this caution, notwithstanding, that, whereas there are amongst them some letters of my old dear friends, Bishop Lloyd of Norwich, and Bishop Lloyd of St. Asaph) who are both at present, in or about London) no use be made of them, without their privity, nor any further than they shall allow.

As for the narrative you desire, you shall certainly have it, as well as my old leaking memory will enable me to form it: but, though I must take the longer time for that; yet, because you tell me you long (with some impatience) for my answer to the rest; I have hastened to give it (and my kindest respects) with that readiness and heartiness, which becomes,

*For the lord bishop
of Rochester.*

*My lord,
Your lordship's, &c.*

A second letter from Archbishop Sancroft to me, dated August 24, 1692.

My Lord,

I REMEMBER well what I wrote to you in a former letter, concerning the narrative you desired, of what passed heretofore between me and Robert Young. But, when I sat down to make it, I found two things lying directly in my way. First, I was credibly informed, that you had wholly laid by your design; and, secondly, many years having passed since those things happened, and I having lately cursorily read over the papers I sent you; my memory did not serve me, without them, to judge where they were defective, or how any incoherence in them might be supplied.

But now that I am assured, that you are, in good earnest, going on with what you intended; and understand what are the particulars that remain still obscure

to you in those papers; I will not only endeavour to clear those, but the rest of the story, as far as I can remember it.

He was twice with me at Lambeth; the first time, within a month after he was degraded at Dublin, to desire some employment in the church; in order to which, he produced letters of orders, which I very much suspected. For besides, that they were not, as I remember, in form, and in the usual style; there was fixed to them, with a label, a great episcopal seal, such as we put to our leases; which, upon my objecting it, he affirmed to be the custom of the bishops in Ireland. And, when I told him I had no employment void in my gift, he was very earnest with me to recommend him to the bishop of London; with a design, I suppose, that he might have a copy to write by in his intended forgeries; but I refused.

Some time after, he came again, since when I never saw him, to desire me to recommend him to be a chaplain to a ship, or in some of the plantations; which I again refused (for, in truth, I never liked him from the beginning) telling him, that it was a part of the bishop of London's province.

In the mean time, having acquaintance with Dr. Foley, the archbishop of Dublin's chaplain, who was then in England; I sent to him for some better information concerning this importunate bold man; which produced those letters which are in your hands.

About this time he sent his woman to Windsor, with a petition to the king, pretending, that her husband, going to be minister at one of the foreign plantations, was taken by the Turkish pirates; and begging a share in the money collected for the redemption of captives. His majesty referred the petition to me and my lord of London; which yet I never saw, nor heard of, till a good while after. In the mean while, they had forged a report upon the reference, under both our hands and seals, to bring them into a share of the redemption-money.

By this time, or before, he had gotten, I know not how, one of those instruments by which we grant places in our hospitals of Croydon and Canterbury; they are written in an expanded sheet of paper, with a margin broad enough to receive the seal which we use on those occasions, and which was usually placed about the middle of the instrument. This margin he tore off, with my subscription under it, finding room enough above it to crowd in a licence to beg in three dioceses, which I wonder any man should take to be mine; both because I had upon all occasions refused to give, even worthy persons, licence to beg; and because I could not (mean as I am) be reasonably thought so silly as to bespeak three dioceses in so wretched a stile, and in such a wretched scroll of paper.

However, this gross sham, improbable as it was, prevailed with many of my friends, and he drained a great deal of money from them, till some one (I have forgot who) seized that miserable, pitiful slip of torn paper (the most contemptible that ever had the impudence to set up for a metropolitcal rescript, since the
ords

order came first into the world) and sent it to me, which was the first notice I ever had of his practices.

After this, for several years I heard not one word of Robert Young, nor knew what was become of him, till at length enter Mrs. Jones (in truth, as it proved Young's wife, or worse) pretending to be the wife of a clergyman in my diocese, then a prisoner for a vast debt, carrying in her hand a letter of mine, wholly forged, to desire the contributions of the bishops and clergy for his enlargement. I knew I had no such clerk in Kent, and though she changed the name to Smith, I think of Ashford in Kent, yet still about she went with forged letters, applying herself to my particular friends, who, with their clergy, were very bountiful to her. When I had notice of it, I disavowed the letters, as I had reason, there being manifest characters of forgery upon them; and sent to the bishop of St. Asaph to lay hold of her, and send her up to London, but she escaped us.

Whilst she was at work so far off, Young himself was playing the like pranks in my native country, where he got a great deal of money; but, coming to Bury St. Edmonds, Dr. Battely's brother, a magistrate there, observing his impudence, sent for a constable, and brought him and his quean, who by this time was come to him, before the recorder, &c. by whom, upon examination, they were imprisoned there. You have the copies of the examinations, and his original letters and confessions to me; and also copies of the informations against him, that he swore in prison he would have my blood; but how he got out of prison (unless it were because no body prosecuted him) Dr. Battely can better inform you than I, to whom therefore I refer you.

My lord, thus far I have gone, out of my desire to serve you, and shall be ready in any particular to give satisfaction, as my old weak memory will enable me; for I confess I most earnestly long to see this foul imposture detected, and right done to so many innocent persons, whose ruin he hath sought in the basest manner.

Fresingfeld,
Aug. 24, 1692.

I am, my lord,
Your lordship's, &c.

To the lord bishop of Rochester.

As far as my intelligence goes, the only punishment which the authors of all these last gross cheats sustained, after they had found them so long a time successful, was that they were pursued through England by these two advertisements in the printed Gazettes of the year 1687.

Advertisement in the Gazette, Sept. 22, 1687.

WHEREAS a woman pretending to be the wife of R. Jones, rector of Ashford in Kent, hath gone about England and Wales, begging the charity of several persons, for the relief of her said husband, whom she pretended to be in prison for debt; and hath both forged several letters, as from his grace the lord arch-

bishop of Canterbury to several bishops, and received several sums of money. These are to give notice, that there is no such person as R. Jones rector of Ashford, and that his grace never wrote any such letters. It is therefore desired, that, if the said woman can be met with, she be apprehended, and dealt with according to law.

Advertisement in the Gazette, Oct. 6, 1687.

WHEREAS a woman, pretending to be the wife of R. Jones, vicar of Ashford in Kent, and now in prison for debt, and one who calls himself Smith, and pretends also to be vicar of Ashford, have forged several letters as from the archbishop of Canterbury, and, begging up and down in several parts of England and Wales, have received several sums of money. These are to give notice, that neither of these men is vicar of Ashford, and that the archbishop never wrote any such letters. It is therefore desired, that, if the said persons can be met with, they be apprehended, and be dealt with according to law.

But how they got clear of this ill affair, whether they suffered any corporal punishment for their going under the names of Jones and Smith, as they had done for those of Green, I am not yet certainly informed. For the present I am rather inclined to believe that they escaped unpunished, because the meek Archbishop Sancroft would not permit them to be prosecuted in his name; for which they have since well rewarded him.

But this I only speak upon conjecture; and the truth is, it is impossible that the world should ever have an exact account of Mr. Robert Young's whole life, unless he himself would be pleased to write the counterpart of his story.

But it was not long after this, that Robert Young and Mary took the short turn they had at Bromley; which was indeed so short, that they were vanished thence before I knew of their being there. Only as to the man's ill character, during that time, and his frequent boasting of his abilities in forgery, I am furnished by a worthy gentleman, my neighbour, with the ensuing certificate:

THESE are to certify, that, during the short time of Mr. Robert Young's office at Bromley-college, which as I remember, was about six weeks, he went under an ill character of his wicked living; particularly I have heard him brag, before Mr. Roman and others, that he could counterfeit any man's hand in England.

Witness my hand the 1st of Sept. 1692.

WALSINGHAM KING.

Now, because this is the proper place, I have here ready for my reader, as I promised him, the intire letter which Robert Young wrote out of Newgate, to the widows of the college at Bromley; whereof I cited before some honest truths, and quaint expressions:

Madam,

Madam,

BEGGING your pardon for this my rude attempt, I humbly crave leave thus to set forth my present miserable condition unto you, and all the rest of the worthy gentlewomen belonging to that college, to whom, I hope, you will communicate this. I have been almost twelve months a prisoner, confined, destitute of friends, money, &c. so that it hath been the providence of God that hath hitherto supported me. I thank God my confinement was not occasioned either by murder or felony, or any ill thing; but an Irishman, (whom I pray God forgive) swore against me, that, by virtue of bills, I raised money for the use of King James. Now, to make you sensible that I never acted any such thing, and that those things, which were laid to my charge, were as false as hell; you may remember, that, during my abode among you, and amidst the worst of times, I was one who stood up for the vindication of the church of England, and altogether against the Roman Catholics; whereas, if I had not a member of the church of England been, then was the time (when authority was on my side) to lift up my head; yet, at the same time, as you can all bear me witness, I stood in the gap against their doctrine and clandestine actions: all which, methinks, is sufficiently demonstrable, that they have laid to my charge things that I know not of; yet for the same a fine was laid upon me, under which I now labour, to the great disquiet of my soul, and the starving of my natural body, which, if not supported, will suddenly (being not able to subsist any longer) be transformed into its first matter. May it therefore please you, and all the vertuous gentlewomen of that college, so far to cast a compassionate eye on my most miserable and despicable condition, as to extend your charitable benevolence toward my enlargement here hence, and send it me this week by a trusty hand. The reason why I begg it this week, is because I have employed one to remove me to the King's-bench, where I expect my freedom, and, in the mean time, some employ, whereby to keep soul and body together; but, if continued here, I shall perish out of pure want: therefore I hope you will putt on bowels which are human, and lend your helping hand to a fallen brother. I pray God incline your hearts to do things for God's glory and the good of the church; and I beg leave to remain

Your most humble servant,

And affectionate brother in the Lord,
ROBERT YOUNG.

My most humble service to you all in general, whom I pray God keep and support now and for ever.
I have lately given me 30s. toward my removal to the King's-bench, but it will cost 4l.
Direct for me at the masters side debtors, in Newgate, London.

For Mrs. Young, or Mr. Craige, widows, or any other widows of the college in Bromley in Kent.

I am now attending Robert Young in his next stages to St. Albans and Litchfield, where he managed his business for a time without Mary Hutt, and some time in concert with her, and both times like himself.

The season, indeed, of his coming to, and acting in these places was, of all others, most proper to conceal the impudent knaveries he practised there, and in the parts thereabout, it being towards the latter end of the year 1688, and the beginning of 1689 (the very time when all men's minds were amused with greater matters, and intent upon the revolution of the government, which happened during that interval) for, as it is usually found, that the little mean thieves and pick-purses are wont to have the greatest harvest in places where there is the greatest bustle and croud, and where they find most quarrels and frays; so this great rogue could not wish for a fitter occasion to escape unperceived in his cheats, than when there was such an universal combustion in all parts of the nation, and when men were generally more solicitous to save their lives, than their pockets.

And, accordingly, he made use of this opportunity, both at St. Albans and Litchfield, to the best advantage for his designs; so that I find a world of new matter rising up before me, both that city, and that town, and all those countries resounding, to this day, with the noise of his and his pretended wife's forgeries, and other their lewd pranks.

But, out of mere compassion to my reader, and, indeed, weariness in myself, I will reduce, into as narrow a compass as I can, that part of their history, which else, perhaps, would have proved more copious, than any of the rest.

It may therefore suffice, that I only give some few undoubted proofs, to justify what I have already affirmed of his behaviour at St. Albans, and at Litchfield. First, Here are two letters to give an account of his general conversation at Litchfield; and then several other letters and informations concerning the notorious forgeries, which he practised on Mr. Clark of Northampton, Mr. Mathew of Daventry, and Mr. Olds of Coventry; and also the depositions of Robert Young's own servant, and Mary Young herself at Litchfield; and, lastly, the forged bills and letters of advice by which they accomplished all these cheats.

First, a letter to me, concerning Robert Young's life, during his stay at Litchfield, from a reverend clergyman of that cathedral.

My Lord,

Litchfield, July 23, 1692.

I RECEIVED this morning your lordship's of the twentieth instant, and have here inclosed as much, as the shortness of time would permit, of Young's carriage in this place. I shall be glad, if this may help to clear the innocent, and detect the fraud of villains.

Robert Young, who pretended to be an Irish clergyman, and to have good church preferment in Ireland, and a considerable temporal estate, lived for some time in

in Litchfield, and lodged with one Moreton, who kept a publick house.

During his being here, he was observed to have store of gold and silver, and some plate.

He kept his man and two horses, and rode often abroad, but, as many observed, more like a highway-man than a divine. Before he left this place, he went to lodge at a private house, where the gentlewoman's maid was debauched, and, some say, by him.

He made love to a gentleman's daughter in Tamworth, and in all likelihood had married her, if a woman had not come hither, whom he owned to be his wife.

It is said, he would have given his man money to have killed this woman, whom he owned to be his wife; which when the man refused to do, he attempted to kill him.

He was arrested here first for debt, and afterwards for taking bills of exchange out of the mail, and from this prison was removed to Newgate. There is one Mr. Mathew at Daventry, who, as I hear, can give more account of Young's rogueries.

I am your lordship's, &c.

L. A.

Secondly, The substance of a letter to Sir R. R. from a person of worth and credit at Litchfield, to the same purpose as the former:

S I R,

I HAVE made the utmost inquiry I can into Young's behaviour while he was at Litchfield, which was not above a quarter of a year, or thereabouts. When he came first hither, he was very full of money and plate; pretended to be a dean in Ireland, and to have a plentiful estate there, and to have brought the money and plate thence. So soon as he became a little acquainted, he began to inquire out for a fit person to make him a wife, and presently fell in league with a woman of Tamworth (who was to have a thousand pounds to her portion) and had prevailed with her to marry him, as he himself boasted; but while it was *in fieri*, there came a woman hither, who said she was his wife, and who doubtless was so; and the villain, as his man reported, would have hired him to have killed her, and upon his refusal endeavoured to kill him. Before he came to Litchfield, it seems he had been for some time at St. Alban's, where, by courting the postmaster's daughter, he obtained the privilege of looking into the packets, and by that means got divers letters into his custody, which had bills for return of money inclosed in them; with which he posted his wife to London, who there received a good part of the money. This we know by the relation of Mr. Olds, a mercer in Coventry, and of another mercer in Daventry, the former of which coming hither and surprising him, while he had money and plate left, got as much in value as satisfied his bill; and the latter being sent hither by him, in two or three days after, seized his person, and got him committed to

the town gaol, and thence removed him to London, where he was tried, and convicted of these and some other such roguish practices, and pilloried for them.

Sir, I am, &c.

Thirdly, A letter to me from Mr. Allestree, minister of Daventry, touching Robert Young's demeanor at Litchfield, and particularly his forging bills of exchange, under the names of Mr. Olds and Mr. Mathew.

My Lord,

Daventry, Sept. 20, 1692.

I HAVE, in obedience to your lordship's desires, inquired concerning the villanies that Robert Young has perpetrated here, and made this place the stage thereof, and I am furnished with such unquestionable intelligence, and such abundance of matter of this kind, that does sufficiently discover the disposition of the man, and the pravity of his mind, that he is prepared by nature, custom, or indigence, for any sort of wickedness: so that knowing certainly the many cheats he has acted here, and in our neighbourhood, without compunction or remorse, it is no wonder to me, that, by degrees, he is risen at last to attempt the life of others, by the trade of forgery, and swearing men into treasonable acts and associations.

About the latter end of the year 1688, we were alarmed with the news of a notorious cheat that had been practised upon Mr. Shipton in Friday-street, by a villain who had forged the hand of Mr. Justice Mathew, of this town, and copied his letters so exactly, that he himself could not discover the difference by the strokes of the pen, or disown the writing upon view, but only by being conscious to himself that he had never written, or set his hand to any paper of that moment and importance; so that Mr. Shipton, who was his correspondent in London, was easily imposed upon by the similitude of hands, and paid two hundred pounds upon a pretended bill drawn upon him from Mr. Mathew. When the following post gave notice of the payment of the money, and also of the order that was followed therein, all endeavours were speedily used to apprehend and discover the impostor, and many journies were undertaken into several countries in pursuit of him; but all inquiry and search for the detection of the theft, and of the author, were fruitless and unsuccessful, till it happened, after some considerable distance of time, that the news of this cheat spreading far and wide, one Mr. Olds of Coventry sent word to Mr. Mathew, that he had been formerly cheated of fourteen pounds, that he had discovered the rogue that had forged his hand, and that he had given him satisfaction for his money. He did not know but this might be the man that had put the like trick upon him in a greater sum, and referred it to his consideration, whether it would be worth his while to go so far as Litchfield for enquiry and satisfaction. It will not be improper in this place, my lord, to trace things from the beginning, and examine how Mr. Olds came by this intelligence,

ligence, that helped him to the recovery of his money; the cheat that was put upon him was of an ancient standing, and he had been a long time under the sense of the loss of his money, without any expectation ever to retrieve it. Now this Young, who had practised these rogueries upon him, and divers others, and by these frauds had lined his pockets with a competent sum, both of gold and silver, repairs to Litchfield in a decent habit; pretends himself an Irish protestant and refugee, one that was persecuted for righteousness, and had lost all for the sake of the gospel. The dean and prebendaries believe him, and receive him with a great deal of civility, charity, and humanity, permitting him to preach in their several courses, that so their benevolence to him might be greater, and seem like an act of justice, and the discharging of a debt.

In this pomp, with all manner of accommodation, he resides a long time among them at Litchfield, and follows the sports that were suitable to the season, whilst his wife, by his instructions, is carrying on her usual cheats at London. Now having represented himself a bachelor, he made his court to a young woman, and had advanced far in her esteem; but the detection of his rogueries broke off the intrigue. For, his wife sending him word that she was coming down to him, he went forth one morning with his servant (who carried his gun after him) a shooting, and there proposed to him the killing of her, offering him a great reward for his pains: but the motion being rejected with abhorrence, he threatened to be revenged of him, and cut his throat.

The man, believing his master was very serious in his threatenings, and that he would accomplish his malice, when privacy and night favoured him, run away from his service; and knowing the cheat that had been acted upon Mr. Olds, repaired as fast as he was able to Coventry, to give him notice of it; and he accordingly went down to Litchfield, charged Mr. Young with the forgery, who, rather than he would hazard the losing of his credit and his station with the prebends, gave him satisfaction immediately.

And now, my lord, I am arrived at the point of time, which made way for the discovery of Mr. Mathew's cheat; the account of which I will choose to give you in his own words, and insert in the body of this letter:

About the latter end of February, 1688, one Mary Young had a bill of nine pounds on Mr. Shipton, which said sum she received the fourth of March following of him, at the Seven Stars in Friday-street. On the nineteenth, and on the twenty-first of the said March, both my letters of cash concerns were opened, transcribed, and counterfeited; and advice given of a two hundred pounds bill, which was also counterfeited; upon which Mr. Shipton paid to the said Mary Young two hundred pounds, the twenty-second of March following. Robert Young lay at St. Alban's, as was supposed, and, by corrupting the post-master there, had opportunity of counter-

feiting my letters. Some time after, the said Mary Young was taken at the Maidenhead and Three Kings in Cheapside, with a counterfeit bill on Mr. Billers, pretended to be drawn by Mr. Joseph Olds of Coventry. She was then charged with the cheat she had put upon Mr. Shipton, and was committed to Wood-street compter, from whence she removed herself to the King's-Bench in Southwark, and when the fire broke out there, made her escape.

About the tenth of December following I heard of their being at Litchfield, and immediately went down post; came thither about twelve at night, and in the morning beset the house where Robert Young lodged; and, after above an hour's search, found him in the cellar hidden under a stack of furze. At his first apprehension he owned the cheat, and offered his globes and books for satisfaction; but they being refused, he denied all. His wife also said, before the magistrate, that was the first time ever he had seen her, though his servant swore that they had lived years together, and that she had borne him several children. From Litchfield they were brought to London, and tried the fifteenth of January, 1689, where, upon full evidence, they were found guilty of cheating and forgery; and were sentenced to stand in the pillory in Cheapside, and at the Royal-Exchange, and fined one hundred marks; the first day of the term following to stand in the pillory in Westminster, and fined one hundred marks more: his wife the same punishment, but her fine was but twenty marks.

My lord, I should be very glad, &c. as being

Your lordship's, &c.

CHARLES ALLESTREE.

Fourthly, A letter from Mr. Mathew, a justice of the peace, confirming the former relation as to his part in it.

Mr. Allestree,

I HAVE given my lord bishop of Rochester as full an account of that rascal Young, as time will permit; but, if required, can get more particulars against him from Northampton and Coventry. I shall be very glad if I can be instrumental to clear my lord from the imputation this villain has laid him under; knowing how ready a great part of the world is to speak evil (especially of their sort) of dignities. Pray when you write to his lordship, assure him that

Coventry, Sept.

I am his lordship's, &c.

12, 1692.

BENJ. MATHEW.

Fifthly, The information of Joseph Olds, of Coventry, mercer.

THE said informant maketh oath, That Mr. Robert Young, the person now present, having cheated and defrauded him of a considerable sum of money (viz. in May or June, 1683, by receipt of ten pounds,

pounds, part of a forged bill of exchange of one hundred pounds, pretended to be drawn by this deponent upon Mr. John Billers of London; and in August last, by receipt of thirty-four pounds, ten shillings, surreptitiously received by the said Mr. Young, or order, by intercepting two bills of exchange; one drawn upon Mr. Wootton in the Strand, for twenty pounds, and the other upon Joseph Toovey, cheefemonger, for fourteen pounds, ten shillings) the said Mr. Olds did take out a *capias* out of the court of record in the city of Litchfield, and the said Mr. Young being privy to it, owned the fraud, and made him satisfaction thereof; and drew out a letter or note, importing an order, directed, as this deponent remembers, to his wife, and thereby required her to pay a certain number of pieces of gold, to the value of about seven pounds; and that the woman now present, Mary Young, did, pursuant thereto, bring the number of pieces of gold, and delivered them to the said Mr. Young, and that the said Mr. Young delivered them to this deponent. This deponent further saith, That Mr. Billers (this deponent's correspondent at London) in his letter to him, informed this deponent, that he had received his letter, or rather a copy of it, with the advice of drawing a bill upon him for payment of two hundred pounds, at sight, to Sarah Harris, which money he had not paid, but that the person that brought it was secured, and proved to be the same that cheated Mr. Shipton of two hundred pounds, under the name of Mary Young, or words to that effect.

*Capt. apud Civit. Litchfield super
Sacram. præd' Josephi Olds,
9^o die Decem. 1689, coram*

JOSEPH OLDS.

Thomas Marshall.
Will. Marshall.

Sixthly, The examination and confession of Mary, the wife of Robert Young, clerk, late of Wapping, near the Hermitage-stairs, at the sign of the Tobacco Prefs. Taken the ninth day of December, 1689.

City of Litchfield, ff.

THE said examinee upon oath saith, That she was married by Dean Dixy in Ireland, at county Cavan, to the said Robert Young, about nine years in July last; and that the said Mr. Young then kept a grammar-school there; and saith, That he was benefited under the bishop of Kilmore's chaplain, Mr. Crew, in Ireland, and had thereby thirty pounds *per annum*. That she hath had five children by him, and that they are all dead. That she did go, by order from her husband, the said Robert Young, with a bill upon Mr. Richard Shipton, a linen-draper, at the Seven Stars, in Friday-street, London, and drawn in the name of Mr. Mathew of Daventry, for two hundred pounds; and did thereupon demand, and receive the said two hundred pounds from the said Mr. Shipton, about February, March, or April last; which bill was delivered her by her said husband, and the

money to him delivered by her. That her husband told her, he gave the post-master of St. Alban's ten or fifteen guineas to open the packet, and to take out some letters; but the truth of this she knows not, otherwise than by the information of the said Robert Young, her husband. That her husband and she came out of Ireland in May was twelve months; but whether he was, or is in holy orders, she knows not, but believes he is; and says, that her maiden name was Mary Hutt, of county Cavan aforesaid.

*Capt. apud Civit. Litchfield,
3 die Decem. 1689, coram*

MARY YOUNG.

Thom. Marshall.
Will. Marshall.

THESE are true copies of the information taken upon oath, at the city of Litchfield; before the justices of the peace of the said city, against Robert Young, the day and year aforesaid; which original informations remain in the custody of me

5 Octob. 1692.

R. WAKEFIELD,
Town-clerk of the said city.

THE afore-mentioned Robert Young and his wife, being in the custody of the sheriff of the city and county of Litchfield, were delivered to a messenger especially sent for them, in obedience to a warrant under the hand and seal of the right honourable Charles earl of Shrewsbury, Waterford, and Wexford, then principal secretary of state; bearing date the sixteenth day of December, 1689, by the then sheriff of the said city, about the twentieth of the said month.

Witness my hand, the 5th of October, 1692.

R. WAKEFIELD,
Town-clerk of Litchfield.

Seventhly, The information of James Young, of the city of Litchfield, vintner:

THE said informant maketh oath, That he knows Mr. Robert Young, clerk, now present, and Mary Young now present; and that he believes her to be the said Mr. Robert Young's wife, and hath known them to live at Wapping a quarter of a year together, and dine together, and lie together; and that they formerly lived together in Dublin; and that she had two children by him there, and he owned her for his wife, and the children to be his; and that since he came over into England, this deponent lived with them in Wapping a quarter of a year; and that the said Mr. Robert Young frequented the post-house in St. Alban's, and that he courted the post-master's daughter; and that he hath heard him say, the ostler at the post-house (called John) brought him up the bags out of the packet, and he opened and took what letters he pleased, and hath sent this deponent, being then his servant, to receive monies upon bills of exchange that he had fetched from St. Alban's; namely,

14l. 5s. from a cheesemonger, near the Cock in Aldersgate-street, London, and allowed 5s. for the speedy payment of it; and 20l. from a man at the Sword and Helmet in the Strand, by another bill, intercepted by Mr. Young as aforesaid; which bill this deponent received by the said Mr. Young's order, and delivered the sum of 20l. thereof to him. But this deponent having not delivered the 14l. 5s. to the said Mr. Young, he searched this deponent, and the said deponent hid nine guineas, but never could find it since; and for that this deponent would not go to London upon a message to the said Mrs. Young, to bring her down into the country, and hang or drown her coming down (for which he offered this deponent 6l.) the said Mr. Young, near Cannost-wood, or Weeford-park, charged a gun, and attempted to shoot this deponent; but the gun not going off upon twice cocking, and his own horse starting at the snapping of the gun, this deponent wrested it from his hand, and rode away with it, till he came to Litchfield, and then discharged it, and carried it home to the Talbot in Litchfield.

*Capt. & jurat. apud Civit.
Litchfield, 9 Dec. 1689,
coram*

JAMES YOUNG.

Thom. Marshall.
Will. Marshall.

Eighthly, The further examination and information of James Young; taken at Litchfield aforesaid, the 14th day of December, 1689.

THE said James Young confesseth, that he hath heard the afore-mentioned Mr. Robert Young (during the time that he lived with the said Robert Young) confess, that the afore-mentioned Mary Young had received above 500l. for him in London within a twelvemonth, by bills of exchange, forged, and surreptitiously obtained by him, namely, 200l. from Mr. Shipton, and 150l. from some other persons, whose names this examine hath now forgot; and that he received 30l. himself from a shopkeeper, and several other sums of money, which this informant hath now forgot; and that he blamed this examine for not receiving two other bills, which the said Robert Young would have had this informant to have gone with, and demanded, and to have received; and then boasted, that he had himself received the 30l. above-mentioned, and that he had given the post-mistress's son of St. Alban's 50l. by several times, to let him be privy to the post bags and packet, and that he had made use of them on these like occasions all this last summer: and that he went by the name of Robert Kendall in St. Alban's, and used to be there sometimes a week, sometimes a fortnight together, though his habitation was at Wapping. And says, That when this informant refused to go with the bills, as above-mentioned, the said Robert Young called him fool, and told him, if he were apprehended, it was but standing in the pillory an hour or two; and that it was nothing, he had stood in the pillory him-

self, and had been imprisoned and laid in bolts at Suffolk for a considerable time.

*Taken at Litchfield, the 14th
day of Dec. 1689, before*

JAMES YOUNG.

Thom. Marshall

THESE are true copies of the informations taken at the city of Litchfield, before the justices of peace of the said city, against Robert Young, the day and year aforesaid; which original informations remain in the custody of

5 Oct. 1692.

R. WAKEFIELD,
Town-clerk of the said city.

Ninthly, The true and the false bills of exchange, and false letters of advice, by which the several forgeries upon Mr. Clarke, Mr. Mathew, and Mr. Olds, were transacted.

First, The forged bill to Mr. Kendall, to pay Robert Young twenty pounds, under the name of Robert Smith:

Northampton, 10 July, 1688.

MR. Kendall, pray pay one Thirsdag
next the sume of twenty pounds to Mr. }
John Philips, or order, for the use of Mr. } 20 0 0
Robert Smith for like valew hear receivd,
and plase to accounte of your reall friend

John Clarke.

*This to Mr. Jonathan Kendall,
at the 3 pigens in Milke-
street, London.*

The indorsement.

RECEIVED, the 16th of July, 1688, }
the full contents of this bill, being twenty } 20 0 0
pounds, I say received

Per Rob. Smith.

Secondly, The true bill of Mr. Clarke to Mr. Kendall for the same sum, upon which the first was forged:

Northampton, July 10th, 1688.

MR. Kendall, pray pay one Thirsdag
next the sume of twenty pounds to Mr. }
John Philips, or order, for the use of Mr. } 20 0 0
Robert Smith for like vallew hear receivd,
and plase to accounte of your reall friend

John Clarke.

*This for Mr. Jonathan Kendall,
at the 3 pigens in Milke-street,
London.*

The indorsement.

July 17, 1688.

PAID Mr. Robert Smith the twenty pounds back again at Northampton,

John Clarke.

Thirdly,

Thirdly, The forged bill from Mr. Clarke to Mr. Kendall, for one hundred fifty pounds, which Mary Young received under the name of Mary Clarke:

Northampton, the 5th of Octob. 1688.

MR. Kendall, I pray you pay one Tuesday next to Mrs. Mary Clarke the sum of one hundred and fifty pounds for like value here receiv'd, and place to the account of your real friend,

John Clarke.

To Mr. Jonathan Kendall,
at the 3 pigen in Milke-
street, London.

The indorsement.

RECEIVED, the 9th of Octob. 1688, }
the full contents of this bill, being one } 150 0 0
hundred and fifty pounds, I say received }

The mark of
Mary | | | Clarke.

Fourthly, The forged letter of advice from Mr. Clarke to Mr. Kendall, where notice of the one hundred fifty pounds bill is inserted:

Mr. Kendall,

I AM not a little troubled to hear Mr. Ridly has not paid you as yet any moneys; pray, if you have not yet heard from him, send by the laid post, and, if that will not do, pray let some person attend the concern, and what it costs charge to account. Pray also press for the bill of 5l. lent Sr Symon —, also the bill last sent of Mr. Willames for 4l. 8s. I hope all will suddenly be paid; the bill of 20l. due to Will. Oldam, as I sent last Monday, is promised to be brought to your shop in a little time. I pray you send 3 or 4 lines under ritt to marchant Porter, if the bill is not accepted; but my friend gives me all assurance it will be paid at the time. My lord is a very sweet youth to take up 40l. of me in such sort, and now to deal so by me; he owes me at least 150l. and promised I should have part of that suddenly, and now to serve me thus I take it ill from him, but I will right to him, and I pray you send me down that note he gave me; if my old lord should know he should deal so by me, he would be very angry. [I have given a bill to Mrs. Clarke for 150l. to be paid at sight; I intreat you to pay when she comes for it.] Also I have given a bill to Mr. Bateman for 40l. to be paid Alderman Mauffon in 6 days after sight, also a bill for 25l. to one Mr. Ray in a day or two after, or at sight.

I am your real friend,

*This for Mr. Jonathan Kendall,
at the three pigen in Milke-
street, London.*

John Clarke.

S I R,

Northampton, 7th of Oct. 1688.

THIS is to desire you to send a letter next post to Mr. Swan at Hatson in Essecks 5 miles from

Braintery of whom I had the bill of 100l. payable the 14th instant to Mr. Kendall for use of Mr. John Whittorne, for, if you should fail my friend Mr. Kendall of the moneys about that time, it might be a great prejudish to me.

Sir, I am your friend and servant

This for Marchant Porter.

John Clarke.

Next follows the cheat upon Mr. Mathew and Mr. Shipton, in the same order.

First, A true bill from Mr. Mathew to Mr. Shipton, to pay Mary Young nine pounds:

Mr. Shipton,

February 21, 88.

PAYE at sight of this my bill to Mrs Mary Young, or to her assigns, nine pounds for the same sum received at the Wheat-sheaf at Dentry, by

*At the 7 Stares in Friday-
street: This.*

Your friend and servant,

Jonathan Mathew.

The indorsement.

RECEIVED, the 4th of March, }
1688, nine pounds in full of this bill, } 9 0 0

Per Mary Young.

Secondly, The forged bill for two hundred pounds, payable to Mary Young:

Mr. Shipton,

March 18, 1688.

PAYE at sight of this my bill to Mrs. Mary Young, or to her assigns, 200l. for the same sum received of her at the Wheat-sheaf at Dentry, by

*At the 7 Stares in Friday-
street: This.*

Your friend and servant,

Jonathan Mathew.

The indorsement.

RECEIVED, the 21th of March, }
1688, two hundred pound in full of } 200 0 0
this bill, }

Per Mary Young.

Thirdly, The forged letter of advice, in which notice of the two hundred pounds is inserted:

S I R,

I HAVE drawne a bill on you to pay Mr. Sam. Bird, or order, 30l. [and a bill likewise on you to pay Mrs. Mary Young 200l. which pray pay her on demand.] Mr. Woodward will pay you 200l. at least this week or the next following. Mr. Campion for Dev Wall 100 and odd pounds for

*Daintry, 9 March
1688.*

Your humble servant,

Benj. Mathew.

To Mr. Richard Shipton
at the 7 Stares in Friday-
street, London.

4 A 2

Fourthly,

Fourthly, A true letter of Mr. Mathew, in the postscript whereof forged notice is given of the two hundred pounds bill:

S I R,

BE pleased to pay to William Peytue, Esq. or order, 66l. and place 7l. 10s. to accompt of Thomas Lucas, that I have received of him for your use; who am

Your humble servant,

Benj. Mathew.

I hope you have paid Mrs. Mary Young 200l. and Mr. Sam. Bird 30l.

Daintrey, March 21, 1688.

Fifthly, Mr. Mathew's letter to Mr. Shipton, upon notice of the cheat:

Mr. Shipton,

I HAVE just now received a letter from you, wherein you say you have paid 200l. to Mary Young. I never receiv'd any such sum, nor drew any such bill, therefore have sent Tom away post to let you know it, that if possible you might retrieve it.

Your servant,

Benj. Mathew.

My father saith he never drew any such bill, and Tom will satisfy you he hath not.

Daintrey, 8 of the clock Friday night.

Sixthly, Mary Young's letter to Mr. Mathew, after she had cheated him of two hundred pounds:

S I R,

THIS is to give you notice, that I have borrowed on your credit from Mr. Shipton 200 ponds, and when I am able I will pay you again. The way I got your letter out of the post-office in London, was by seeing one of the men that carried the letters about: and by that letter of advice I procured another to be write, so that you need not trouble yourself any more. I rest,

M. Young alias Brown, alias Stewart, alias Forbus, alias Boner, &c.

For Mr. Jonathan Mathew at Daintrey, near Coventary.

These at the Wheat-sheafe.

Lastly, Here are the cheats upon Mr. Olds and Mr. Billers, all but the bill of 20l. which I have not seen.

First, The forged bill of 100l. from Mr. Olds to Mr. Billers, June 12, 1683, whereof Robert Young only got 10l.

Brother Billers,

Coventry, June 12, 1683.

AT sight of my bill, bearing date June 12, be pleased to pay unto Mr. Robert Young the sume

of a hundred pounds, which I have received from him. I have nothing els at present, but this letter of advice from him, who is

Your loving brother and servant,

To Mr. Billers, at the three Kings in Cheapside, London.

Joseph Olds.

June 13th, 1683.

RECEIVED from Mr. John Billers the sume of ten pounds. Sir, I say received by me.

Robert Young.

Secondly, A true bill of Samuel Croxal, upon Joseph Young to John Billers, for use of Mr. Olds for 14l. 10s. Aug. 5, 1689. But received by Robert Young's man, upon account of a forged indorsement:

The 5th of Aug. 1689.

Friend Joseph Young,

AT site of this my bill, or ten days after, I pray pay to John Billers, or order, the sume of fourteen pounds ten shillings, for the use of Joseph Olds: make good payment, and plase it to the accompt of thy friend,

At Long-lane end, in Aldersgate-streate, London.

Sam. Croxall.

Indorsed thus,

PRAY pay to my man, James Moorten, the within bill. As witness my hand, Aug. 14, 1689.

John Billers.

RECEIVED, the 14th August 89, fourteen pounds ten shillings, being the full contents of this bill for my Mr. John Billers.

14 10 0

Per James Morton.

Thirdly, A true bill of Mr. Olds, for 10l. to Mr. Billers, Feb. 21, 88, for Sarah Harris:

For 10 0 0.

Coventry, 21 Feb. 1688.

AT sight pray pay unto Mrs. Sarah Harris, the summe of ten pounds, value received of her as per advice from

Your loving brother and servant,

To Mr John and Benj. Billers, at the 3 Kings in Cheapside, London.

Joseph Olds.

The indorsement.

RECEIVED February 28th, 1688-9, ten pounds in full of this bill.

Per S H Harris
Her mark.

Fourthly, A false bill for 200l. from Mr. Olds, Aug. 10, 1689, by which Sarah Harris, alias Mary Young, was discovered:

For

For 200 0 0

Coventry, 10th Aug. 1689.

A T fight, pray pay unto Mrs. Sarah Harris the summe of two hundred pounds value, received of her as per advice from

Your loving brother and servant,

Joseph Olds.

Fifthly, A false letter from Mr. Olds, wherein advice of the 200l. bill is inserted. Aug. 11, 89.

Loving Brother,

YOURS of the 6th instant received—and mind the contents.—my dear wife is but poorly, and much as was when at Coventry; she does continue using the means went for; the Lord sanctify them for her good. Pray accept and pay my 200l. bill at fight to Mrs. Sarah Harris, or order, No. 78, value of herself. Mr. Watson does not as yet accept the 15l. bill; says must first write to London, where has money lays, and if can get it paid there, shall know next week, with kind respects and service to you and my sister. Rest, in some haste,

For Mr. Benj. Billers, at the
3 Kings in Cheapside.

Yours,

Joseph Olds.

Coventry, Aug. 11, 1680.

Perhaps, my reader may wonder why I have been so accurate in setting down at large all these true and forged bills of exchange, and letters of advice. But the reason is, I have had for some time, and have now at this present all the originals of them in my keeping: I have shewn them to very many persons of great sagacity, both of the nobility and clergy, both of scholars and merchants: and after an exact view and comparison of them distinctly, line by line, word by word, letter by letter, I must say, all that have seen them were strangely astonished at the surprising similitude between the false writings and the true: and they have done Robert Young this justice, as to pronounce them all to be great master-pieces of forgery.

For my part I will only add, that since he could perform all this only with two hands, how many names soever he had, most certainly woe would have been to all the citizens and traders of England by false bills of exchange; woe to all the noblemen, bishops, and gentlemen, by false plots and associations, if once Robert Young could have had his wish, and been another Briareus with an hundred hands, which I assure my reader is no flight of mine, but his own in his letter from Bury to Archbishop Sancroft.

My reader having, by this time, found that Robert Young had so often deserved Newgate, will now, I suppose, be glad to see him brought thither to his own home.

But first (according to the course of my method) I must shew that he was sent for up from Litchfield, for treasonable practices against the government, which was done by this following warrant from the earl of Shrewsbury.

Charles earl of Shrewsbury, Waterford, and Wexford,
&c. one of the lords of his majesty's most honourable
privy council, and principal secretary of state.

THESE are, in his majesty's name, to authorize and require you (taking a constable to your assistance) to search for, seize, and apprehend the persons of Robert Young, Mary Young, and James Young, for dangerous and treasonable practices against the government, and them to bring before me, to answer to such matters as shall on his majesty's behalf be objected against them: and for so doing this shall be your warrant. And herein all mayors, justices of the peace, constables, and other his majesty's officers civil and military, are to be assisting to you. Given at the court at Whitehall the 16th day of December, 1689.

To Henry Legat, one of the
messengers of his majesty's
chamber in ordinary.

SHREWSBURY.

Robert Young and } Left in custody the 30th of Dec:
James Young, } cember, 89, by Mr. Legat.

By virtue of this warrant we find Mr. Legat, the messenger, brought Robert from the gaol at Litchfield to the gate-house in Westminster; whither, as soon as he came to town, he procured his prisoner to be removed: for, being more cautious than some other messengers since, he would not charge himself with the safe keeping of so dangerous a guest, as he soon perceived him to be.

By the way, Mr. Legat himself has told me of one passage, in their journey up, which I believe my reader will thank him for. It is, that Robert Young desired him to stop and call at a little alehouse upon the road, where they found a very old mean fellow, who (as Robert declared) was his father; and, which is yet more strange, the old fellow owned him to be his son.

And, since that time, Mr. Legat, being in Ireland, met by chance the same old man in the streets of Limerick, after it was delivered up to the English. Whereupon, taking acquaintance again with him, by inquiry, he found that he went about in that country, getting a poor livelihood by professing himself to be a fortune-teller and a conjuror. So that thus far we have a pretty account of Robert Young's genealogy, down from the duke of Lenox to the Irish conjuror.

From the gate-house (as I have already said) he was removed by the lord chief justice's order to Newgate: where, if my reader and I myself were not quite tired with him, I have plenty of instances to prove that he was always the same. One I will give:

During his being prisoner there, whilst none questioned but he was in holy orders, he clandestinely married a fellow gaol-bird of his to a young heiress. For which vile fact, so esteemed even in Newgate, being more severely treated than before, he wrote Captain Richardson a letter under his own hand, which

which I have seen; wherein he tries to excuse himself for so great a crime, by an argument that is some what singular, and may be reckoned as one of his most ingenious shifts.

It is to this sense, 'Do not you (says he) noble captain, allow any artificer and handicraftsman, that you have here in prison, to work at his own trade, to keep himself from starving? And why then should I be denied to get bread for me, and my wife, by making use of my function?'

But, to return to that which is more pertinent to my purpose, in Newgate Robert and Mary were kept, till they were tried, and condemned, for the forgeries above-mentioned; as the records here ensuing will shew, though I produce but one a-piece for each of them, for brevity's sake.

London. ff. *Deliber. Gaol. Domin. Regis & Regin. de Newgate tent pro civitat. Lond. apud Justice-hall in le Old Bayly, London. die Mercur. (scilicet.) 5^o decimo die Januarii An. Regni Dom. nost. Will. & Mar. nunc Regis & Regin. Angliæ, &c. Primo.*

ROBERT Young*, alias Smith, fin. Cent. & committitur, &c. & ponatur stare, in & sup. Pillor. uno die Cornhill prope Excambium London. & al. die in Cheapside, London. ab hora undecima ante merid. usq; hor. prim. post merid. in utroq; eorund. separat. dier. cum Papir. script. supra caput su. offens. offens. ejus, & tunc reducatur ad Newgate in ea salv. custod. quosq; fin. su. prædict. solverit.

MARY Young†, fin. xx^o & committitur, &c. & ponatur stare sup. sedile ante & prope Pillor. uno die in Cornhill prope Excambium London. & al. die in Cheapside, London. ab hor. undecima ante merid. usq; hor. prim. post merid. in utroq; eorund. separat. dier. cum Papir. script. supra caput su. offens. offens. ejus, & tunc reducatur ad Newgate in ea salv. custod. quousq; fin. su. solverit.

Thus Robert Young and his wife again passed their well-known road of the pillory. But being brought back to Newgate for want of paying their fines; to enable them thereunto, he fell at last upon this damnable contrivance of an association, as the consummation of all his villainies.

I have already told by what means he came to be so skilful in Archbishop Sancroft's hand, and wine; how he got a pattern whereby to forge my Lord Cornbury's, his lordship cannot remember. But my Lord Salisbury's, and my Lord Marlborough's, he obtained partly by the same craft as he did mine: that is, by writing to my Lord Marlborough under his true name of Robert Young; to my Lord Salisbury under the name of Robert Yates, to inquire of the character

of some servants they never had: to which false letters they also unawares returned true answers, under their own hands; which he thereupon falsified.

In the same manner he procured Sir Basil Firebrace's hand, by sending him a civil letter, under the feigned name of Robert Yarnier, a justice of peace at Marlow in Buckinghamshire, and earnestly recommending to him a wild son of his for an apprentice; professing he would not stick at any money, if Sir Basil would take him under his care: withal 'desiring' an answer from him under his hand by the bearer, 'his man;' which he had: and thereupon Sir Basil was entered into the association.

But, lest my reader should think that the single framing of one association was employment enough in matters of state, for so fertile a brain, and so artificial a hand as Robert Young's, during the whole two years and four months that he lay prisoner in Newgate. I have one story more to tell of him, and then I shall have done: as indeed I well may; for after this association, and this other story of the like nature I am going to relate, I think it may justly be concluded, that scarce ever any mortal man has reached to a deeper pitch of infernal wickedness.

The story is this: shortly after my being cleared at Whitehall, I went to Lambeth, to visit my ancient most honoured friend, my lord archbishop of Canterbury, and to thank him for the very kind offices he had done me at court during my affliction. That being over, I told him I was going to my Lord Nottingham, to request, that my two false witnesses might be brought to trial, and undergo the justice of the government. His grace encouraged me to do so; and withal bid me tell my Lord Nottingham, as from himself, this story, which I will set down, as near as I can remember, in his own words: "Near six months ago, about Christmas last, says my lord archbishop, I received a letter from this Robert Young out of Newgate, to let me know there was a pernicious plot going on against their majesties, which was laid as deep as hell; and he had had the good luck to discover it; desiring me speedily to acquaint the king with it. At first, the information coming from such a place, I took little notice of it. But he shortly wrote me other letters to the same purpose; and at last sent me letters full of treason, pretended to be written by some of the greatest men in England. The hands I did not know; but then I thought it concerned me, as a privy-counsellor, to acquaint his majesty with the whole matter. I did so. The king read over Young's letters to me, and those treasonable ones that he had sent me; and then his majesty very generously said, Really, my lord, these papers may resemble some of these persons hands, but I do not in the least distrust them; I am confident they are innocent, and this is a villainy; and therefore I will not have them disturbed upon this account. And so, said my lord archbishop, I carried home my bundle of intelligence again, and, sealing

* For cheating Mr. Kendal of twenty pounds, by a counterfeit bill of exchange, by him forged in the name of Mr. Clark.

† For cheating Mr. Shipton of two hundred pounds, by a counterfeit bill of exchange, in the name of Mr. Mathew.

the papers, laid them up in my closet, where they still remain; and I pray tell my Lord Nottingham, that, when their majesties shall command, I am ready to produce them, with the very inscription I put upon them at that same time: *Letters and papers from Robert Young, who is a very rogue.*"

And here indeed I had resolved to give the rogue over: but, when I was just concluding, there happened a new discovery, relating still to my share in this business; so very remarkable that I cannot, without manifest injury to myself and my reader, deprive him of the knowledge of it: I mean Robert Young's fresh attempt to suborn one Holland, in order to revive the fallen credit of his forged association.

I should be very loth, by what I am going to say, to forestal or misreport the king's evidence against him: but the reality of this gross subornation having been sworn to at Hicks's-hall, where I myself was an ear-witness, as well as many worthy gentlemen, and great numbers of other persons, I know not how it were possible for me to make a secret of it if I would: and the story so much conducing to shew the extreme madness and implacable rage of the villain, when he was brought to his last shifts, I think I have great obligation upon me to make it publick.

Now the evidence in this matter, consisting partly in the discourse Young himself had with Holland, to draw him in to be a perjured witness in this profligate cause; and partly in the instructions Young sent him in writing to swear by. I will set down, as near as I can, a very brief but faithful abstract of the substance of both; it being to both that Holland publickly took his oath. And to the truth of the instructions, being written in Young's own hand, Mr. Aaron Smith also swore at the same time, and unquestionably proved it, by comparing that paper with a whole handful of letters he had received from Young himself out of Newgate.

It seems then, that during the long time of Young's being in Newgate, he became acquainted with one Holland, a prisoner likewise there; Young for forgery, Holland for debt.

Some time after Blackhead had confessed before the lords of the council, Young sent for this Holland to the messenger's house, where he lay confined: and knowing him to be very poor, and thence judging, by himself, that he was the more likely to embrace any wicked design, broke the business to him in this manner:

Mr. Holland, says he, it is most certain there is a hellish plot against the government: the story you may have heard of the association, is true to a tittle: I should have clearly made it out, had not the cowardly rogue Blackhead forsaken me, being bribed by the bishop of Rochester, and frightened by some great men at court, who are also themselves as deeply engaged in the design. Now, if you will come in to assist me in the proof of it, we shall be made for ever; I shall have a thousand pounds (so the lying knave boasted) and you shall have half of it. And I think,

Mr. Holland five hundred pounds will do no hurt to a man in your circumstances.

By my faith you say true, Mr. Young, replied Holland, such a sum would come very seasonably to me at this time. But what work am I to do for it?

It shall be only your part, answered Young, to swear, that you saw the earl of Salisbury, the earl of Marlborough, and the bishop of Rochester, sign the association.

But, said Holland, how can I make a probable story of it? seeing I never saw the association, I know none of the three lords you speak of, nor can I imagine where to fix the place or time of signing it, or any of the other necessary circumstances.

As for all that, said Young, I will send you instructions by my wife, of the particulars you are to swear to. For, Mr. Holland, I would not have you come hither yourself often to me. I have here divers spies upon me: and besides, this damned Blackhead, who has deserted me, lies just over head, in this same messenger's house.

But, as for the association itself, I will now describe you the exact shape of it. Then, calling for a sheet of paper, he folded it into the same fashion: only, says he, you must remember that the association is written in great thick paper.

Next, he repeated to him the heads and principal matter of it: then shewed him in what order the names were subscribed. Here, says he, is the late archbishop of Canterbury's hand uppermost, towards the right side: next under that, the bishop of Rochester's. Under his the Lord Cornbury's: over against the bishop of Rochester's to the left, is first the Earl Salisbury's, then still to the left the earl of Marlborough's, and so of the rest; pointing to the place of every particular name very expertly.

I also well remember, that, in the instructions, there was a list of several other names, that were not in the original forged association; which, no doubt, were put in towards the forming of more new false associations; as, before I intimated, most certainly was his intention, if this had gained credit.

But, for the persons, added Young, you must get a view of them as soon as you can. And (as far as I can recollect, all that follows was in his paper of written instructions) the earl of Salisbury, when in town, is at his house in the Strand; when in the country, at Hatfield in Hertfordshire beyond Barnet. The earl of Marlborough is so well known about Whitehall and St. James's, that you will easily find where he dwells. The bishop of Rochester is to be seen either at his house at Bromley in Kent, or at Westminster, where he is dean.

And as for the place, and time, and company; you must swear, that you saw these three lords on such a day (mentioning a particular day which I have forgot) come to the lobster alehouse in Southwark: that they came in white camblet clokes, with cravats about their necks: that the sign was, their inquiring for the number THREE: that then they were conducted up

stairs into a back room; and there, in the presence of you and me, and Captain Lawe (I think also he named one or two more) they signed the association: then, delivering it to Captain Lawe, they said, Captain, we pray, make haste about to get this paper speedily subscribed by the rest, who you know are concerned; and that then these three lords threw down their twelve-pence, a-piece, and so went their ways.

I know my reader, upon sight of all this strange stuff, cannot forbear smiling: which, perhaps, it is not decent for me to make him do, so near the end of this tragedy.

But it is none of my fault: I only, as near as I am able, relate the simple truth. Most certainly it was sworn, that Holland communicated all this to the secretary of state: and, being examined by some lords of the council, affirmed it all upon oath: and I am sure, that, upon oath also, he repeated it all before the justices of the sessions, and the grand jury of Middlesex, on the day that the bill of forgery, and subornation of perjury, was found against Blackhead and Young.

And besides, that which to me confirms the truth of Holland's testimony beyond contradiction, is, that every word of the instructions was undeniably written by Young's own hand; which, by this time, I hope my reader will take me to be a competent judge of.

For, since I began my knowledge of him, on the thirteenth of June last, I have seen so very many papers of his own hand-writing. (I mean his true hand, not his false) that now I may presume to say, I think myself as well skilled in knowing his hand, as he is in counterfeiting mine.

I cannot therefore see how he can possibly be excused from ridiculous folly, as well as shameless subornation, in this last so very subtle an intrigue.

I must therefore, upon this occasion, crave his leave to apply one certain general observation to Robert Young in particular, that there was never yet a very great knave, but he proved, some time or other, as great a fool.

I have now, in good earnest, done with Robert Young. But, when I reflect on what I have been doing all this while, I am almost out of countenance at it. It vexes me, that whilst my happy deliverance might have suggested to me so many better and more useful thoughts, both in regard to the publick, and my own private part in it, I should be so long diverted another way, to follow this impious wretch through one kingdom to another, from gaol to gaol, from pillory to pillory.

Nor could I have submitted to so mean a task, had not some good and great men thought it necessary, not so much for my own vindication, much less for my own revenge, the thoughts of which are far below me as a christian, and a bishop; as for the security of other innocent persons: and that this might be some warning to my country, in time to come, against the like wicked forgeries, subornations, and false plots.

It is indeed somewhat strange, that when the laws of England are so watchful, and jealous (perhaps more than the laws of any other kingdom) in defending the liberties and properties of the subject from all injustice, fraud, and oppression; yet they may seem not to have been equally careful, not so much as the laws of most of our neighbouring nations, in providing severely enough against that worst sort of perjury, which reaches to the taking away of mens' lives.

For my part, I can assign no other reason of this defect, but the same for which the Romans had for some ages no laws against parricides; that is, that the ancient simplicity and generosity of the English nation did never imagine any Englishmen could possibly be guilty of such diabolical wickedness, as to turn accusers for the sake of accusing, and in cold blood, by perjury to destroy innocent men, to whom they were utter strangers, and who had never in the least provoked them.

I am inclined to believe, that this was the cause why our country has been hitherto deficient in laws of this kind, at least since the conquest.

But if we consider the different degrees of the offences themselves, how can it possibly be thought a crime of the same magnitude, to swear a man falsely out of a part (a small part perhaps) of his goods and estate, as to swear him falsely out of his life, his honour, his very name, as well as his whole estate; as in the case of high treason? Yet, by all our laws now in being, if I am not misinformed, the penalties of these greatest of perjuries are not much heavier than those which are inflicted for the least.

And what temptation must this be to forswearers, in matters of state especially, when the reward is like to be considerable, if they carry their point so far as to have their false plots believed to be real; and on the other hand, the penalties cannot by law be very grievous, should they be detected of swearing to plots most impudently false? Especially considering, that such infamous persons, knowing they are safe from extraordinary punishment, particularly from punishment by death, have usually no great dread of the shame, or pain of the ordinary ones, such as pillorying and the like; as having, perhaps, been often inured to them before.

To prove what I say, I need alledge no other example but this of Robert Young. My reader finds he has stood in the pillory more than once for several petty forgeries: petty I call them, only in comparison to this. And what a mighty business were it now, if for contriving the final ruin of so many guiltless persons, and their posterity, by the basest means, Robert Young should be adjudged once more to stand in the pillory?

Or what would it have availed me, or my family, in this world at least, should I have died, as guilty of treason, by this villain's false testimony, if afterwards, upon the detection of his perjury (as I am persuaded God would not have suffered so horrid a villainy to prosper, or remain long undiscovered) I say, what great

great comfort or compensation had it been to my family, and my friends, if, after my unjust execution, they had heard that the wicked author of it had stood once more in the pillory, and perhaps lost the tip of his ear?

Wherefore may it not well become the prudence of our lawgivers, upon occasion of so notorious an instance, together with some others within our memories, to review, once for all, the laws now in force against forgery and perjury? And then to adjust the distinct punishments a little more proportionably to the different guilt, and the several degrees of these crimes; for the future, I mean: God forbid I should propose, that any such law should have a retrospect, even upon Blackhead or Young.

But I presume to urge this the rather, at this time, because of the common saying, 'That ill manners make good laws;' that is, as I understand the proverb, they render the making of them to be necessary. And if this be true, perhaps there was never yet any one age, since the English were a nation, when the ill manners of false witnesses, their frequent subornations, perjuries, and forgeries, have more deserved to be restrained by some good new laws, than this very age wherein we live.

I could heartily wish so great a benefit might accrue to the publick, by the happy discovery of this inhuman design, so as to deter ill men from attempting any more such; then I should think my own troubles more than enough recompensed, I should even rejoice in the extreme peril, to which I myself was thereby exposed.

But however that shall happen, I am sure there is another use of this signal providence, which, by God's grace, it is in my own power to make, and if I do not, I ought to be esteemed as the most ungrateful of men to the heavenly goodness; that is, if I do not render it the chief business of my whole life to return some suitable thanks to heaven for it.

I hope I may say, without vanity, that perhaps it is hard to meet, in some whole ages, with many examples, wherein the divine favour has snatched any private person out of such imminent danger, with a more visible hand than it has done me out of this.

Why may I not be allowed, in all humility, to say thus much? since it is so manifest, that the destruction or preservation of me and mine, did depend upon the clerk of the council's turning to the right-hand, or to the left, when he entered to search my house at Bromley.

By God's mercy and direction he turned to the left; there examined all places so curiously, as to pass by no corner unobserved, yet he found nothing on that side worthy the observation of one that came on such an errand.

Whereas, had he chanced to turn, *chanced* did I say? I cannot believe that any thing fell out by chance in this whole business; but had God permitted him to turn on the right-hand, the first room he had entered was that very parlour, wherein was deposited

the fatal instrument of my death; nor could he have missed it, but must have immediately lighted upon it, considering the punctual instructions he had received, to search all the chimnies, and the flower-pots in them.

And, had he once found it, the writing itself, so nearly resembling my own hand, and taken in my dwelling-house, had soon overwhelmed me with supposed guilt, without any farther need of Blackhead's, or Young's assistance.

For, in so great a surprize, and consciousness of my own innocence, whom had I to accuse, or suspect, but only Mr. Dyve and Mr. Knight themselves, for having put the association into the same flower-pot, whence I had seen them take it out? And this, indeed, had been another aggravation of my misfortune, that I should have been forced to impute so vile a treachery to persons as innocent in this, as I myself was in the association.

Moreover, let my reader but recollect the particular time when all this happened, and I need mention no other proof, or circumstance, of the marvellous greatness of my danger and escape.

It was in the beginning of May last, a time when perhaps there was as great a consternation, both in town and country, as was ever known in England; the English fleet was scarce yet out of the river; the Dutch, for the most part, at home; the French in the mouth of the channel, and only kept back by contrary winds; a terrible invasion hourly expected from France; the army beyond sea, that should have defended us; a real plot and confederacy by many whispered about, by the common people believed; many persons of great quality imprisoned upon that suspicion; all mens' minds prepared to hear of some sudden rising, or discovery.

In such a critical time of publick terror and distraction, how very little evidence would have sufficed to ruin any man, that had been accused with the least probability of truth? And how then had it been possible for me to have stood the torrent of common fame and passion against so great a notoriety of fact, had that paper of a pretended association been really found in my house?

What tumult and rage had been on all sides of me, upon such a discovery! How fitly had such a story served to inflame the generality of men against me! How long a time must it have been, before the still voice of innocence could be heard!

Would it not have been said, 'Can he deny it to be his own hand? Are not the hands of the rest well known? Was it not found in his house? In so secret a place there? Who could have laid it there but himself?' This certainly had been the universal clamour.

But, above all, what a mischievous advantage had this given to the enemies of the church of England, to insult and triumph over it on my account! And that, in truth, had more sensibly and deeply wounded me, than any thing else which could have befallen myself.

But God prevented all this, by covering, if I may so say, the hand-writing against me in my chimney, as long as the finding of it there might have been to my destruction; and then, by suffering my accusers to fetch it thence, and produce it in such a time, and in such a way, as could only tend to their own confusion.

To God, therefore, my only deliverer, be the praise; and, as I doubt not, but all good and innocent men, for the common sake of innocency vindicated, will receive this account of my deliverance with kindness and good-will, so I do most solemnly oblige myself, and all mine, to keep the grateful remembrance of it perpetual and sacred.

A View of the Court of St. Germain, from the Year 1690 to 95. With an Account of the Entertainment Protestants meet with there. Directed to the Malecontent Protestants of England.

THE PREFACE.

THE ages to come will hardly believe, that, in England, there should be found one single Protestant Jacobite, at this time of day: and the reformed nations abroad are at a loss what to make of that unaccountable species of men.

When most of the Roman Catholick princes have heartily embraced the late revolution in Britain, as the last effort of the common liberty of Europe, and have entered into the strictest alliance, with those of an opposite religion, to support it: it looks like a dream, to meet with any English Protestant in an interest contradictory to, not only the publick liberty of their country, but to the religion they profess.

It was indeed no great wonder, that the late king made all the steps possible towards the change of the religion, in his opinion, heretical; at a time, when he was upon the throne, and backed with all the promising supports of regal power, yet even then he thought himself obliged to keep some measures with his Protestant subjects, and, instead of a total rupture with them, endeavour to lull them asleep, under the specious pretence of liberty of conscience, till all his engines were ready to give the fatal blow.

But now, that he has fallen under circumstances, which one would think should much more than ever oblige him to assume a new, at least keep on the old mask: upon the quite contrary, since he went to France, he has taken all the pains imaginable to let the world know his inveterate aversion to all those of the reformed religion; though never so much his friends; and, at the same time, has given us the most authentick demonstration of his firm design, never to allow any there of his favour, nor owe his restoration to any but Roman Catholicks. All which will appear by the following account of his carriage towards those few Protestants, that have followed his sinking fortunes, the length of St. Germain.

THERE being already so many volumes to shew the lawfulness of the late revolution, it is superfluous, it seems, to make any further attempt on the same subject; for, if you have shut your eyes against the strong arguments and convincing proofs made use of in those books, Who can flatter himself to cure you of that wilful blindness? However, I hope, this plain account, I make bold to direct to you, will not prove altogether useless; for, when I consider your party, I

think I may reasonably believe that it is made up of some good and honest men, though misguided by a tender conscience, and of some self-interested persons, who, being not able to obtain the preferments they expected, have turned Jacobites, in hopes to advance their fortune by a second revolution. But, give me leave to tell you further, that after an impartial enquiry into the life and conversation of your party, I have all the reason in the world to conclude, that the

num-

number of the conscientious Jacobites, I have spoken of, must be very little, and that the greatest number amongst you are hurried away by the imaginary hopes I have hinted at; therefore, if I can convince you, that you have no reason to flatter yourselves, to obtain any reward or preferments under King James, no, not when he should be restored by your means, I hope some of you will open your eyes to your own interest, and forsake a prince, from whom you cannot expect any grateful return.

I will not recall to your minds his behaviour, while he was on the throne of England; I suppose no body has forgot, that no Protestants were welcome to him, but such as would promise to betray the liberties of their country to popery and arbitrary power; neither shall I mention how severely he used the Protestants of Ireland in 1689; you would be apt to say, that, being in popish hands, he could not avoid it; but I intend only to give you a short view of his court at St. Germain, and an account of the entertainment the Protestants of your party have met there: for, if a prince in his circumstances, whose interest it ought to be to court Protestants, cannot conceal, for a time, the hatred he has for them, what treatment can you expect from him, when he is re-inthroned, and supported by the power of France?

King James, retiring into France after his defeat at the Boyne, left the administration of his affairs in Ireland to my Lord Tyrconnel; and in Scotland, to the Colonels Buchan and Cannon; and the French King having appointed St. Germain in Lays, for his reception, he there began to form a court in the year 1690, and his household was constituted as follows:

The duke of Powis, lord chamberlain.

Col. Porter, vice-chamberlain.

Col. Skelton, comptroller.

The earls of Dumbarton and Abercome, lords of the bed-chamber.

Captains Macdonald, Beadle, Stafford, and Trevelian, grooms of the bed-chamber.

The two Sheldons, esquires.

Fergus Graham, privy purse.

Sir John Sparrow, board of green-cloth; and Mr. Strickland, vice-chamberlain to the queen.

The officers of state were as follow:

Mr. Brown (brother to my Lord Montague Brown, and sometime commissioner of the customs) secretary of state for England.

Father Innis, president of the Scots college at Paris, secretary of state for Scotland.

Sir Richard Neagle, secretary of state for Ireland.

To these were added, as a juncto, Mr. Carril, the queen's secretary; and Mr. Stafford, formerly envoy at the court of Spain, whom the king called together as a privy council, to advise with upon all emergencies: the earl of Melford, prime minister of state, being sent to Rome sometime before, partly to negotiate

King James's affairs at the pope's court, and partly to remove him from the jealousies of the Irish, who, at that time, wholly monopolised this prince's ear and favour.

Thus things continued for a while, but, Ireland being reduced some time after, and the Scottish highlanders submitting, the court of St. Germain was every day thronged with gentlemen from those kingdoms, as well as from England; and then a Protestant party began to distinguish themselves, and endeavour to make an appearance at that court.

The first considerable step they made, was to desire a chapel from King James, for the exercise of their worship according to the church of England, and proposed Dr. Granville, brother to the earl of Bath, formerly dean of Durham, as a fit person to be their chaplain; they urged the great encouragement such a toleration would give to his adherents in England, and what satisfaction it would be to such Protestants as followed him; but though common policy, and his circumstances, made every body believe that this request would be easily granted, yet it was positively denied, and Dr. Granville obliged not only to retire from court, but also from the town of St. Germain, to avoid the daily insults of the priests, and the dreaded consequences of the jealousies with which they possessed King James's court against him. Dr. Gordon, a bishop of Scotland, the only Protestant divine that then was there, met with a worse treatment still than Dr. Granville, and was reduced to the necessity of abjuring his religion for want of bread, with which he could not be supplied, but upon those hard terms. However, King James, being sensible that such an usage would prejudice his interest in Britain, resolved to prevent the coming of any Protestant divine there, and therefore sent Mr. Macqueen in company of Major Scot into England, who brought letters from him to his friends, in which he required them to trouble him no more with divines, as messengers.

This bad success did not altogether discourage the Protestant party; they made a second effort upon the constitution of the before-mentioned council of five, to have one of the number, at least, a Protestant: they insisted upon the advantages which might thence redound to his majesty's affairs in Britain, and for that end did earnestly recommend my Lord Chief Justice Herbert, as a person both well qualified to give advice in English affairs, and of an unspotted reputation in his country. Those reasons were so convincing, that, the Irish fearing they would obtain their demand, an information was trumped up against the chief justice by Mr. Comptroller Skelton, and Sir William Sharp, of having said, that King James's violent temper would ruin himself and all that followed him. My lord owned the words, but made so ingenuous an explanation of his meaning, which was in relation to the act of settlement in Ireland, that King James was satisfied. The Irish, having missed their aim, formed a short time after, another plot against him, and charged him with corresponding with the English, and misrepresenting the

the transactions of that court; whereupon he and a worthy lady, with whom he boarded, were confined, and Broomfield, the Quaker, committed to the Bastile. And thus was this lord chief justice, for no other reason but his adhering to a Protestant interest, excluded from all share of management of affairs in King James's court, though his capacity and sufferings were sufficient, in the eyes of all reasonable men, to have intitled him to a share in that prince's favour and secret. If my Lord Chief Justice Herbert was so used, I would fain know upon what ground any of our Jacobites should flatter himself with a better treatment.

Mr. Cockburn of Lanton, in the kingdom of Scotland, was the next Protestant that had merit and favour enough to pretend to a share in the management of King James's affairs. This gentleman, having followed him in Ireland, was taken at sea, after the battle of the Boyne, and brought prisoner to London; but, a proposal being made of exchanging him for Captain St. Lo, then prisoner in France, he was enlarged; and, during his abode here, did so ingratiate himself with the most considerable of the disaffected Protestants, that he was recommended by them to King James, as a person fit to serve him in the affairs of greatest trust. He was no sooner arrived at St. Germain, than he told that prince, his friends in England thought that my Lord Melford, who was then returned from Rome, was a great grievance, and ought to be laid aside; and that the only way for the king to procure the good opinion of his subjects in Britain, and reconcile them to him, was to put the management of his affairs in Protestant hands. This prudent advice of the disaffected Protestants of England, or of Mr. Cockburn, had an effect quite contrary, to what they expected; King James took it so ill, that, in few days after, an order was procured from the French court, commanding him to depart from France under severe penalties, being too much a friend to the English interest: Mr. Cockburn was forced to obey, and has lived as an exile in Holland and Hamburg ever since.

But the submission of the Scotch highlanders affords us still more convincing proofs of King James's hatred for the Protestant religion, and of his ingratitude towards such who had made a sacrifice of all that can be dear to men, to support his sinking fortune in Scotland. The Lords Dumferling, Dundee, Dunkel, Colonels Cannon, Graham, and several others Protestants, having forfeited their estates and families, retired into France, as also did the Colonels Buchan, Maxwell, Wauchop, and some other popish gentlemen; but, when they came to St. Germain, the Papists were immediately preferred to considerable posts, both in the French and Irish armies, while the Protestants, though their merit was greater, were exposed to all imaginable hardship and contempts: my Lord Dumferling and Col. Cannon are too illustrious examples of King James's ingratitude, to be here passed by. The earl, through a mistaken notion of loyalty and honour, had sacrificed his honourable family, and a plentiful estate, to follow that prince in his misfortune; and, it must

be granted, that such a proof of loyalty deserved some kind returns; yet, happening to quarrel at St. Germain with one Capt. Brown, a Papist, about a trifle, the captain was encouraged and countenanced in his quarrel by the court, and made commander of a company of Scots, reformed officers in Catalonia, whilst this noble lord was despised, for his adhering to his religion: this ill treatment broke his heart, and he sunk under the weight of his hard fate at St. Germain. His misfortune lasted longer than his life, for, notwithstanding his merits, sufferings, and the interest made by his friends, he could not obtain a Christian burial; and his corpse was hid in a chamber, till an opportunity was found of digging a hole in the fields, in the night, where they thrust him in.

Nor was Col. Cannon better used than my Lord Dumferling: this gentleman commanded as general over King James's army in Scotland, and served him with so much faithfulness, that every body thought he would be preferred to a great command, upon his arrival at St. Germain; but he, positively refusing to abandon the little religion he had, which was Protestant, was reduced to the scandalous allowance of half a crown a day, whilst Papists, who had served under him, were advanced to good posts. This unhappy gentleman, finding himself thus neglected, fell sick through grief, and want, and died; having taken the sacrament from the hands of Dr. Granville, three days before his death; but the priest, who was always buzzing about him, took the opportunity of his being speechless, to thrust a wafer down his throat, and gave out, that he was dead a Papist, and, by this means, got him the favour of burial, which his corpse had else been excluded from, as well as my Lord Dumferling's. If the sufferings and great merits of these two gentlemen, have not been able to mollify King James's heart, and to obtain from him any generous returns, I would fain know upon what foundation are grounded the great hopes of our grumblers, seeing the most part of them have not had courage enough to follow that prince, and have, for aught we see, no other qualifications to recommend them, but their bare Jacobitism.

However, if the examples I have already exposed to your view, are not sufficient to convince you, that as long as you are Protestants, and Englishmen, you are to expect no share in King James's favour: I will produce some others, which I am sure will open your eyes, unless you are bound by an oath to continue always blind, and I will begin with Sir James Mountgomery.

This gentleman left no stone unturned to re-establish King James in Scotland, by the same parliament, that declared him to have forfeited his right: he was afterwards, for several years, his most active minister in England, penned and published declarations for him, at the time of his designed descent from La Hogue, and, after the miscarriage of that, wrote his Britain's just Complaints; was his weekly news-sender, and project-drawer: yet, this very Sir James Mountgomery, who had done such great things, and run such great hazards

hazards for him, being obliged to fly to France, after making his escape from the messenger's house, could not obtain, by reason of his being a Protestant, any share in that prince's favour; was brow-beaten from the court by priests, daily upbraided with having been once in the prince of Orange's interest, and at last obliged to retire to Paris, where he died with the melancholy reflexions of the miserable state he brought himself into.

The earl of Lauderdale, though a Papist, met with no better fate than Sir James: his lady being a Protestant, and he an enemy to the violent measures of the court, was judged to be a sufficient reason to exclude him from any share in the government; so natural it is for all bigots to hate every body that will not go to their height of violence. This gentleman heartily advised King James to put his affairs into Protestant hands, and recommended the earl of Clarendon, and the nonjuring bishops in England, and the Lord Home, Southesk, and Sinclair in Scotland, as the fittest persons to serve him; but his advice was so ill taken, that he had his lady sent to England, not to return any more; was himself forbid the court, and reduced to a pension of one hundred pistoles per annum: he retired to Paris, and seeing no probability of his master's changing his measures, died of grief. One would have thought that his brother, Mr. Alexander Maitland, who, on several occasions, had behaved himself very bravely in that prince's service, should have been preferred by him, yet he met with such an entertainment, that, wanting bread there, he was very glad to come to England, and make his peace with the government, whose service he had deserted, having once had a command in the Scots guards, under King William.

Sir Andrew Forester is another great instance of King James's aversion to Protestants: this gentleman served, with all imaginable zeal, that prince's interests, when a subject, and was the devoted creature of his most arbitrary commands, when a king; he suffered imprisonment in the Tower for him, at the time of his designed descent; and yet, notwithstanding all this, and the great experience he had in Scottish affairs, he could never obtain any share in that prince's confidence: when he came to St. Germain, all his merits, sufferings, and the good character he had in both kingdoms, were not enough to counter-balance the objection of being a Protestant, and therefore by no means to be intrusted; so that, after some time's attendance, as a cypher, he was rewarded with a pass to return to England, for they had there no occasion for him.

Sir Theophilus Oglethorpe, who, by his capacity as well as services, was encouraged to go over, and offer his assistance, met with Sir Andrew Forester's fate, upon account of his religion; and was so unkindly used, that he was very glad to get home to old England again, where, it is expected, he will plot no more.

Mr. Fergus Graham was the only Protestant gentleman in King James's family, but, as soon as they saw that my Lord Preston, and Col. Graham, his brothers, who ventured so much for that prince, could do

them no more service in England, he was discharged for no other reason, but that they thought a Protestant a blemish in their household.

Nor was Sir William Sharp better used, although he pretended to come over upon the act of parliament in Scotland, to save his estate, for the entertainment he had at St. Germain, before he came away, is very well known. The pension he had, whilst King James's army in Scotland kept up, was taken from him, and he fell under distrusts, with Melford and Innes, and contempt at court; which will appear, to all reasonable men, a sufficient motive for his coming away.

But the usage of Dr. Cockburn, a Scottish divine, is beyond any thing that can be imagined. This gentleman was banished Scotland for his practices against the government, and afterwards being obliged to leave England, for writing of pamphlets, thought himself secure of a sanctuary at St. Germain, if not, of a reward for his services; but instead of that he met with the daily importunities of priests, to make him abandon his religion; and, their endeavours proving vain, they then represented him as a dangerous person, and got him sent from France. He lives now an exile in Holland, both from Britain and France.

Mrs. Ashton, widow to Mr. Ashton, who was executed for his being concerned, in my Lord Preston's affairs, went to the court at St. Germain, after her husband's death, as thinking, that she had some merit to plead for a kind reception; but she was as much deceived as any of those I have already mentioned. Few days after her arrival, priests were sent to tell her, that nothing, but being a Roman Catholic, could recommend a woman to the queen's service, which the poor gentlewoman declining to comply with, was neglected; and, dying soon after, was refused burial, till her father, Mr. Rigby of Covent Garden, as a mighty favour, and at great charges, obtained leave from the court of St. Germain, to have her body brought over into England; and buried her in Covent Garden church.

If these examples are not sufficient to convince our Jacobites, or if they question the truth of them; for really I must own, that they are almost incredible; I desire them, to consult the young Lord Henmore, Mr. Louthian, Captains Murray, Dalry, Macgil, Maclean, Fielding, Mr. Charles Kinnaid, and several hundreds more, now in and about London, who are lately come from St. Germain; and they will tell you, that the only reason, why they left that court, was, because they could not have bread, except they would change their religion; and therefore did chuse rather to run the hazard of imprisonment, by returning to England, than stay and starve in France.

Many instances more might be given, to shew King James's hatred to every thing, that bears the name of Protestant; but, if what has already been said, is not sufficient, sure I am, that the rest should be to no purpose: what Protestant has he ever so much as seemed to trust, since he lived in France? I know that my Lord Middleton must be excepted, for, indeed, King James

James has a seeming trust in him. There is no man, that has been at St. Germain, but must needs perceive, that he is not chief minister, as Melford was, nor manages affairs betwixt Versailles and St. Germain, that being done by Innes and Porter: he is but seldom called to the council, and the French court has never depended upon his correspondence, since the disappointment they received, by our fleet's going into the Streights.

I hope these instances will convince all good men, that have any sense of liberty, religion, and honour, how unreasonable it is to be a Jacobite, and to think that the present misfortunes of King James will frighten him from invading our laws and liberties in time to come; seeing that neither the abandoning of wives, children, and estates, nor the hazarding, nay, loss of life in his service, can render him just and favourable to such Protestants, who have made a sacrifice of all those things, to follow him: and, if it be so as certainly it is, what must those Protestant nations expect, if ever he re-obtains the government, who have renounced him, and set another prince upon his throne?

If these, who have followed him into France, are denied the exercise of their religion, when his circumstances make it his interest to grant it; what must we expect, if ever he be again in possession of the crown?

My Lord Chief Justice Herbert, and the other gentlemen before-named, who firmly adhered to his interests, even in his greatest misfortunes, were condemned, despised, and suffered to starve, because they were Protestants; how can we, or any Protestant Jacobites, who have none of those merits, pretend to be better used? If the loss of honours and estates has not been sufficient to obtain from him Christian burial; upon what ground can our Jacobites, who have done nothing for him, flatter themselves with the hopes of great preferments, if he is re-inthroned? In short, if the example he had of his father's misfortunes, and his brother's exile, wherein he himself was a sharer, together with the sense of his own misfortunes, have not been able to work a reformation upon him, as appears by the above-written account; can we expect, that he ever will be made more pliable?

The education of his prince of Wales, whom, no body doubts, he designs his successor, is another instance of his irreconcilable antipathy to the Protestant religion, and English liberties: one would have thought that interest, as well as policy, would have made him educate his child a Protestant; or, at least, oblige him to put Protestants about him, of unquestioned reputation, to instruct him, in the ways of pleasing the people; but, instead of that, Dr. Beeson, a famous and violent Papist, was made his preceptor; and none but popish servants are allowed to be about him, so that he can imbibe nothing, but what is for the interest of Rome and destruction of England.

Can people be so mad, as to expect good terms from a prince, who not only thus treats his Protestant subjects, who have followed him in his misfortunes, but

also whose religion lays him under a necessity of doing it? Could greater obligations be laid upon any prince, than were upon him, by the church of England, when a subject? Her interest saved him from being prosecuted for the popish plot, excluded from the succession to the English throne, and afterwards dethroned by the duke of Monmouth; yet all those obligations were no more than his coronation oath, could not hinder him from invading the Protestant religion in general, but more particularly the liberties of the church of England.

But, perhaps, some will object against what I have said, that from the entertainment Protestants meet with at St. Germain, it is not reasonable to conclude, that King James bears still such an aversion to our religion and liberties: for, being himself but a refugee in France, and having nothing to live upon, but the pension the French king allows him, it is not in his power to reward those Protestants who have followed him, even not to care for them; and therefore, we ought rather to peruse the declarations he has put out, since his being in France, for therein we shall find undeniable proofs, that his misfortunes have much altered his mind. Read (will our Jacobites say) the declaration he published upon his intended descent from La Hogue, and observe what promises he makes, both in relation to our religion, and our liberties, the sincerity whereof you have no manner of pretence to question; for then, thinking himself sure of his game, nothing could oblige him to disguise the true sentiments of his heart.

This is somewhat indeed, gentlemen, and, were the thing as you say, I would agree with you; but give me leave to tell you, that it is a great question, whether the declaration you speak of, which was printed here, did really contain King James's sentiments; but, whether it was his own declaration, or Sir James Montgomery's, it does not matter a pin; for his late majesty did publicly disown it, in a memorial to the pope, upon his return to Paris; and it has been acknowledged in a Jacobite pamphlet, called, *An Answer to Dr. Wellwood's Answer to King James's declaration*: That the same was formed without his knowledge, and against his inclination.

I have told you, in the beginning of this discourse, that I believe, that there are among you some conscientious men, and to those I shall say nothing at this time, but to such that are angry with the government (as I know many amongst you are) merely because they cannot have any employment under it, and who think, without any further examination, to better their condition by a second revolution: I will say, that they ought to consider, that King James's popish friends must be all provided for first of all; and pray, what will remain then for you? For, as to pensions, I think you are not so mad as to flatter yourselves with such imaginary hopes; for the French army, that brings King James over, must be paid, and their vast charges for the Irish war, and the maintenance of King James re-imbursed, before your beloved prince be in a condition to express his favour to you. Perhaps, you will say,

say, that the French king is too much a gentleman to demand any such thing; but I do not know what has given you that noble idea of his generosity: but, supposing his temper to be such, this war will so much drain his exchequer, that necessity will force him to demand what is justly owing to him, and who shall be able to dispute his bill of charges? Nay, Will King James be able to satisfy him? I do not know; but this I am sure of, that, as long as you profess the Protestant religion, you cannot expect to be more favourably treated, than his present followers.

Some others amongst you are disaffected, because, as they say, without the restoration of King James, a Protestant war will be entailed on the nation, and because our treasure is exhausted by taxes, and our blood expended beyond sea, which the nation cannot long bear.

To these gentlemen I must answer, that they are much mistaken; for the bringing in of King James, which they think will put an end to these troubles, would infallibly bring the seat of war from Flanders into England: for it is unreasonable to suppose, that so many noblemen and gentlemen, as are engaged in King William's cause, would tamely submit, or that his majesty, whose interest in Europe is so very great, would either ingloriously abandon his throne, or want foreign assistance to support him in it.

2. King James and the French king are both old,

and, upon a change of a governor in France, we may reasonably expect a change of measures; for, as to the prince of Wales, his interest stands, or falls, with that of his supposed father: but, after all, Is it reasonable to believe, that the French, or any other nation, will live in perpetual war with us, merely for the sake of a prince, who pretends to be deprived of his rights? There are very few knights-errants in this age, or, at least, sure I am, that no nation in general is acted by their principles; and we see the French offer already to forsake him.

3. I grant, that our taxes are greater than ever our nation paid; but yet they are not so heavy, but that we can hold it out many years at this rate. In short, whatever they be, I believe there is no good man, but will rather hazard his person to keep the enemy abroad, than see a French and Irish army in the bowels of our own country, destroying our substance, burning our habitations, and committing the barbarities, which they committed in the Palatinate: for, certainly, by one month's ravage of this nature, we should lose more blood and treasure, than can probably be spent to bring the war to an honourable and happy conclusion.

That happy moment is not, perhaps, so far, as some people imagine; for whosoever will cast his eyes on the present posture of affairs in Europe, must needs conclude, that the French cannot hold it out much longer.

A Letter to a new Member of the Honourable House of Commons; touching the Rise of all the Embezzlements and Mismanagements of the Kingdom's Treasure, from the beginning of the Revolution unto this present Parliament. With an Account, from Time to Time, of the many Oppositions the House of Commons met with about Redressing the said Publick Grievances. And, lastly, a Proposal humbly offered to their Consideration, how to prevent the like Miscarriages for the Future. To which is added, a parallel Account of the National Expences, from November 3, 1640, to November 1659; and from November 5, 1688, to Michaelmas 1700.

S I R,

YOU being a new member of this honourable house, I presume, you are not so well acquainted with the transactions of several former parliaments, in relation to the miscarriages and embezzlements of the publick monies of this kingdom; because I perceive you are somewhat surpris'd at her majesty's speech touching that paragraph, wherein she complains to your house, 'That she cannot, without great concern, mention to you, that the navy and other offices are burthened with heavy debts; which so far affect

the publick service, that she most earnestly desires you to find some way to answer those demands, and to prevent the like, for the time to come; the justice of parliament, in satisfying former engagements, being the certain way for preserving and establishing credit.

I say, being a new member, you are utterly at a loss in this matter, and want thoroughly to be instructed in mismanagements of the ministry; for you are earnestly desired by the queen to find out now some way to answer those demands, and to prevent the like embezzlements and misapplications, for the time to come; it being but justice of the parliament, in satisfying for-

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mer engagements, and it is the most certain way for preserving and establishing of credit.

Is this the way of establishing and preserving of future credit? Then it is plain, that, by her majesty's confession, the credit of the nation begins now to flag; and, if so, the question will be, Whether it is occasioned by the funds not answering the intended end, they were raised for? Or, Whether the credit of the nation is sunk by crafty ministers, that have licked themselves into fair estates, and so have embezzled and misapplied the kingdom's publick treasure? Now, if you can find out but where this shoe pinches, you have done your work; for her majesty's desire is, to prevent the like practices for the time to come.

In order to which, give me leave to inform you, that the r— h— the h— of p—, in their address to her majesty, do as frankly complain of mismanagements and embezzlements in several of the queen's offices heretofore committed, as well as her majesty; which, at your leisure, you may read, in their address to the queen, printed in the year 1705.

And I must beg your patience to shew also, that the honourable the house of commons have formerly made as hearty and heavy complaints, as most have done, and publicly declared, that common justice was refused to be done this honourable house, when so often desired, to redress the publick grievances of the nation, especially touching the mismanagements and embezzlements of the publick monies of the kingdom. *Vide* their votes of March 24, 1701.

Since they have had every one their turn of complaining, Do not you admire where the fault lies all this while, and that there is no remedy as yet found out? That is to say, from the year 1701, to this present year 1710, being full nine years.

One would think, at first dash, that the queen, the lords, and the commons were all at a loss, and willing, hearty, and ready to embrace any expedient, and listen to any proposal, that could be found out to put a stop to, and prevent the like mismanagements and embezzlements of the kingdom's money for the future, or else they would never, certainly, make their complaints so often: but, alas! sir, there lies the mystery.

Now, sir, to unriddle this grand secret is to let you into our former miscarriages, and the way, that was then taken to stop and redress those grand grievances, and the many obstructions former parliaments met with, though they heartily espoused, and designed to go thorough stitch with the remedy; and then you will find where this great fault has lain all the while, and perceive who are blame-worthy, such as complained, or those very persons, that refused to punish the transgressors, when they were first caught offending. And give me leave to add, that all mismanagements and losses, that have since happened to this kingdom, are owing to such, as refused to do common justice, when so often importuned thereto.

The great mismanagements of the kingdom's publick treasure, and the misapplications thereof, fell out in the reign of the late King William; which was then

observed, for several years together, to be a growing evil upon the government; and at last it did produce several annual commissions, by act of parliament, for taking, examining, and stating the publick accounts of the kingdom; but what success these commissions had, will be worth our time to examine.

Though it has been publicly objected, that by these commissions little was done towards the adjusting the accounts of the nation, and inferences have been thence drawn, that such commissions are of little or no use; yet, certainly, it is the duty of our representatives (especially since desired from the throne) to make it their earnest endeavour to find out proper remedies for this fatal distemper, lest it end in the ruin of the monarchy, the church, and the state: for the commons have complained of these miscarriages; the lords, in their turn, have complained of them; and now at last her majesty, in her most gracious speech, is heavily complaining of these miscarriages. And, since they have all had their turns of complaint, one would think it were high time to redress this common and publick grievance, which has, in short, almost ruined the credit of the parliament; and there will be no retrieving of it, till a stop be put to those growing evils. It will scarcely be pretended by any man, that such an adjustment of accounts is, in its own nature, impracticable: if, then, the former commissions had not altogether the desired success, the fault must lie either in the scheme laid down, as probably it might be for the first year or two; or in the commission, if they wanted either skill, application, or integrity sufficient for the business, they were employed about.

Now all these wants have been charged upon some of them, but whether with justice, or not, I am not yet well satisfied; but I am sure there were two other impediments, of which I may speak with more certainty, either of which was enough to hinder the execution of their commission.

The first of these was, that divers great men, that had mighty accounts to pass, and, perhaps, had little stomach to do it, had such a power and influence in the house of commons, as were able to cramp the commissioners in their power, and discountenance them in their report, and even to banter them in the execution of their trust.

That this was openly practised, is notorious to all that were then members of the house: and how much the commissioners must needs be discouraged in the execution of so difficult a task, the performance of which was to be laid before such judges so possessed, I'll leave any one to guess.

The influence of these men, perhaps, produced another difficulty, which was a flaw in the commission itself; for the commissioners were not empowered sufficiently to require proof of suspected vouchers; they could not commit persons for contempt of their authority, and consequently were exposed to the hazard of being abused by false vouchers. These were difficulties almost, if not absolutely, insuperable.

Now, that never to be forgotten parliament, in the year

year 1701, took care to remove most of these obstructions, by providing a bill with larger power, appointing commissioners of known worth and integrity, who were willing, without recompence, to take the trouble upon them, and having such an house of commons (as God be thanked we now have) disposed to hear, and inquire strictly into those miscarriages; and there was great reason to expect a good issue.

But, perhaps, this very expectation (pray God it do not again) defeated the bill, because some of those very persons, who had heretofore borne such a sway in the house of commons, were then grown so powerful in another place, and accounts were still as terrible as ever; it was not therefore their interest to suffer such a bill to pass for those very reasons beforementioned.

First, Because such a commission, with such powers, was as hard to be resisted, as, on the other side, some men's accounts were to be made up; and consequently, such an enquiry, as the commissioners were thereby impowered to make, might have ruined the credit, and, perhaps, the fortunes of some great men.

Secondly, The same persons knew, that there was no bantering the commissioners named in the bill, because they knew them to be men of sense, honour, and courage, and that knew, and were resolved to execute their commission; and, as they were volunteers in that service, had given earnest of their resolution to unriddle that mystery which divers good men had before lost their labour in, and thereby, perhaps, might have made discoveries, at that time, very unseasonable to some great men. And,

Lastly, the disposition of the house of commons itself, who were resolved as fast as possible to extricate this nation from that labyrinth of debts, interest, deficiencies, and other incumbrances she was then in, and is at present in a manner lost, was a terror to those who knew by what steps and artifices she was led into, and left in it.

I say, it was not safe for them, either to let the bill pass, or to have it rejected in gross; and therefore such expedients were to be found out, as might embroil the two houses about it, a practice in which they had not long before shewn a great deal of mastery.

They knew, that the commons, as they had the sole power of granting money, so also of taking an account of the disposition of all money by them granted, and of appointing commissioners for that purpose. This was laid hold on as a proper handle, to introduce those amendments which they knew the commons could not agree to, without departing from those rights which they were sure they would never relinquish.

Divers amendments therefore were made, not, perhaps, so much to alter the bill, as to lay upon the commons a necessity of throwing it out; thereby hoping to shift the odium of such an action from their own door.

But the commons, who were aware of this drift, and saw the conclusion of the session so near at hand, ap-

pointed a committee to draw up their reasons, why they could not agree to the amendments made by the lords, and afterwards ordered them to be printed, for the satisfaction of the people whom they represented; which I shall give you in the very words of the house, as they stand in their votes, March 24, 1701.

The commons do disagree to the first amendment made by the lords:

Because it is notorious, that many millions of money have been given to his Majesty King William by the commons, for the service of the publick; which remains yet unaccounted for, to the great dissatisfaction of the good people of England, who chearfully contributed to those supplies: and their lordships first amendment prevents any account being taken of those monies by the commissioners appointed by the commons for that purpose.

The commons do disagree to the second amendment made by the lords:

Because John Parkhurst and John Pascal, esqs; have for several years been commissioners of the prizes taken during the late war, and are accountable for great sums of money arising thereby, which ought to be applied to the use of the publick.

That the said John Parkhurst, and John Pascal were frequently pressed to account for the same, by the said commissioners appointed by act of parliament; but, by many artifices and evasions, delayed and avoided giving any such account as was required by the said commissioners.

That the clause, to which their lordships have disagreed by their second amendment, requires them to account before the first of September next; but, by their lordships amendment, the said John Parkhurst and John Pascal are exempted from giving any such account, which is highly unreasonable.

The commons do disagree to the fourth amendment.

The commons cannot agree to the clause sent down by the lords, marked with X, because their lordships have therein directed the commissioners to allow and certify a pretended debt to Colonel Baldwin Leighton; whereas the disposition, as well as granting of money by act of parliament, hath ever been in the house of commons; and this amendment, relating to the disposal of money, does intrench upon that right.

The commons do disagree to the fourth amendment:

Because it is notorious, that Edward Whitacre, mentioned in ———, left out by their lordships, hath, by colour of his employment (as solicitor to the admiralty) received the sum of twenty-five thousand pounds, and upwards, of publick monies, without producing any just or reasonable vouchers for the expence thereof, and therefore ought to be accountable for the same.

And that, by reason of their lordships disagreeing to the several parts of this bill, the supplies, provided by the commons for paying the arrears due to the army, must of necessity be ineffectual till another session of parliament.

These reasons were ordered to be inserted in the votes of this day: and, though I have seen many attempts to answer them, yet never met with one that bore a good face, or a true reason for the occasion of them; and, till some body shall produce others more justifiable and probable, the commons will stand clear of all imputation for the miscarriage of that bill, and the evil consequences that have attended the nation ever since the want of it.

But though King William thanked this good parliament for their quick dispatch of those necessary supplies which they had granted for the publick occasion, and for the encouragement they had given him to enter into alliances for the preservation of the liberty of Europe, and the support of the confederacy, and made no doubt, that whatsoever he should do, during their recess, for the advantage of the common cause in this matter, would have their approbation at their meeting again in the winter: (*Vide* the speech he then made at the conclusion of that session of parliament, 1701)

Yet so diligent were the then ministers of state, that, for fear of being called to account by the said commissioners, they got the consent of King William to dissolve that parliament, by reason they did assure him they would get him a better, and such a one as should not question the embezzlements of his ministers, being now able to carry all things before them; which was then the language of that state-ministry: and the good king assured them he would do it, when he next came from Holland, and was as good as his word; and then the ministry were safe in their affairs: and, upon the death of King William, some of the ministry being changed, we never heard a word of them more, till their lordships began to take up the cudgels.

You must know, at that time, some of the ministry, being turned out, had set up that which they now call a *junto*, in opposition to the court-party; and who should be more forward in pushing on the said *h—* of *p—*s into an enquiry of mismanagements and embezzlements, than certain noble persons who had run the same way the new courtiers had just entered, to lick themselves into as fair estates as other antiquated courtiers had done.

I say, these persons, have set up a *junto* in opposition to the court interest, pressed forward an enquiry into a three years embezzlement and misapplication of the publick treasure, under her majesty's administration. And is as follows:

First, Their lordships were pleased to observe that in three years time the navy had exceeded its charge allowed by parliament, the sum of

l. s. d.
366032 17 2

Secondly, That the officers had issued, for the use of the navy, short of the sum allowed to that service, the sum of

1142361 2 4

Thirdly, The debt of the navy in two years has increased to the sum of

l. s. d.
1250097 14 1

Fourthly, There wanted of the complement of men, which was then allowed for the sea-service, 1566 persons.

Fifthly, There were the last year ten flags in pay of the navy; and three were not in their posts, viz. The *H—* Churchill, esq; Graydon, and Sir James Wisheart.

Sixthly, The pensions of the navy since the year 1697 are increased; that the estimate for 1705 comes to

18021 0 0

Seventhly, That Sir John M—n (whom her majesty was pleased to turn out for not doing his duty) has a pension of

319 17 6

Eighthly, The pension of Admiral N—l's widow, which is set down continued, has not been paid her these two years last past.

Ninthly, The prince of Denmark's council to him as lord high admiral, are allowed per annum

7000 0 0

And yet there is paid but 1000l. per annum to each council, and in the years 1702, 1703, 1704,

{ There } 4
{ were } 5
{ but } 6

Tenthly, The *H—* Churchill, esquire's, appointments for the navy, are, first council to the prince per annum

1000 0 0

Secondly, A pension to him per annum

500 0 0

Thirdly, As admiral of the blue per annum

1277 0 0

Fourthly, For his table money per annum

365 0 0

Tot. 3142 0 0

And lastly, Though by parliament there are allowed forty-three cruisers and convoys for our merchant-men, there have not been employed at any time twenty-two, and they have not done the duty of three ships for the protection of our trade: all which obstructions they have humbly laid before the queen, and do rest assured that her majesty, in her great wisdom, and tender concern for the happiness of her subjects, will dispose herself to apply the proper remedies. And they humbly beseech her to give commands that all possible methods may be taken for the encouragement of seamen, the guarding of the coasts, and the protection of trade.

Now you may perceive, sir, that here is a mighty embezzlement and misapplication among the navy to a considerable sum, as you may perceive in the afore-said

said articles; and would not one believe that their lordships were concerned at this matter in good earnest; and that they had nothing more at heart than the preservation of the merchants trade, they so sensibly complain for want of due protection? But, alas! sir, this is nothing but a mere pretence, as I shall prove to you anon. But I must beg your patience till I have let you into a commoner of England's observations thereon, by way of reply to each particular, as he then wrote from Braintree, Feb. 19, 1705, to a certain member of parliament, and printed the same year.

First, then, says he, their lordships observe, that, in three years time, the navy had exceeded its charge allowed by parliament, the sum of

366032 17 2

This, at first view, he says, was a very heavy charge on the government; but, with humble submission, it is presumed their l—ps are not all bred accountants, and therefore not so much blameable as some are. I confess it startled me, at this time of day, to see so good, so gracious, so mild, and so gentle a government, charged with such an inconsiderable sum, not worth mentioning, considering the length of time, viz. three years. We cannot forget the miscarriages of a late reign so soon, when some of the l—ds of a c— were impeached for the embezzlement of the kingdom's treasure. Let them but look back, and they will find twice as much exceeded in the same service for the same time.

When E—R—ll, esq; (now L—O—d) was treasurer and pay-master of the navy, there was then actually received out of the exchequer for that service, from Michaelmas 1691, to Michaelmas 1694, viz. three years time, the sum of

6170359 10 3 $\frac{1}{4}$

The estimate allowed by parliament for the navy, amounts for the same time but to

5400000 0 0

So that the charge of the navy did exceed, what was designed by parliament, the sum of

770359 10 3 $\frac{1}{4}$

And then no complaint was made of it; yet our three years inconsiderable sum, viz.

366032 17 2

is a monstrous charge now: yet theirs exceeds this by

404325 13 1 $\frac{3}{4}$

What would not the saints have said! if such a sum as this had fell upon the party the l—ds are now accusing.

Secondly, That the admiralty have issued short of the sum, allotted by parliament for that service, the sum of

1142361 2 4

But their l—ps wisely observe, that the navy accounts make the

sum, received by the treasurer of the navy, between Michaelmas 1701, to 1704, to amount to the sum of

*6190094 15 0

5420700 11 1

Which, if subtracted from the provisions intended by parliament*, which I have placed above the last sum; and then it will come to but

772394 3 11

So that their l—ps have overcharged the admiralty in this article, by the sum of

369966 18 5

Now, sir, if the sum of be added with the sum of provisions,

1142361 2 4

366032 17 2

772394 3 11

intended by parliament for the navy's use, then the sum will be

1138428 1 1

Which is all their l—ps can pretend to charge the treasurers of the navy with; and we hope their honours think it in safe hands, so long as Sir T—L— is of ability to make it good; if not, pray let them speak.

But their l—ps not speaking shewed they thought him to be of ability; but now it seems he is dead, and indebted to the navy, the nation will find whether he was of ability or not.

Thirdly, It appears at Michaelmas 1704, the debt of the navy to be

2266864 17 10

And the navy debt, at Michaelmas 1702, came but to

1016767 3 9

So that it has increased in two years time to

1250097 14 1

And well it may, for it appears by the treasury-books, that the sums, given by parliament, have fallen short; and, by the extraordinary expences of the war, viz. the taking of Gibraltar, and beating of the French fleet, must needs increase the debt considerably, as the treasury-books observe, to the sum of

1194249 16 5

And, if any complaint ought to be made, it was on the government's side, and not on their l—ps, as if a mismanagement; but those l— of the c—, I presume, knew which way they crept into fair estates, by fingering the publick treasure of the nation; and now would make all persons as guilty, &c. that they might come off the easier.

To the 4th, 5th, 6th, 7th, 8th, 9th, and 10th articles, if there be any mismanagement or embezzlement in them, they are so inconsiderable, not worth taking notice of, and especially by the h— of p—.

Allow the three flag-officers pay and table come to, per ann. 4927l. 10s. for three years comes to

14781 10 0

We will allow a misapplication of the navy's pensions to amount for three years (though in truth it is not so) to

And the p— council for three years have embezzled the sum of

Now what a mighty sum is this, viz.

for three years time to complain of? Says he, sir, this is but a flea-bite to what I shall demonstrate to you.

You cannot forget, sir, that a lord c— was impeached, not long since, for a considerable sum of money he had; yet he was not contented with his place that brought him 4000l. per ann. but the late King William allowed him, besides, a pension of 4000l. per ann. more: and yet he procured to himself the grants of several manors, fee-farm-rents, quit-rents, &c. to the value of

So that this person has exceeded all their embezzlements, viz. by the sum of

But give me leave to sum up their l—ps whole charge, as well as the embezzlements, &c. against those persons, and you will find they appear not so great a charge as made.

First then, as for the debt of the navy of

I will leave it as I found it, to be made good by parliament.

Secondly, As for what the navy has exceeded its charge by acts of parliament, viz.

I will make it a charge as money overpaid for the use of the navy, above the sum allowed by parliament.

Thirdly, As for what the navy has issued short of the sum allotted by parliament, I have sufficient warrant to charge it

Fourthly, The unnecessary pay of three flag officers I will charge; which comes to

Fifthly, A supposed misapplication of the pensions for three years, which comes to

And, lastly, An embezzlement of three years money, for the prince's council, comes to

So that the whole cash in hands, the misapplications and embezzlements for three years time, comes to but

To which may be answered:

first, as their l—ps do find, by the navy accounts, the money, exceeded, did amount, in three years time, to a considerable sum: yet they do not say, it was not applied to that use: therefore I presume, I have good warrant to discharge the navy of that sum as paid; which is

Secondly, The three flag officers are paid the sum of

And, lastly, the pensions are paid, viz.

Total

Therefore, all that can be pretended to be in hands, misapplied or embezzled, for three years time, is but

And, whether this mighty sum be not issued to the yards and victuallers, is the question; and those ministers best know whether it be so or no, for I shall not justify them in it: but what I have to offer may mollify this great offence.

Sir, I cannot but remind you; and give me leave to shew what considerable charges and embezzlements there were brought on the nation in so small a time as five years.

The Lord R— hath actually received out of the exchequer, for the army from Michaelmas 1691, to Michaelmas 1696 (not computing the pay for the army in Ireland) the sum of

The estimate, allowed by parliament for the army, came at the same time but to

So that the army has been overpaid by

E— R—, esq; now L— O—, hath received out of the exchequer, for the pay of the navy, for the same time

The treasurer of the ordnance, for sea and land service, hath received, for the same time, the sum of

Total of both

Now, the estimate of the navy, yards, ordnance, and victuallers, for the same time, comes to but

So that the navy and ordnance, &c. have been over-paid

There has been actually received out of the exchequer, for the civil

list,

list, for the same time, the sum
of

The estimate of the civil list	3455302	0	0
comes for the said time but to	3000000	0	0
So that the civil list has been overpaid by	455302	8	0

Upon these heads, there has been over-paid as follows.

To the army	2756911	13	4 $\frac{3}{4}$
Navy and ordnance, &c.	1652659	15	11 $\frac{1}{4}$
To the civil list	455302	8	0
Total	4864873	17	4 $\frac{1}{2}$

And yet the debt of the army, navy, ordnances, &c. and the civil list, amounted to that time to the sum of

6000000	0	0	
So that in five years, there was actually embezzled or misapplied	10864873	17	4 $\frac{1}{2}$

Now, sir, how much was paid to the army, navy, &c. short of these proportions allowed by parliament, will also be worth the inquiry of your honourable house.

But to their l—ps last observation: they say, that forty-three cruisers and convoys are allowed by parliament to protect our merchants from the enemy (do they mean abroad; or at home? And that not twenty-two have been employed at any time; nor have they done the duty of three cruising ships, which they think is a great hardship on the subject, and endangers their trade; and beseech her majesty, that all possible methods may be taken for the encouragement of seamen, the guarding of the coast, and the protection of trade.

Certainly, their l—ps think this nation has a very treacherous memory, to forget so soon the complaint your h— li— of c— made to their l—ps upon this very subject.

Let them remember, that one article of their impeachment against A— R— was this: that, when several complaints were made by the old East-India company to the lords of the admiralty (his lordship being chief c—) of divers piracies in the south seas, to the destruction of their trade, that he rejected their request, and procured a c— for Captain K—d, who went a p—; and that the said c— commanded Captain S— to deliver several able seamen out of the D— (when the nation was threatened with an invasion from France) to Captain K—d, and they went to a p—ing.

Secondly, That the L—ds S— and B—nt, &c. got a grant under the g— f— in 97, to have all the ships, &c. goods, treasures, &c. taken since April 36, 1696, by p—cy without account.

And that said L— S— put the great f— unto a treaty with F—, whereby great dominions were given that king, to the prejudice of the merchants trade in general.

But I am very glad their l—ps begin to be so vigilant in national miscarriages; for, with humble submission, I think it is high time they were all redressed. I am sure, your honourable house has been many years labouring hard to bring it to pass, and have been as often prevented therein, by their l—ps not being at leisure, or at least, not in a humour to do it; which refusal, your honourable house, not long since, voted to be a denial of j— (in their lordships) to the common cause, and an hindrance to the publick benefit of this kingdom in general. And, since they have publickly begun to address her majesty, that this publick grievance may be redressed, though very inconsiderable, yet, if not nipped in the blossom, who knows what an height it may at last come to? I think now time offers to redress them all; and once your h— h— desired such an opportunity; and you cannot do less, for your country's service, than vigorously, and with all diligence, to prosecute this affair, and to go hand in hand with their l—ps, to accomplish it. For, as I am an high-church-man, sir, I am not for having the government imposed on, nor the nation's treasure embezzled, or profusely spent in needless pensions, &c. by any manner of persons, either high-church, low, or no church. And whoever is caught in the transgression, and spared by one side or the other, can be no good subject, nor an hearty lover of her majesty's government.

It mightily rejoices me to see their l—ps eyes begin to be opened, and that they can spy faults and mismanagements in government, as well as other persons; though I must confess, there is no government so infallible, but may err in some matters; which errors are very visible in the late reign, as well as in this; and since it so often happens, it may be convenient to remind their l—ps of your late impeachments, that all offenders and embezzlers of the publick treasure may be brought to a strict account. This is what you always aimed at for the nation's service, and have always continued so to do by your constant addressing her majesty; and, since I have made it so visible in four heads, that upwards of ten millions of money have been embezzled in five years time, it is to be hoped their l—ps will be pleased to condescend, that the late ministers of state be brought to an account, as well as the present.

I hope, by this time, their l—ps are thoroughly convinced in their judgement, that it is high time they were brought to an account; which, if done, I am sure, would be of great service to the nation, and would deserve the publick thanks of the kingdom. This would encourage the nation and seamen cheerfully to go on in the common cause, the one with their purses, and the other with their lives; but, if their l—ps will contentedly sit down, only with the accusation of the navy, of a Churchill, a Greydon, or a Munden, for so inconsiderable a sum (which all their lordships can pretend to charge is not an embezzlement) of 678,397l. 3s. 11d. will look only like a party-quarrel, and shew they take delight in exposing their

their small mismanagement, when they meekly suffer an O—, a R—, a S—, &c. to go away unpunished, with upwards of thirty millions of the kingdom's money unaccounted for. This, I hope, their l—ps will take care to avoid, like English patriots, and not suffer the government of the nation to be miserably oppressed and beggared.

It cannot enter into my thoughts, but their l—ps will do all things for the good of the nation in general; yet I am somewhat surprized to see their address to the q— printed by their authority; I cannot tell what to make of it, it looks so much like the observator's appealing to the people, designing to expose the smallest miscarriages in government on one side, and let the greatest embezzlements on the other go free. But their l—ps have mightily missed their ends in it, if they intend so; for the address is so seasonably come out, that it will very much open the eyes of the nation; and if the grievances be not redressed, on all sides, it will look like a party address, dissenting from the kingdom's true interest, and so they may become the odium of the nation: but let us hope for better things from their h—s.

Another thing to me seems very odd, and looks just like the stranger and satyr in the fable, that blew both hot and cold in a breath; or, what can be the meaning of settling a grateful reward on his grace the duke of Marlborough, for his eminent service done to the publick in general: and yet, at the same time, to repine at his brother Churchill's inconsiderable per annum of 3142l. 10s. which their l—ps have caused to be printed at large, in their late a—fs to her majesty? One would think, that what his grace had done might have easily swallowed so small a trifle as his staying at home, without their l—s publick notice thereof. If the nation's grievances are heartily designed to be redressed, I think it would be very convenient their l—ps should join with your honourable house, to call all evil ministers of state to a speedy account.

Secondly, In the next place, to secure the government, and the church of England, as by law established, and not suffer them to be insulted and bullied by the whiggish enemies of state, both at home and abroad. And,

Lastly, To secure to our merchants their trade; and this, in some measure, will enable you to secure the whole state.

But, if we must tumble into faction, and only accuse one party, because the least transgressors, and let the other go free, because the greatest offenders, it is just like Alexander's pirate, that was condemned to be hanged for robbing in a small vessel, whilst he himself, with his great fleets, triumphed in spoiling and ruining of the greatest of kingdoms.

To conclude: I must be bold to say, had the first transgressors been severely punished, when caught in the offence, it would have deterred others from doing the like mischiefs; and all mismanagements and losses that have since happened to this kingdom, are owing

to that h— of p—, that refused, upon your complaint, to do the nation common j—, when so often importuned thereto by your honourable house.

I am, Sir,

Your most devoted servant,

W. L.

Braintree,

Feb. 19, 1705.

And thus I have led you, step by step, through all this commoner of England's observations thereon; and I think he has handled the ministry to purpose.

But, perchance, you may desire to know what effect these observations wrought on their l—ps at that time? Even none at all; for the design it seems lay here: 'As soon as this address had brought over the court interest to their party, all matters of complaint were laid aside, and the ministry were as brisk at their old sport of embezzlements and misapplications as ever, and so would have gone on to the end of the chapter.' Had not some true old English heroes opened the eyes of her majesty, the whole kingdom had been sunk into an eternal ruin without redemption; and that occasioned the queen to change the low-church ministry; and this brought to our assistance our deliverers from this slavery, our present new parliament, and occasioned that excellent speech from the throne, at the opening of this session, where her majesty (though sensibly) complains of the heavy debts of the navy and other offices.

And now, Sir, what if I should let you into some other new embezzlements and misapplications, which I may truly say were occasioned by their l—ps, for want of their seasonable and annual addressing of the queen.

For if fame speaks truth, it is reported, that Sir T— L—n, t—r of the n—vy, has died indebted to the sailors three years wages: if so, according to the estimate of the navy, it amounts to about

5400000 0 0

which is one article, without doubt, your honourable house is to make good.

And a certain late l—d t—r, they say, has embezzled or misapplied the sum of

2500000 0 0

which embezzlements are grown a new debt on the several offices complained of.

The total of both comes to

7900000 0 0

And for the year ensuing you are to provide no less than

6000000 0 0

To carry on the war against France and Spain, in all

13000000 0 0

a pretty little inconsiderable sum. These you are to raise, and make good as desired. And whether with these sponges, as De Foe says, you will be pleased to wipe out the scores and debts of the nation the low-church ministry have contracted, I think will be very much worth your while to try the experiment of.

It

It would not be amiss to squeeze these low-church sponges heartily, till they drop again to purpose; and who knows but you may get out of them ten years embezzlements (rather than part with the whole ill-gotten sum for twenty years last past) which comes to about -

15875893 17 4½

So that you will clear the nation from the debt of the late l—t—r, and Sir Th—s E—n, the t—r of the n—y, and have in their pockets clear, to begin the next year's war with the sum of -

1975893 17 4½

But here lies the greatest difficulty. In whose hands will your honourable house intrust the remaining money, and all that you shall raise for the future, since it is so apparent how difficult it is to bring such ministers of state to account for their embezzlements and mismanagements of the kingdom's publick treasure? This is a matter will require your whole thoughts. For if that can be but effected to your liking, content, and satisfaction, it will for ever make the queen easy, the funds well looked after, the seamen and the army well paid. And this will be the means to restore the lost credit, which evil ministers of state have been long hammering at to ruin, or at least to bring it to such a low ebb on the government's side, that the said ministry might have new modelled any scheme of government they had most inclination to, having so often all the publick cash of the nation in their hands, and that they set up the bank with most feloniously, for that end and purpose.

In my humble opinion (not that I am going to direct) it were not amiss, if your honourable house would not suffer one single minister, or officer of state, to have of the publick money so raised to carry on the war against France and Spain, above fifty thousand pounds a man, and good security given, that he should no ways embezzle or misemploy the said money, but solely pay it to that publick end it was raised for: but to trust one man with one, two, or three millions at a time, is a temptation to cheat the publick, at least one quarter part of it, if not of the whole sum: and when you come to look into the man's estate, he has none; or otherwise made it away, on purpose to become a cheat to the nation.

But you may, perchance, object, and say that you cannot find any minister that can give such security; or, if he could, he ought not to do it, for it is an infringement of her majesty's prerogative; for it is fit and convenient, that, as she is entrusted with all the monies so raised, it is her sole right to appoint such ministers or officers as she can confide in with the said money.

To which I answer, It customarily has been so; but it is also too visible, for upwards of twenty years last past, that all that have been intrusted with the

publick treasure, have made it their business to fleece the government of the publick treasure, to embezzle and misapply the same; and how hard and difficult it has been to bring such ministers to account, the whole kingdom is very sensible of, and sure it is but reasonable to secure the publick treasure at all times; and if the house of commons do not put a stop to this great evil, the nation will be utterly beggared at last. And there can be no other expedient found out, that can preserve the credit of the kingdom, but by appointing commissioners of their own, viz. gentlemen of known estates, and to intrust them with fifty thousand pounds a man, and no more, they giving security not to embezzle, or misapply the same; and if they do, their estates and security to make it good. And certainly it is impossible, that any one of these persons should miscarry, in their discharge of the trust reposed in them by the honourable the house of commons.

But I very much wonder, at this time of day, why the low-church party should stand so tightly for the queen's prerogative, by saying, that such an expedient, if found out, will be an infringement of the same. Time was, that none were more violent against the prerogative of the crown than these very people; and now in a trice they are highly defending the prerogative. This, at first sight, looks mysterious, but I will unriddle this matter in a trice.

It seems the prerogative they stand so tightly for, is to screen themselves, and that they might not be put out of that sweet and old arbitrary way of cheating the soldiers and the navy, and fleecing the kingdom of those few trifling millions, not worth the parliament's taking notice of, which they had only gotten by cunning oversights, and negligences in accounts, by such as, perchance, at first were not able to check them. This makes them stand so violently for the prerogative of the crown, which by no means, they say, ought to be lessened; and it is what her majesty will never consent to.

Now give me leave a little. I think they talk for the queen, but would act for themselves: their business is only to dive dexterously, and to take care that no other sharpers should come at the pocket of the nation but themselves: they have often found it full, and have as often left it empty; yet still they are struggling to continue in their old game, and now are cursed mad that any but themselves should be in the government, and are preparing gibbets for Mordecai. And what do not such ministers deserve, that deprive the queen of the service of the pick-pockets and sharpers of the nation?

These pretended friends to the government have indeed stuck fast to it, but it was like leeches, sucking almost the very heart's blood of the nation; but a little salt from the hands of the parliament will soon shew what it was they adhered so close to the government for.

Are we not almost driven to the very brink of destruction? Our treasures are riotously wasted; our constitution in danger of being subverted, and the nation

nation almost in general corrupted: and all this under a colour of a false pretended zeal for her majesty's person and government; when some men have arrived to such a height of favour in court, and such a degree of popularity in the city, that they have at last took upon them, with an audacious front, to direct the very monarchy.

They have been able, for many years past, to brand all those who took any care of our constitution, or offered to require any good husbandry in the disposition of the publick treasures, with odious unpopular names, and almost to stir up the mob against them: thus, had they succeeded, the old English constitution had expired. And since the majority of the nation have, by their choice, sent us up such worthy patriots, it is to be hoped they will effectually take care of the monarchy, the church and state, and set the kingdom out of debt, and see that the army and the navy are well paid; and keep out for the future such ravening and devouring wolves, that have brought the credit of the nation to so low an ebb by their misapplications and embezzlements of the kingdom's treasure.

Is it not a strange and wonderful thing, that while the nation is almost bankrupt, wealthy men should shoot up in several offices, like mushrooms; and while the government was endangered to be beggared, that all its servants should riot in such wealth and plenty, that the bare handling of a brush in any office was the ready way to a plentiful fortune; as if the publick treasure had been thrown in there only for the officers to brush it in to their pockets? These abuses call loudly for reformation; and our representatives, no doubt, will do their utmost endeavour to amend the same.

And since some people may question to what ends and purposes members of parliament are elected by the people to represent them, I shall presume to give them these following instructions.

The business therefore of a house of commons is, to represent the whole commonalty of England; that is, they are to do all such things, and exercise all such powers for the welfare and safety of the publick, which the whole common people would be supposed to do and exercise, could they meet together to counsel and debate orderly and quietly, and deliberate maturely, for their own common good and safety.

They are to appoint all publick disbursements, the quantity, time, and manner of their payments; the uses to which they are to be disposed, and, if they please, the officers through whose hands it shall pass. If so, now is the time then to appoint such officers of your own, and not suffer the nation any more to be cheated by upstarts, and such as have no visible estates to come at, when they embezzle the kingdom's treasure, as such have done for twenty years last past, without any publick remedy. This requires your publick amendment; for the war has left us very low in purse, the credit of the nation almost eclipsed by the late ministry, our funds anticipated and deficient;

and, to compleat all, has left us a new debt of several millions. These considerations will oblige you certainly to prevent the like grand miscarriages for the future, by appointing, as we hope you will, such gentlemen of estates as may give sufficient security to perform that important trust, which will be so very necessary for the kingdom's preservation, and benefit in general.

Secondly, They are to enquire how such sums have been applied; and if they find any misapplication, to bring the offenders to punishment: and this is a second reason why you ought to appoint officers of your own. For have not your honourable house endeavoured, for twenty years last past, to bring such evil ministers to account, and how often have been prevented by cunning stratagems and delays of some great persons, whose interest appeared too great for you to cope with in another place.

Thirdly, They are to advise with, and assist the other two sovereign estates in all arduous affairs, especially in making and contriving good laws for the security of our religion, liberties and properties, of which at this time we stand in great need; for our occasional conformists, if not well looked after, will swallow up our government by this cunning hypocrisy, which is a villainous artifice, on purpose to bring in ruin to the church and state.

Fourthly, They are to revive such good laws as are antiquated, and to repeal them, if the reasons be ceased, and the laws themselves of no longer use and benefit to the publick. And,

Lastly, They are to protect and preserve intire the rights and privileges of the whole people, whom they represent as a third estate of the kingdom. And this loudly calls to you for amendment: what insolencies and affronts have been offered our church and state by those tender-conscienced people, our moderate dissenters? How often have they been for roasting, gutting, dewitting, mobbing, hanging, drawing, and quartering one poor priest of the church of England, because he preached up passive obedience, a doctrine of the church; which it seems did a little too much grate upon the scrupulous consciences of our tender brethren, the most religious dissenters?

I say, this brought on all those affronts and insolencies which our holy church and constitution met with in a late famous trial, of ever-glorious memory, in which her majesty did not escape their vile-tongues in their imperious and rebellious language. This also highly calls for your amendment, that it may never more be in the power of such persons to be so monstrously rude and uncivil as heretofore.

Now, if such offenders are not corrected according to their merits, the Lord have mercy on the nation; for the government, both in church and state, are in a very dangerous condition, and will not be long before they are brought to destruction; which God of his infinite mercy prevent.

A parallel



A parallel account of the national expences, from November 3, 1640, to November 1659; and from November 5, 1688, to Michaelmas 1700.

The long parliament's account.

	l.	s.	d.
SUBSIDIES , six come to	600000	0	0
Assessments to disband the Scotch and English armies	800000	0	0
Tonnage and poundage, nineteen years	5700000	0	0
Captives, nine years	27000	0	0
Ditto, five years	75000	0	0
Sale of Irish lands	1200000	0	0
Second sale	92500	0	0
Third sale	30000	0	0
Contribution for Irish Protestants	100000	0	0
Second contribution	50000	0	0
Third contribution	30000	0	0
Assessments through England for the British army in Ireland, for five years	1200000	0	0
Twentieth parts of goods, &c. to raise an army for the earl of Essex, for the defence of England	2745055	0	0
Ditto, second time	2745055	0	0
Weekly assessments towards payment of the said army, three years	5617583	8	0
Weekly meal to raise auxiliaries, six years	608400	0	0
Monthly assessments towards payment of the said army, two years	488064	0	0
Sir William Waller's army weekly assessment, one year	84258	5	0
The Scots army's weekly assessment, two years	168000	0	0
Brown's army weekly assessment, one year	38400	0	0
Fairfax's army's monthly assessment at 36366l. three years	1127726	4	0
Ditto, at 60000l. per month, for two years	1620000	0	0
Ditto, at 90000l. per month, for one year, &c.	1890000	0	0

Forces raised on particular counties, &c.

Exon, for five years, come to	12000	0	0
Hertford one year, then associated	4800	0	0
Isle of Wight, four years	1900	0	0
Warwick, &c. associated, five years	133650	0	0
Plymouth, four years	28800	0	0
Yarmouth, four years	19200	0	0
Aylbury, five years	1000	0	0
Buckingham, four years	76800	0	0
Eastern association, five years	1234962	10	0
Dorset and Poole, two years, and then associated	24780	0	0
Kent, &c. associated, five years	270000	0	0
North-Wales, &c. five years	38652	0	0

Northton, five years	119200	0	0
Huntington, two years, and then associated	13200	0	0
Southton, four years	115200	0	0
Newport-Pagnel, one year, then associated	49000	0	0
London, &c. five years	5600	0	0
Hull, five years	46600	0	0
Chester, county and city, one year, then associated	6944	0	0
Gloucester, county and city, three years	163400	0	0
Pembroke, &c. associated, three years	20090	0	0
Salop, three years	57000	0	0
Leicester, three years	86400	0	0
Wilts and Malmisbury, one year, then associated	2900	0	0
Western association, four years	509160	0	0
Worcester, &c. three years	51597	12	0
Middlesex, three years	108000	0	0
London, to set up posts and chains	96000	0	0
Lincoln, three years	117600	0	0
Derby, three years	48000	0	0
Northern association, three years	433831	14	0
Rutland, three years	29000	0	0
Surry, three years	44000	0	0
Newark, to be reduced, cost	9916	12	0
Lancaster, two years	72000	0	0
Newport, two years	89904	0	0
County of London to assess for horses and arms	10000	6	0
Provision for maimed soldiers	18180	0	0
Excise for seventeen years	10200000	0	0
Duty on coals, seventeen years	850000	0	0
Duty on currants, seventeen years	51000	0	0

Sequestrations of delinquents estates, viz.

Bishops lands, four years	884089	16	7
Deans and chapters lands, four years	564740	18	6
Inferior clergy's lands, four years	2077802	1	3
Temporal estates, four years	280000	0	0
Crown lands, four years	280000	0	0
Composition for court of wards, four years	400000	0	0
Deans forest, four years	16000	0	0
Fee-farm rents, four years	1054392	0	0
Tenths of the clergy, four years	400080	0	8
Prince of Wales's income	80000	0	0
Timber for the navy out of delinquents woods	7760	0	0
Postage of letters, fourteen years	301000	0	0
Wine licence, fourteen years	312200	0	0
Composition for court of wards, ten years	1000000	0	0
Income of offices for publick service, fifteen years	850000	0	0
Vintners delinquency	4000	0	0
Compounding with delinquents for their estates	1277226	0	0
Disbanding the army	900000	0	0

Militia of England kept up, thirteen years

3120000 0 0

Oliver's expedition to Ireland

150000 0 0

Sale of lands, viz.

Bishops lands, at ten years

2420224 11 6½

Deans and chapters lands, ten years

1411852 6 8

Rectory and glebe lands, twelve years

6203586 3 9

Crown lands, thirteen years

9152000 0 0

Prince of Wales's lands, thirteen years

260000 0 0

Fee-farm rents, eight years

1908784 0 0

New-river water, eight years

8000 0 0

Tenth's of the clergy, eight years

1200240 2 0

Lord Craven and other estates, at thirteen years

700000 0 0

Giffard and other estates, at thirteen years

900000 0 0

Sir John Stawell and others, five years

560000 0 0

Forest lands, thirteen years

56000 0 0

Houses and castles of the kings

620000 0 0

John and William, Peter, and divers others, viz. one hundred seventy-one persons, their estates to pay Prince Palatine of the Rhine 5000l. in arrear, and 8000l. per ann.

85000 0 0

Oliver made captain-general of Fairfax's forces, and the assessment for the armies of England, Scotland, and Ireland, 90000l. per month, for two years.

2160000 0 0

Assessments of 120000l. per month for the said army and navy, one year

1440000 0 0

Drums and colours 90000l. per ann. for ten years

900000 0 0

Irish delinquents to compound for two years rents

1000000 0 0

Oliver voted protector, and he assessed for the army 120000l. and 90000l. for three months

630000 0 0

Agreed 60000l. per month be the pay of the army for six years

4320000 0 0

To defray the charges of justice 200000l. per ann. six years

1200000 0 0

Free gifts to the saints in money

679800 0 0

In places (excluding the army and navy) per ann. seven years

306110 0 0

In estates per ann. for eleven years

183695 0 0

Besides, the house of commons voted each of their members 4l. per week, and count but 256 members, and no more, for fourteen years

745472 0 0

Total 95303095 9 11½

A general abstract of money raised in England by the long parliament, from November 3, 1640, to November 1659.

Subsidies

600000 0 0

The armies

32780721 13 0

Tonnage and poundage

5700000 0 0

Captives

102000 0 0

Sale of Irish lands

1322500 0 0

Contributions for Irish protestants

180000 0 0

Forces for defence of particular counties

4141088 8 0

Excises

10200000 0 0

Duty on coals

850000 0 0

Ditto on currants

51000 0 0

Sequestrations of estates

6044924 17 0

Postage of letters

301000 0 0

Wine licences

312200 0 0

Composition for court of wards

1000000 0 0

Offices to public service

850000 0 0

Vintners delinquency

4000 0 0

Compositions for estates

1277226 0 0

Sale of English lands

25380687 3 11½

Settled out of gentlemens' estates to pay Prince Palatine

85000 0 0

Compound with Irish delinquents

1000000 0 0

Charge of justice, six years

1200000 0 0

To the house of commons, fourteen years, comes to

745472 0 0

Free gifts to the saints, viz. in money

679800 0 0

in offices

306110 0 0

in estates, per an.

189365 0 0

Total 95303095 1 11½

A general abstract of the receipts and issues of the publick revenues, taxes, and loans, that have been granted to the late King William, from November 5, 1688, to Michaelmas 1700.

The Receipts.		l.	s.	d.	q.
Received On Customs	-	10997955	6	3	½
Excise	-	12105151	19	7	0
Hearth and letter money, &c.	}	1769653	1	4	¾
Land-tax	-	17520100	14	5	0
Poll-tax	-	2527983	12	9	0
Promiscuous taxes	-	7170903	17	9	½
Divers receipts	-	466999	1	4	0
State of loans	-	1334860	5	10	¼
Remained Nov. 5, 88, with which the treasury began	}	80138	18	3	0
Total		65987566	17	8	0

The Issues.		
Issued To the treasurer of the navy, viz. Lord Faulkland, in King James's time	}	198068 0 1 0
To Admiral R—ll in K. W—'s time, treasurer of the navy	}	16940497 1 10 ¼
To Sir Tho. L—n, treasurer of the navy	}	818659 5 10 ¼
Total to the navy		17957224 7 9 ½

LETTER TO A NEW MEMBER OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS, &c. 571

To the army Lord Ra- nelagh	-	21239723	6	11	$\frac{1}{2}$
To the ordnance	-	2889001	1	6	$\frac{2}{3}$
To the civil list	-	7882391	10	2	$\frac{2}{3}$
Divers services	-	15693555	11	0	0
Remained at Michaelmas 1700	-	325671	0	2	0

Total 65987566 17 8 $\frac{1}{2}$

Memorandum.. There was issued more than re-
ceived the sum of two farthings; a very nice account
I will assure you.

The total of the long parliament 95303095l. 1s.
11d $\frac{1}{2}$. Of King William 65987566l. 17s. 8d. Of
both 161290661l. 19s. 7d $\frac{1}{2}$. An inconsiderable sum,
considering our great deliverance from popery and
slavery, and arbitrary government. And yet the saints
want to deliver us of as much more, if we please but
to be so good-natured as to let them set up a com-
monwealth.

F I N I S

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